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# NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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No. CXIII.—JULY 1886.

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## *THE UNIONIST VOTE.*

BUT a few months have come and gone since I, writing in these pages on the eve of the last election, advised the moderate Liberals to vote for the Conservatives, so as to prevent the return of Mr. Gladstone to power. The plea I urged in defence of my advice amounted chiefly to this. The Liberal party under Mr. Gladstone's leadership had, as I held, deserted the true traditions of Liberalism, and had embarked on a line of policy inconsistent with the principles on which the Liberal cause could alone be upheld. In fact, though not in name, these traditions and these principles were, as I opined, far safer in the hands of Lord Salisbury's Government than in those of any Government which Mr. Gladstone could form. I therefore appealed to those who shared my views to do what in them lay to retain Lord Salisbury in office and to keep Mr. Gladstone out of office.

My advice, I admit frankly, was not adopted. Party bonds proved too strong to be cast off on the grounds that were then before the public. With few exceptions the moderate Liberals threw in their lot with Mr. Gladstone and voted the Liberal ticket. They may have wavered in their allegiance, they may have been lukewarm in their advocacy. But yet they could not make up their minds to part company with Mr. Gladstone, and in consequence they allowed their names, their authority, and their influence to be used in order to secure the return of a Liberal majority. It is in the agricultural counties that the moderate Liberals are most powerful, and it is in the counties that the Liberals gained their most numerous and most decisive successes. The result was that office was

once more brought within measurable distance of Mr. Gladstone's attainment.

Had other—and as I deem wiser—counsels prevailed, the country might have been spared the danger of dismemberment. But it was not to be. Lord Hartington, and the great mass of moderate Liberals of whom he is the representative, agreed to accept the Hawarden programme, and to follow Mr. Gladstone's leadership. The member for Midlothian had, as they imagined, learnt wisdom by his late defeat, and might be trusted not to repeat the errors which had upset his last administration. They disliked the idea of a coalition with the Conservatives, they distrusted the possibility of a fusion, they flattered themselves that if they stuck by their party their influence would prove strong enough to keep the Liberals from any extreme measures. Party ties, personal likes and dislikes, political prepossessions had undoubtedly much to do with the decision of the moderate Liberals to support Mr. Gladstone at the last election. But the dominant cause of their so deciding lay in the fact that their confidence in Mr. Gladstone, though shaken, had not then been destroyed.

Their confidence proved misplaced. The general election had left the Parnellites in a position to decide whether the Liberals should or should not return to office. Without their aid, the accession of a Liberal Government was an impossibility; with their aid it was a certainty. The price of their aid was the concession of Home Rule. That price Mr. Gladstone suddenly awoke to the necessity of paying. I am not concerned with the question of Mr. Gladstone's motives. Psychological problems have no great interest for me, and the extent to which a man may deceive himself while deceiving others is a consideration into which I have neither the wish nor the power to enter. All I—or the world at large for that matter—have to deal with are Mr. Gladstone's acts, not his motives. In the annals of American politics it is recorded that, on a change of administration at Washington, a Western editor who had supported the defeated party was informed that the Government advertisements would be withdrawn unless he defended the policy of the party in power. The editor in question forthwith wired back, 'It is a sharp curve and an ugly curve, but I'll take it.' If Mr. Gladstone was not constitutionally incapable of ever using plain language to express plain ideas, it is in such terms as this he might have given in his adhesion to Home Rule. It was a very sharp curve, a very ugly curve indeed! Not only had Mr. Gladstone throughout his long career set his face against Home Rule, not only had he time after time declined to consider it as coming within the domain of practical politics, but he had distinguished himself above other English statesmen by the vehemence with which he had denounced its champions and advocates. If, as he now wishes us to believe, he had all along cherished a secret regard for Home Rule, he had succeeded most admirably in conceal-

ing his affection. Throughout his five years' tenure of office Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had contrived to make themselves exceptionally disliked and distrusted by the Irish Nationalists, that the Irish vote had been given to the Conservatives, not because much was expected from them, but because they were opposed to Mr. Gladstone. The fact that this support had been so given had been seized upon as an electioneering weapon by Mr. Gladstone, and had been used unscrupulously by his followers. The mere suspicion that some of the Conservative Ministers might be disposed to make concessions to the Home Rule agitators in return for the Irish vote had been urged as a grave offence against them upon every Liberal platform. Mr. Gladstone himself had made a solemn appeal to the constituencies imploring them to return a strong Liberal majority in order to deprive the Home Rule vote of its importance. In fact, if there was one point to which Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party stood committed by the course they adopted at the last election, it was resistance to Home Rule.

Yet, as soon as it became clear that the Liberal party could not return to office unless they could deprive the Conservatives of the support they had hitherto received from the Parnellites, Mr. Gladstone went over bag and baggage to the Home Rule camp. Negotiations were opened between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone, and a compact was entered into in virtue of which the Conservative Ministry were thrown out on the first pretext that presented itself, and Mr. Gladstone was placed in a position to resume office.

I am quite ready to believe that by this time Mr. Gladstone had worked himself up into a genuine belief in the excellence of Home Rule, just as on all previous occasions in his career he has always held the most fervent conviction of the innate truth of any cause which it has served his purpose to espouse. But the fact remains the same that Mr. Gladstone, having defeated the Conservatives by accusing them of parleying with Home Rule, became a convert to Home Rule the moment that his conversion was shown to be the condition of his return to office. Having obtained his majority, his next step was to form his ministry. For this purpose it was essential to keep back the full extent of his conversion. It is obvious, from what we know already, that the colleagues whose aid Mr. Gladstone solicited towards the formation of his ministry were kept utterly in the dark as to the policy on which he had determined, and were only given to understand that in view of the recent manifestation of popular sentiment in Ireland something must be done to satisfy the Irish demand for local self-government. It does credit to the sagacity as well as to the public spirit of Lord Hartington and his personal followers that, in spite of the assurances that were tendered them, they declined to accept office in an administration which was to be constructed on the basis of a coalition with the Parnellites.

**The Ministry was formed; and then, without consulting with his colleagues, Mr. Gladstone availed himself of Mr. Parnell's assistance to concoct a scheme repealing the Act of Union and providing Ireland with an independent parliament and a separate executive.**

It is needless for my present purpose to repeat how the disclosure of this scheme broke up the Ministry. Nor am I concerned to defend the absolute logical consistency of Mr. Chamberlain and the Radicals who were willing to go a certain length in conceding the principle of Home Rule, but who stopped short at the point to which Mr. Gladstone proposed to lead them. Their most valid defence against the charge of inconsistency must be found in the reply of an eminent American politician in the days of the secession war, who was taunted at a public meeting because, having been a Democrat all his life, he had joined the Republicans when the Southern States seceded. His answer was this: 'Gentlemen,—I followed my party to the very steps of the gallows, but when it came to putting my neck in the noose I thought it time to part company.' When it came to the Repeal of the Union Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan drew back, and by so drawing back they have vindicated themselves from the stain which will attach indelibly to the ministers who consented to co-operate with Mr. Gladstone after his programme had been disclosed. Nor is it incumbent on me to do more than recall the expedients, devices, and subterfuges by which the Ministry attempted alternately to cajole or coerce the malcontent Liberals into accepting the fundamental principle of the Bill. If they could only have been got to admit that Ireland was henceforth to be administered by a parliament and an executive of her own, there was no concession the Ministry were not prepared to make, no assurance they were not ready to give, no engagement into which they were not willing to enter. Happily the snare was too apparent to be successful, and the malcontents stood firm. The Bill was doomed unless the opposition of the Liberal secessionists could be overcome, and to attain this end the Ministry stooped to intrigues and expedients of which happily our political history has had but scant experience. The Prime Minister of England was not ashamed to appeal to the lowest instincts of the masses, and to declare that the question at issue was one not to be decided by reason or argument, but by class prejudices and class sympathies. The whole organisation of the Liberal party was set in action to coerce any Liberal member who dared, after Mr. Gladstone had become a convert to Home Rule, to adhere to his own opinion. Social, personal, and political influences of all kinds were brought to bear upon every member whose vote was doubtful. Every art of Parliamentary strategy was resorted to in order to secure the passing of the Bill: no petty artifice, no device, however small, was rejected as unworthy of the occasion. And yet dodges, devices,

artifices proved in vain, and Mr. Gladstone's own measure was rejected in Mr. Gladstone's own Parliament by a majority of thirty. At any other time and under any other Premier the Ministry would have resigned. In face, however, of the fact that the present Parliament was only elected six months ago, and elected on a programme in which the Repeal of the Union was not even mentioned, Mr. Gladstone has declined to resign, and has appealed to the constituencies. It is with the answer that should be given to this appeal that I have to deal.

If ever there was a case in which the dead might be left to bury their dead, it is that of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. I have dwelt upon its history simply and solely because it is necessary to bear this history in mind in order to dispel a delusion which is likely to produce a certain effect on the coming elections. In the organs of the Ministry one meets frequently with the assumption that whether Home Rule is right or wrong, wise or unwise, it is part of the Liberal platform, and is therefore certain to be carried at no distant date. Even granting the assumption, the conclusion may well be disputed. But the assumption is utterly without foundation. Up to the present time Home Rule has never even been submitted for acceptance to the Liberal party, and still less accepted by them as an article of the Liberal creed. It is Mr. Gladstone, not the party he leads, whom Home Rule can claim as a convert. So much is this the case, that if Mr. Gladstone were removed from the arena of politics there are not fifty Liberal members who would vote for such a measure as he has proposed; not one of his own colleagues, except Mr. John Morley, who would make himself responsible for its authorship. Indeed, if Mr. Gladstone had not declared for Home Rule, the assertion that the Liberal party was in favour of Home Rule would have been treated, till only the other day, as a malignant misrepresentation. No doubt the Liberal party, as a body, have not repudiated Mr. Gladstone's leadership on account of his conversion to Home Rule. That they should not have done so shows how the party has become demoralised, how Liberalism has grown to represent names and individuals rather than ideas or principles. But the fact that the Liberals as a body still remain faithful to Mr. Gladstone does not prove that they are in favour of Home Rule. All it shows is that they know Mr. Gladstone's influence to be essential to the maintenance of their political ascendancy, and that sooner than abandon that ascendancy they are prepared to support whatever Mr. Gladstone proposes. Whether Home Rule is or is not to be adopted formally as part and parcel of the Liberal programme depends entirely upon the result of the coming election. If, as I believe and hope, the result shows that the country declines absolutely to entertain the idea of any Repeal of the Union, then we shall hear no more of Home Rule being an accepted article

of the Liberal programme. Whether this result is so shown depends mainly upon the action of the moderate Liberals.

Now, preaching to the converted is a waste of labour. I may take it for granted that the Liberals to whom this appeal of mine is once more addressed share with me the view that the maintenance of the Union is a matter of paramount importance. Granted this, it follows that there is no sacrifice we should not be prepared to make in order to secure this object, supposing its attainment to be possible. The arguments on which the partisans of the Ministry rely with most confidence is that after what has come and gone the maintenance of the Union is no longer within the limits of possibility; that we who are struggling against its disruption are only retarding for a brief period the accomplishment of an inevitable event; and that, as the cost of our so retarding it, we are embittering the future relations between England and Ireland, and are breaking up the Liberal party. Considering that the main difficulty in upholding the Union is due to the action of Mr. Gladstone, there is an almost sublime impudence in the supporters of the Ministry alleging that difficulty as a reason for our accepting their policy. But the assumption so far rests on assertion only. No rational person doubts that as a matter of fact Great Britain can uphold the Union by force of arms if she is so minded. It is more than doubtful whether the Irish Nationalists are prepared to fight for a repeal of the Union; if they do fight they are certain to be defeated. It is, therefore, idle to say that we have no choice except to acquiesce in the severance of the Union. If we do acquiesce it will be because we are not willing to exercise our power of resistance, and this, in as far as the argument in question has any meaning at all, is what it really means. It is worth while then to say something as to the reasons why it is alleged that we should never, in practice, be able, or willing—for it comes to the same thing in the end—to exercise our undoubted power.

We are told, then, by our self-constituted mentors that it is impossible in this age—when the triumph of oppressed nationalities has become the order of the day—to resist the demands of the Irish nation; that the moral sense of the community will never tolerate any prolonged exercise of coercion; that the British democracy is at one with the Irish democracy; and that, even if this were not so, the Home Rule contingent can in the present division of parties render all Parliamentary government impossible, and thereby compel England in the end to grant Home Rule as the price of securing the control of her own affairs. Even if we shared the belief that Home Rule must be granted sooner or later, we should say, in the interest of the United Kingdom, the later the better. But the belief rests upon assertions which, to say the least, are open to dispute. In the first place, before you can claim for Ireland the status of an oppressed nationality, you must show that there is such a thing in existence

as an Irish nation, and that this nation, admitting its existence, labours under oppression. Now, as a matter of fact, there never has been an Irish nation. There never has been, there is not in Ireland now, a united people, having a language, a religion, or a history of their own. All you can say is that some two-thirds, at the outside, of the population of Ireland would possibly prefer having a local government. The remaining third—and the third, too, which in industry, prosperity, and intelligence immeasurably outweighs the other two—is passionately averse to any severance of the compact under which Ireland is an integral part of the United Kingdom. The plea, therefore, of nationality falls to the ground. The plea of oppression is even weaker. I confess that I am sceptical as to whether, after all, Ireland was worse treated in bygone times than other countries in a like position. In public as in private life it is generally people's own fault if they are the victims of perpetual wrong-doing at the hands of everybody with whom they come into contact. Moreover, even admitting that Ireland has cause for complaint as to the treatment she may have received from England in days of old, there is obviously a statute of limitations for offences of such a nature. There is no possible redress for wrongs whose victims and whose perpetrators have alike faded away into the far-off past. For the last hundred years Ireland has had no possible ground to complain of oppression on the part of England. She has enjoyed the same civil and religious rights as those possessed by England. As popular liberties have been developed in England, they have been developed in Ireland also, and at the present moment there is in Ireland, as there has been for two generations, absolute liberty of political and public life. Agitators against the Union in the Southern States, Italian sympathisers in Nice and Savoy, Scandinavian propagandists in Schleswig, would be only too grateful for a tenth part of the immunity enjoyed by the Irish Nationalists under the so-called tyranny of the Saxon oppressor.

Limits of space preclude my entering at any length on this branch of the subject. I think, however, it would not be difficult to prove that the Repeal of the Union is not really desired by any decisive majority of the population of Ireland. It would be still more easy to prove that the concession of this desire, if it exists, would not promote the welfare or the interests of Ireland. But I attach the less value to any demonstration of the kind, as I admit freely that even if I entertained an opposite opinion, and believed that separation from England was ardently desired by a large majority of Irishmen, and would prove a blessing instead of a curse to Ireland, I should not waver for one moment in my view as to the paramount necessity of upholding the Union. After all, the whole is greater than the less. We, each of us, in as far as we possess any political influence, hold that influence in trust for the United Kingdom.



We have not the right, even if we had the wish, to benefit any one part of that kingdom to the detriment of the whole. If, as I hold, and as those to whom I address myself hold also, the maintenance of the Union is essential to the well-being, the greatness, and even the existence of the British Empire, then it is idle to talk to us about the wish of Ireland for Home Rule, or of the advantages she might possibly derive from the Repeal of the Union.

If, then, in order to maintain the Union it is necessary to employ coercion, I fail to see why we should deem it necessary to find excuses for its employment. I fail also to see why we should assume that the democracy are incapable of following a very simple process of argument. If they deem it their interest and their duty to uphold the Union, and if the employment of coercion can be shown to be essential to the maintenance of the Union, then I feel convinced the democracy will have as little scruple about employing coercion as the most high-handed of autocrats. There is not a population in the world so wedded to what I may call the commonplaces of Liberalism, so imbued with respect for the stock shibboleths of democracy, as that of the United States. Yet the moment this population awoke to the fact that their Union was endangered, they flung all their favourite theories and platitudes to the winds, and sanctioned the enforcement of such a system of coercion throughout the Southern States as the most fanatical of Orangemen has never dreamt of applying to the Irish secessionists. It is all very well to declare beforehand that the British democracy will never consent to any course of action; but, in so far as my observation goes, our democracy are very like other Englishmen, fully determined to hold their own, and in no wise particular as to the means by which they so hold it. Moreover, though words go a long way with us, there is amongst Englishmen of all classes a certain innate respect for sober fact and plain common sense. 'No Coercion' is undoubtedly a good election cry; but when the masses learn, as they cannot fail to learn before long, that coercion means nothing more nor less than the enforcement of the law, the protection of individual liberty, and the prevention of brutal crime and savage outrage, they will be the first to call out for its employment. Humanitarianism, both for good and bad, is the attribute of the well-to-do classes whose lives are easy and cultured. A morbid dread of inflicting pain and a distaste for rough and ready modes of punishment are not characteristic of the masses who toil and labour.

The objection that if we refuse to grant Home Rule, the Home Rulers will make our system of Parliamentary government unworkable, rests entirely on the assumption that the British Parliament is willing to consent to its own extinction. If, as there is good grounds to hope, the coming elections result in the return of a decisive majority elected on a Unionist platform, this majority, so

long as they remain united, can always defeat the Separatist minority. Given the will, there is no difficulty in putting down wilful obstruction, and if the Home Rulers attempted to repeat in the new Parliament the tactics which they adopted in the last Parliament but one, they would soon discover, to their cost, that though the resources of obstruction may not be exhausted, the resources of repression are still farther from exhaustion.

Thus all the arguments by which Liberals who disapprove of Home Rule are exhorted not to manifest their disapproval, on the ground that the Repeal of the Union is a foregone conclusion, are shown to be assumptions only. The future still lies within our own hands, and it is for us to decide whether the Union shall be dissolved or maintained. By our recent legislation the ultimate appeal in all supreme issues lies to the masses. It is in the end, by their verdict, that the Union must stand or fall. Now it would be idle to imagine that the masses as a rule have any very distinct or intelligent conviction of their own as to the merits or demerits of the controversy on which they are called to give judgment. It is our duty, as Liberal Unionists, to bring home to them the conviction that we hold ourselves. We have many cards in our favour.

The fact that the Home Rule Bill has been rejected by a decisive majority in the most democratic Parliament England has ever known, and that the opposition to Home Rule is supported by all the most honoured and trusted members of the popular party, with the solitary exception of Mr. Gladstone, cannot fail to influence public opinion. Then, too, we have on our side the instincts of a ruling race; the religious sympathies which unite the men of Ulster with the Protestants of Great Britain; the anti-Irish prejudices which prevail so largely in our working classes. But all these influences cannot be relied on with any confidence, unless we can convince the masses that the question at issue is one of life and death to England, one in comparison with which all political and party issues sink into insignificance. In order to bring home this conviction we must practise what we preach, we must teach by example as well as precept. And this brings me to the practical application of the various considerations I have endeavoured to bring before my fellow-Unionists.

Let us look at facts as they are; not as we could wish them to be. Now, as a matter of hard fact, the real strength and backbone of the opposition to Home Rule lies in the Conservative party. The Conservatives have voted as one man against the repeal of the Union, and of the majority by whom the Home Rule Bill was thrown out, over three-fourths were contributed by the Opposition. No candid observer can doubt that the Conservatives have gained ground very materially in public opinion by their attitude on this question. Their conduct since they were turned out of office has

been honest, straightforward, and patriotic. With a public spirit and a disregard of immediate party advantage, only too rare in our political annals, they have given, and are prepared to give, a loyal support to the Liberals who voted against Mr. Gladstone's Bill. They have shown, in a way their countrymen will not fail to recognise, that they have the welfare of England more deeply at heart than the triumph of their party; and by so showing they have done all that in them lies to impress upon the public mind the conviction that the question at issue is one on which the fate of England is at stake.

It is by following this example the Unionist Liberals must enforce the same lesson. If they show in their turn that they are willing to subordinate their own party interests and preferences to the return of a Unionist majority, they will teach the constituencies that whether they are right or wrong in regarding Home Rule as fatal to England's welfare, they are at any rate honest in their belief. I, for my own part, say most sincerely that if the price of securing a majority pledged to resist Home Rule was the forfeiture of every single seat held by a Unionist Liberal, I would gladly consent to such a bargain. So long as the candidate whom I am asked to support is a Unionist, I care little or nothing whether he is called Liberal or Conservative. All I require to know is that his chances as a candidate are not impaired by the political opinions he professes. This point of view of mine should, I hold, be that also of all Liberal Unionists who have the cause of the Union at heart.

It is folly in such a crisis as this to cherish delusions. And the idea that it is possible to form an independent Liberal party which will be able to hold its own without coalescing with the Ministerialists on one hand or the Conservatives on the other seems to me an utter delusion. The Liberal-Unionist movement is one with which I, for one, sympathise most heartily, and which I have done what little lay in my power to set on foot. I should be the last, therefore, to say a word in its disparagement. But to misrepresent the nature of this movement is to injure the cause it is intended to serve. I can see no reason to suppose that the Liberal secessionists are likely to form an independent party of their own. The secession is intended to effect a definite object—the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy; and when once that object is accomplished I am at a loss to understand what reason of existence the Liberal Unionists as a party will possess. As a matter of argument, the Unionists may be right in contending that it is not they who have seceded from the Liberal party, but the Liberal party who has seceded from them. Just in the same way, for aught I know, the Anglicans may be right in saying it was not they who seceded from the Catholic Church at the time of the Reformation, but the Catholics who seceded from them. But in all such matters the public

counts by results, and somehow or other it is the Radicals, not the Liberal seceders, who will popularly be regarded as the party of progress. The British public likes clear colours, not neutral tints. Radicals it knows, and Conservatives it knows, but it is slow at understanding the exact position of Liberals who are neither Radicals nor Conservatives. The Liberals who voted against the Ministerial measure, and now seek re-election, have a clear and intelligible position. They have a fair claim to the votes, not only of all Conservatives, who put the maintenance of the Union above party interests, but of their own Liberal supporters. They have done nothing, they may reasonably urge, to forfeit the confidence reposed in them only six months ago. But Liberal Unionists who were not members of the last Parliament, and who come forward to contest a seat held by a Ministerial Liberal on the strength of the support they expect to receive from the Conservatives, occupy a very different position. A Liberal who endeavours to defeat another Liberal by the aid of the Conservative vote will always be popularly regarded as a Conservative; and in consequence of this impression he will labour, however unjustly, under a certain disadvantage.

The reason why I dwell on these considerations is to point the moral, that in all cases where the vote on which a Unionist candidate must rely for his return contains a preponderating Conservative element, the Liberals would do wisely to support a Conservative candidate, instead of attempting to enlist the aid of the Conservatives on behalf of a candidate of their own. The assumption on which my whole argument is based is that the end and aim of the Unionists should be to secure the return of a majority pledged to uphold the Union, and that it is a matter of comparative indifference in what proportion that majority is composed of Liberals or Conservatives. Granted this assumption, it is obvious that in constituencies where the mass of the Liberal vote will go solid for the Government, a Conservative is more likely to carry the seat with the aid of the malcontent Liberals, than a malcontent Liberal if supported by the Conservatives. My advice, therefore, to Unionist Liberals, in all cases where a Home Rule Liberal is opposed by a Conservative, especially in the rural constituencies, is to canvass actively and vote steadily for the Conservative. If you wish the end, according to a French proverb, you wish the means also. Now the best means to uphold the Union is to strengthen the hands of the Conservative party; and those Liberals who hesitate about doing this have not really at heart the attainment of their end.

Of course, it will be said that this advice of mine, if it were followed, would lead to a permanent, in lieu of a temporary, disraption of the Liberal party. To this my answer would be that, in the first instance, the maintenance of the Union is infinitely more

important, from my point of view, than the ascendancy of any particular party; and, in the second place, that the disruption which we are implored to avert is already an accomplished fact. Even Mr. Gladstone could never have induced the Liberal party to adopt Home Rule as their platform unless the party had gradually been indoctrinated with ideas which, whether right or wrong, are not in accordance with the principles on which the old Liberal creed was based. But for Mr. Gladstone's inordinate greed of power the coalition between the Radicals and the Home Rulers might have been deferred for years. But even if, happily for himself and his country, Mr. Gladstone had retired from public life last year, the conclusion of such a coalition would always have been a possible, and not a probable, contingency. Home Rule is, indeed, only the logical development of the theories which find favour with Radicalism as distinguished from Liberalism.

The plain truth is, that the Liberal party, as we have known it hitherto, has well-nigh fulfilled its mission. All the important political reforms, consistent with the existing political and social institutions of the country, have been accomplished; and it is impossible to advance much further than we have done already in the way of democratic legislation without attacking the Constitution or the established order of society. Whether such an advance is desirable or otherwise is not a question we need consider here. It is enough for my present purpose to say that the Liberals, whom I am now addressing, are anxious to preserve our existing Constitution, and are opposed to all Socialist ideas. This being so, co-operation with the Conservatives is a thing to be desired in itself, apart from the immediate object this co-operation has in view—namely, the maintenance of the Union. The Conservatives of to-day have practically become converts to the principles which formerly were associated with Liberalism. The Radicals, on the other hand, have largely abandoned these principles. I should be loth here to say a word against Mr. Chamberlain, whose manly attachment to the Union has enlisted for him the sympathy of those who do not share his political views. But truth compels the admission, that Liberals of the class represented by Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen have much more in common with the views held by Lord Salisbury than with those propounded by Mr. Chamberlain. If the fundamental institutions of the country are to be secured against attack, if individual liberty and the rights of property are to be protected in the future against the encroachments of Socialism, it must be by the combined action of the Conservatives and the Liberals. Far, therefore, from regretting that the necessities of the present crisis have led to a coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberals, I rejoice at the probability of this coalition leading to a permanent fusion. Our old party names have ceased to represent facts. Whether

as Unionists or Constitutionalists, or under whatever name fortune may assign them, the friends of law and order and individual liberty will soon have to form one united party. If, then, the alliance for the defence of the Union should, as I hope, achieve this consummation, so much the better.

On the eve, therefore, of the new election I would once more repeat the advice I proffered to Liberals, as opposed to Radicals, at the last election, and urge them to support the Conservatives openly and loyally, as fellow-workers in the same cause with themselves. By this policy alone can the Union be maintained. To uphold the Union is the common duty of Liberals and Conservatives, and if the fulfilment of a common duty by common action lead to a permanent fusion between the two great sections of the party of law and order, I for one shall be well content.

EDWARD DICEY.

## *THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF CANADA.*

CANADA is the greatest of the self-governing colonies; her political history is the most important: she is trying an interesting experiment in Confederation, a form of government to which attention is just now specially directed; and her example is being cited for momentous legislation here in a manner which, I think, is misleading, and which, if it is misleading, is extremely dangerous. I believe that the Prime Minister is wrong in saying that she was ever provoked to rebellion by the tyranny of the mother country. I am sure that he is wrong in saying that she was satisfied, or that she ever would be satisfied, with that which he proposes for Ireland.

Canada is called a British colony, and over all her provinces waves the British flag. But as soon as you approach her for the purpose of Imperial Federation you will be reminded that a large part of her is French. Not only is it French, but it is becoming more French daily, and at the same time increasing in magnitude. The notion which seems to be prevalent here, that the French element is dying out, is the very reverse of the fact. The French are shouldering the British out of the city of Quebec, where not more than six thousand British inhabitants are now left, and out of the Eastern Townships, which have hitherto been a British district; they are encroaching on the British province of Ontario, as well as overflowing into the adjoining states of the Union. The population multiplies apace. There, as in Ireland, the Church encourages early marriage, and does not teach thrift; and were it not for the ready egress into the States, we might have Irish congestion and misery in French Canada. Had French Canada been annexed to the United States, it would no doubt have been absorbed and assimilated, like other alien nationalities, by that vast mass of English-speaking population. As it is, instead of being absorbed or assimilated, the French element rather absorbs and assimilates. Highland regiments disbanded in French Canada have become French. In time, apparently, there will hardly be anything British left in the province of Quebec, except the commercial quarter of Montreal, where the more energetic and mercantile race holds its ground. Had the conqueror freely used his power at first, when the French numbered only about sixty thousand, New France might have been made English; but

its nationality has been fostered under the British flag, and in that respect the work of conquest has been undone. It is difficult indeed, if Canada remains separate from the United States, to see what the limits of French extension will be.

French Canada (now the province of Quebec) is a curious remnant of the France before the Revolution. The peasantry retain with their *patois* the pre-revolutionary character, though, of the allegiance once shared between the king, the seigneur, and the priest, almost the whole is now paid to the priest. There were seigneuries with vexatious feudal incidents; but these have been abolished, not by legislative robbery, in which the rude Canadian is inexpert, but by honest commutation. The people are a simple, kindly, and courteous race, happy on little, clad in homespun, illiterate, unprogressive, pious, priest-ridden, and, whether from fatalism or from superstition, averse to vaccination, whereby they brought upon themselves and their neighbours the other day a fearful visitation of small-pox. They are all small, very small farmers; and, looking down from the citadel of Quebec upon the narrow slips of land with their river fronts on the St. Lawrence, you see that here, as in old France, subdivision has been carried to an extreme.

It has been said that the Spaniards colonised for gold, the English for freedom, the French for religion. New France, at all events, was religious, and it has kept the character which the Jesuit missionary impressed on it. The Church is very strong and very rich. Virtually it is established, since to escape tithe you must avow yourself a Protestant. Clerical influence is tremendously powerful. A French Liberal at Montreal told me that as an advocate he had received a retainer from a bitter personal enemy in a suit brought to break a will for undue priestly influence, other advocates not daring to appear. It is due to the clergy to say that they seem to make the people moral, though in ecclesiastical fashion. What they deem immorality they put down with a high hand; they restrain dancing and thunder against opéra bouffe. The Church has a strong hold on the peasant's heart through its ceremonial, which is the only pageantry or poetry of peasant life. Till lately the Church of French Canada was Gallican, and lived, like the old national Church of France, on perfectly good terms with the State. But now comes the Jesuit, with the Encyclical and the declaration of Papal Infallibility in his hand. There is a struggle between Jesuitism and Gallicanism under the walls of the citadel of Gallicanism, the great Sulpician Seminary at Montreal. The Jesuit, having all the influences of the day upon his side, prevails. A new chapter of history is opened and troubles begin between Church and State. My readers may perchance have heard of the Guibord case. Guibord was a member of the Institut Canadien, which had been excommunicated as a society for taking literature prohibited by the Index. He died, and was about to be buried in his family



lot in the Roman Catholic cemetery, when the Church interposed on the ground that he was excommunicate. There was an appeal to the Privy Council, which, dealing with the case as a religious case might have been dealt with by a Roman proconsul, decided that excommunication was personal, that a society could not be excommunicated, and that Guibord consequently was entitled to burial in the consecrated ground. The Church seemed determined to resist; a crisis was impending; the militia were under orders; a huge block of granite was prepared to secure the body against exhumation; when suddenly the Bishop of Montreal found a way of escape. He solemnly unconsecrated the particular spot in which Guibord was to be laid, leaving the rest of the cemetery consecrated as before, so that the faithful might rest in peace. The operation was delicate, since Madame Guibord had already been buried in the odour of orthodoxy, in the same lot.

The conqueror might have suppressed French nationality. Instead of this, he preserved and protected it. He gave the conquered a measure of his own liberty, and perhaps as large a measure as at that time they who had known nothing but absolute government could bear. He gave them a representative assembly, trial by jury, Habeas Corpus, an administration generally pure in place of one which was scandalously corrupt, deliverance from oppressive imposts, and an appeal in case of misgovernment to Parliament instead of Pompadour. He gave them liberty of opinion and introduced among them the printing press. The one successful colony of France owes its success to British tutelage. French writers are fain to acknowledge this, and if some of them complain because the half-measure of liberty was not a whole measure, and the conquering race kept power in its own hands, the answer is that conquest is conquest, and that the monarchy of Louis the Fourteenth was neither unaggressive nor invariably liberal to the vanquished. It is rather the fashion now to traduce as well as to desert the country; and we are told, as an argument in favour of the dissolution of the Union, that Englishmen, owing to their pride and want of sympathy, can never get on well with any subject race.<sup>1</sup> To get on well with a subject race is not easy; but, if the Englishman has not succeeded in doing it, who has? Has the Spaniard succeeded in doing it in South America, or the Frenchman in Algeria? The Roman, we are told, was popular with the vanquished. The Roman took the straight road to popularity with the vanquished. Cæsar began by putting a million of Gauls to the sword; no wonder he was popular with the rest. The Englishman in Canada has in the main got on perfectly

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Joseph Cowen despairs of seeing the English even get on well with the Irish, because the Irish Celt is so poetic and the Englishman is so prosaic. The Englishman has produced a greater body of first-rate poetry than has been produced by any other nation, except perhaps the Greeks; the Irish Celt has produced Tom

well with the conquered Frenchman; even if there has been sometimes political antagonism between them, their social relations have been good. The French fought for England in the revolutionary war, and again in the war of 1812. If the hostile attitude of the Puritans of New England towards their religion decided them in the first case, it can hardly have decided them in the second; at least, the rule under which they had lived in the interim can hardly have been oppressive. It was one of their leaders, Etienne Taché, who said that the last gun fired in favour of British dominion on the continent would be fired by a French Canadian. The late Sir George Cartier, the political chief of French Canada in his day, was proud to call himself a British subject speaking French.

It is not easy to make conquest an instrument of civilisation; and we may doubt whether, by the nations most advanced in morality, the attempt will ever be made again; but where has it been made in such good faith or with so much success as in British India? In British India there have been military mutinies, but there has been no political insurrection. In an American review the other day there appeared a furious invective against British rule in India, penned by one of the set of people called, I believe, 'cultivated Baboos,' who would be crushed like eggshells if the protection of the Empire were withdrawn. The best answer to the Baboo was that his invective could be published with impunity. If most has been said against the British conqueror, it is because the British conqueror has allowed most to be said against him. To accuse England of having played the Turk or the Austrian to the least favoured of her dependencies would surely be the grossest injustice.

There was a disastrous quarrel between the American colonies and the Government of George the Third, arising out of the retention by the Imperial Parliament of legal powers over the colonies, which could not be practically exercised—a most dangerous relation, which the proposed plan of reserving to the British Parliament powers over the Irish Parliament would, in the teeth of experience, reproduce. George the Third was legally in the right, while morally and politically he was in the wrong. The quarrel was inflamed, I strongly suspect, by a Republican party at Boston and by Boston merchants, who were suffering from the Imperial restrictions on trade. But if it were asserted that the connection was regarded by the colonists generally as oppressive, or that it was not affectionately cherished by them, abundant evidence to the contrary might be adduced. Washington himself, on taking the command, felt it incumbent on him to declare, in answer to an address, that the ultimate object of the war was the restoration of the connection on a righteous footing.

There is, I believe, no feeling whatever among the French Canadians against England. But French nationality grows daily more

intense and daily finds more political as well as literary expression. We had trouble with it the other day, when Quebec sympathised on national grounds with the rising of the French half-breeds under Riel in the North-West, as she had with previous attempts to secure that vast realm for the French race and religion. Regiments from Quebec were sent to the theatre of war, but they were not sent to the front. The priests, of course, hate the French Revolution, and this has hitherto retarded the renewal of the connection with the mother country; now, however, the connection is being renewed, and it can hardly fail to affect both the relations of French Canada to British Canada and the state of French Canadian opinion. From contact with the American Republic also the priests have shrunk, fearing democratic and sceptical contagion; but the circulation of population between French Canada and the States is beginning to introduce American ideas into French Canadian villages. The ice in which the pre-revolutionary France, like a Siberian mammoth, has been preserved is likely soon to melt.

In the meantime the clergy are powerful in politics as well as in other spheres, and the people, trained in religious submission, are politically submissive also, and follow the political leaders who have the confidence of the priests and represent the interests of French Catholicism at Ottawa. Being thus under the control of an anti-revolutionary Church, Quebec has naturally formed the basis of a Conservative party. There is, however, in the province a party called *Rouge*, but deserving of that name only by contrast with the extremely sable hue of its opponents. Anywhere else it would be simply Liberal. It can hardly fail to be strengthened by the increased intercourse with Republican France.

British Canada, now the province of Ontario,<sup>2</sup> was the asylum of the Loyalists after the revolutionary war. Their last civil war the Americans generously and wisely closed with an amnesty. Their first civil war they closed not so generously or so wisely with Acts of Attainder. The schism which time would have healed in the first case, as it has in the second, was thus perpetuated in the form of a territorial secession. No doubt the Loyalists had been guilty of atrocities. Lord Cornwallis compares to them the Fencibles who were guilty of atrocities in Ireland. They were largely of the poorest and most unsettled class, the more respectable colonists having been driven by the folly of the King and his commanders into the arms of the rebellion. Still there were many of the better sort, and two thousand exiles for loyalty's sake left the coast of Massachusetts alone. If ever the balance of power with its evil consequences is

<sup>2</sup> It may seem that here, and perhaps elsewhere, I am giving needless information. But we have read a proclamation of the Privy Council, about the Colorado beetle, beginning with these words: 'Whereas intelligence has been received from Ontario, Canada, that the country round *that town* is being devastated,' &c.

introduced into America, the Americans will have themselves to thank. England would probably have been willing to retire from the continent altogether, as her wisest counsellors advised; but she was bound in honour to protect the Loyalists, and honour still had its seat in the breasts of British statesmen in those days. The United Empire Loyalists, as they are called, carried into exile hearts burning with loyalty and vengeance; they fought heroically for their new home in 1812, and their descendants still form a sort of loyal league cherishing and celebrating the memory of a glorious misfortune.

In her early days British Canada was well content to be ruled by Royal governors. Her constitution was, in fact, what in theory and according to Blackstone the British Constitution is: there was an elective assembly, but the representative of the Crown chose his own Ministers, determined his own policy, and governed as well as reigned. The governors might sometimes make mistakes and sometimes be arbitrary in their behaviour; but they were men of honour, and they were under the control of a Parliamentary Government at home. Their administration was far more economical than that of the party politicians who have succeeded them, and perhaps practically as good in most respects, both material and moral, for the people. For a new settlement, at all events, it was about the best. There was no trouble with the Indians in those days, and had the North-West been under the rule of a governor like Simcoe, instead of being a field for the exercise of patronage by a party Government at Ottawa, we should have had no half-breed rebellion. During the French war and in the period immediately following, while Toryism reigned in the mother country, it prevailed also in the colony; all the more because British Canada was a Tory settlement. But the great tidal wave of Liberalism which afterwards set in extended in course of time to the colony. To the Loyalist exiles had now been added settlers of a different origin and temper, Presbyterians from Scotland and Americans from the other side of the line. At the same time discontent was provoked by an oligarchy of office nicknamed the Family Compact, which kept political power and pelf to itself, though its corruption has probably been overstated, since nothing is more certain than that none of its members left large fortunes, while the land, to which they seem to have freely helped themselves, was a drug in those days. An agitation commenced for responsible government, in other words for the transfer of supreme power from the governor and his council to the representative assembly. The oligarchy of course fought hard for its system and its places, and colonial politicians not being carpet-knights in those days, a good many rough things were said and some rough things were done. The contest raged for some time in the assembly and the courts of law; at last, owing partly to the mismanagement of Sir Francis Head, it assumed the form of a petty civil war. A similar outbreak

took place at the same time in French Canada, where, however, it was mainly nationalist in its character, the less numerous but dominant race having taken to itself the lion's share of power and pelf. The two movements were simultaneous and sympathetic, but distinct. Both outbreaks were easily suppressed, that in British Canada mainly by the loyal settlers themselves. I have called them petty civil wars, and I am persuaded that they had much more of that character than of the character of rebellions against the tyranny of the Imperial country. One of the leaders in Lower Canada expressly disavowed any rebellious feeling against the Home Government, and Mackenzie, the leader in Upper Canada, spoke most respectfully of the Colonial Office. The immediate cause of the outbreak in Upper Canada was not any act of the governor or the Colonial Office, but the defeat of the popular party in a general election by bribery and corruption, as they averred, on the part of their opponents. The Colonial Office was, at all events, guilty of nothing worse than being very distant and rather hard of hearing.

Then came Lord Durham, sent forth by the Whig Ministry as an angel of reform and pacification. He brought with him Charles Buller, who drew up the Report in favour of Responsible Government which forms an epoch in the constitutional history of Canada. Responsible government was conceded. Under the guise of an announcement that Ministers thenceforth were to hold their places not permanently but during pleasure, which was understood to mean during the pleasure of the assembly, supreme power was transferred from the representative of the Crown to Parliament and to Ministers designated by the majority. The representative of the Crown reigned, but governed no more. Thenceforth Canada enjoyed legislative independence. To make people content with your rule by altogether ceasing to rule over them is a notable device of statesmen, for proof of the efficacy of which they may no doubt appeal with reason to the example of Canada. But if they mean that the continuance of legislative union can be combined with legislative separation, they will appeal to the example of Canada in vain.

The two Canadas, British and French, were at the same time united, and the Parliament became, as it still is, bilingual, speeches being made and the records kept in both languages, though English decidedly prevails in the debates, and is spoken by most of the French members. The union was a very questionable step, as soon appeared; but probably a vain hope was still cherished of Anglicising French Canada.

The new system commenced brusquely. The Liberals, having now the majority in Parliament, passed an Act compensating for losses in the rebellion people whom the Tories classed with rebels. The Tories then rose, burned the Parliament House at Montreal, and pelted the Governor. But Lord Elgin was wise, and allayed the

storm. Some corollaries of the Revolution followed. The Anglican Church was disestablished, and the reserves of land which formed its endowment were secularised. It might, perhaps, have kept them if it would have gone shares with the Presbyterians; but privileged bodies and orders usually prefer suicide to concession. The provincial University of Toronto was also thrown open to Nonconformists, unluckily not before the practice of chartering sectarian institutions had been introduced, and Canada had been saddled with the system of petty local universities—'one-horse' universities, as they are called—which is the bane of high education there, as it is in the United States.

An attempt to recover a portion of the royal power was made by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been sent out as governor by Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary of the Government of Conservative reaction. Sir Charles had been a Liberal in India; but his training there had been bureaucratic, and he did not understand reigning without governing. His attempt failed, and has never been repeated. Sir Edmund Head refused a dissolution, and his act was denounced, and continues to be denounced, as arbitrary and flagitious by the party to the leader of which the dissolution was refused; but I am persuaded that it was constitutional, even if no special allowance be made for any difference with regard to the exercise of a dubious prerogative between the circumstances of the mother country and those of a colony. Of all the encroachments of prime ministers on the rights of the Crown, the seizure of this prerogative is about the most objectionable.

This series of struggles over, the parties, after some complicated shifting and intriguing, formed again upon the issue of Representation by Population, or, as it was commonly called, *Rep. by Pop.* When the legislative Union took place, the same number of representatives had been assigned to each province, though the population of French Canada was larger than that of British Canada. But when the proportion of population was reversed, British Canada demanded a rectification. The political struggle was envenomed by the religious hatred which the strong Protestants of Upper Canada bore to the Roman Catholics and their priesthood. Numbers being equally balanced, a Ministry subsisted on a majority of one. At last there was a deadlock. From this an escape was sought in a Confederation of all the provinces of British North America. For that purpose the leaders of parties coalesced, and sat for a time scowling at each other in a Confederation Cabinet. Such was the main cause of Canadian Confederation. There was another, analogous to that by which previous confederations—the Achaean, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the American—had been brought about. The *Trent* affair had frightened the colonists, set them all drilling, and disposed them to seek increase of military strength in confederation.

The polity thus founded may be described as a Federal Republic with a false front of monarchy. The pseudo-monarchical element is represented by a governor-general, who is a figure-head, and delegates his impotence to a lieutenant-governor of each province nominally appointed by him, but really by the Minister. The constitutional forms of the British monarchy are observed; there is a faint imitation of its state; but to introduce etiquette has been found impossible, and an order to wear low dresses at a viceregal reception was flouted by a caricature representing an Irish servant-girl, bare-legged, asking the master of the ceremonies whether nudity below would not do as well as nudity above. King's speeches, penned by the Minister, are delivered both by the governor and the lieutenant-governors; and if a lieutenant-governor happens to have belonged to the party opposed to that of the provincial Minister, he is sometimes made to slap himself in the face.

The Dominion Parliament has two Chambers, and the state of the Senate is a warning of the danger which attends the use of constitutional fictions as well as the use of falsehood of other kinds. If it had been simply proposed that the members of one branch of the Legislature should be nominated by the leader of the party in power, everybody would have recoiled. But nobody recoiled when it was proposed that they should be nominated by the leader of the party in power under the alias of 'the Crown.' The nominations are used as rewards for old partisans, and three-fourths of the House are at this time the nominees of a single man who has long held power. No attempt has been made to give the Senate the character which it was probably intended to have, and which in some measure the Napoleonic Senate had, of a representation of general eminence and of interests unconnected with party. It is little better than a cipher: its debates are seldom reported, and it confesses its inability to initiate by habitually adjourning at the opening of the Session to wait for the arrival of Bills from the Commons. Its only special function is to hear divorce cases, like the House of Lords in former days, French Catholicism forbidding the establishment of a Divorce Court. Its members, though, being appointed for life, they are independent of public opinion, are not, or are not believed to be, independent of influences of other kinds. As a check on the popular House the Senate is powerless: still more powerless would it be as a barrier against the tide of revolution. It is in the interest of Conservatism that a change is needed. Most of the Provincial Legislatures have two Houses, but that of Ontario has only one, and I am not aware that the Upper House is missed. Two elective Houses, on the other hand, are apt to produce deadlocks, as they did in Victoria, as they are now doing in the United States, where there is a paralysis of legislation, owing to the predominance of different parties in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Has this system of

two Chambers, let me once more ask, any more rational origin than a misconception about the House of Lords, which is taken for a Senate, when it is really an old estate of the realm? Can any answer be given to the question, which must be settled before the mode of election or appointment can be determined, of what special material the Upper House is to be composed? If it is a House of old men, will it not be impotent? If it is a House of the rich, will it not be odious? If it is a House of the best men, will it not deprive the popular assembly, where power after all must centre, of leadership and control? A single Chamber directly elected by universal or nearly universal suffrage would no doubt be revolutionary, if not anarchic, as from the condition of the House of Commons is beginning too plainly to appear. But a single Chamber elected on a principle sufficiently Conservative, and with a procedure sufficiently guarding against haste, still appears likely to prevail over other forms in the end, if elective government continues. The project of dividing a single Chamber into two orders with vetoes on each other's action, in the manner proposed by the Irish Government Bill, needs no discussion. It is nothing but a pair of handcuffs, and very ineffectual handcuffs, for the Irish propensity to confiscation.

There can be no doubt that of Canadian Confederation generally the model is American. But in one most important respect the model is British. The Executive, instead of being a president, elected by the people, holding his office for a term certain, irrespective of parties in the legislature and appointing his own Ministers of State, is, as in England, a party Cabinet, with a prime minister at its head, always dependent for its continuance in office on a majority in the Legislature. Thus we have a thoroughly party, and consequently in its own nature a thoroughly unstable, government. Party is everywhere alike, in a state of apparently hopeless disintegration; it is everywhere breaking up into sections, which multiply as independence of mind increases, and are severally incapable of affording a basis for a government. Even in England sectionalism has visibly set in at last. The consequence is universal instability, the only exception in Europe being the government of Bismarck, who disregards party, and makes up a majority as he can.

When, the list of organic questions having been exhausted, as in Canada it has been, and no real line of division being left, party allegiance has no rational or moral basis, parties can be held together only by corruption and the Caucus. Of the Caucus it is enough to say that, if we may judge from Canadian or American experience, where it prevails electoral freedom worthy of the name must cease to exist.

The Canadian Constitution gives more power than the American to the central government. The central government in Canada has the command of all the militia, the appointment of all the judges,



and a veto on provincial legislation, while to the central legislature belongs the criminal law: the civil law was withheld from it by the separation of Quebec, who clings to her French law. The Canadian statesmen fancied that American secession had been produced by want of power in the central government. In this they were mistaken. The cause of American secession was slavery, and slavery alone. If anything, it was not the want of power in the Federal Government, but the apprehension of its power to interfere with the domestic institutions of the South, that led the South to revolt. The strength of Federation lies in respect for State right. Nobody will rebel against a mere immunity from external danger and internal discord, such as a Federal government, confined to its proper objects, affords. So long as a Federal government is confined to its proper objects, there seems to be no reason why a Federation should ever break up, or why it should not embrace any extent of territory or even great varieties of population. But if subjects are assigned to the Federal government about which there are sectional divisions, and which may give rise to violent agitation, there will always be a danger of disruption.

The instrument of Federation, which is the British North America Act, gives the principal details, but refers for general guidance in working to the well-understood principles of the British Constitution. All very well, so long as the understandings are preserved by a group of political families, or by statesmen who pass their whole lives in the public service. But understandings are not likely to be preserved or respected by democratic politicians who are always being changed. The power of dissolution is still subject to some understood restrictions here, though even here it has been greatly abused; but in Canada it is becoming a power vested in a party premier of bringing on a general election whenever the chances seem good for his party; so that members of Parliament hold their seats, not for the legal term, but during the pleasure of the prime minister—a system manifestly subversive of legislative independence. Written constitutions strictly defining and limiting all powers will surely be found necessary for all democracies, including the British. In the United States the Constitution as a revered and almost sacred document has a strong Conservative influence.

For the decision of questions between the Dominion and the provinces or between one province and another, Canada has the Privy Council, a tribunal perfectly impartial, thoroughly trusted, and backed by the force of the Empire. The United States have the Supreme Court appointed by a president, who is himself elected by the whole Union. For the decision of questions between the Imperial Parliament and the proposed Parliament at Dublin, what tribunal would there be? There would be no arbiter but the bayonet. Even the Supreme Court of the United States, though absolutely

impartial in cases which are strictly legal, is not in all cases absolutely impartial. The judgment in the Dred Scott case was political. The judgment in favour of the Legal Tender Act was political, since the Act, though supposed to be a financial necessity by the Government, was a clear violation of that article of the Constitution which forbids legislation subversive of the faith of contracts, inasmuch as it practically enabled a debtor to repudiate half his debt. I was present when President Lincoln, discussing with a friend an appointment to the Supreme Court, avowed that the man should not, if he could help it, be unsound on the great political question of the day. If the Federal system is to be adopted for these islands, care will have to be taken in the constitution of a tribunal which is to stand between the nation and civil war.

The Colonial Office has still a legal vote ; but Canada, I repeat, enjoys to all intents and purposes full legislative independence. Fiscally, she legislates for the protection of Canadian against British goods. Her militia also is in her own hands, though the Crown still appoints a commander-in-chief, not, however, without reference to Canadian wishes. It is needless to say that she neither pays nor would consent to pay any sort of tribute. The parallel which has been drawn between Canadian self-government and the vassal and tributary Parliament proposed for Ireland is therefore totally futile. Besides, Canada is three thousand miles off, and so friendly that, invest her with what power you will, she never can be a thorn in the side of Great Britain. That any analogy should have been supposed to exist between the cases is most strange. Was Canada a part of the United Kingdom ? Had she, at the time of the so-called rebellion, a full share of the representation at Westminster ?

Two excellent things Canada has inherited from the mother country—a judiciary not elected, but appointed for life, and a permanent Civil Service. To any State an independent judiciary is an inestimable blessing ; to a democracy it is a blessing unspeakable : and hitherto, in Canada, party has tolerably spared the appointments, though we now begin to fear that they are going into the all-devouring maw. Party nibbles at the Civil Service ; but, so far, we have in great measure escaped that particular kind of corruption from which President Cleveland is so nobly and bravely struggling to rescue the American Republic.

To place the political capital of the Dominion at Ottawa, a remote village subsisting on the lumber trade, was a mistake, like that which has been committed in placing the political capitals of several large States of the Union in second-rate towns. The politicians of a young and crude democracy need all the tempering, liberalising, and elevating influences which general society and a well-filled strangers' gallery can afford. The fear of mob-violence in a great city was

futile, notwithstanding the burning, by the emperated Tories, of the Parliament House at Montreal. Equally futile was the notion that military security could be obtained by going two or three days' march from the frontier. The enemy, if he came, would be resistless; but he will never come.

New Brunswick came at once and of her own free will into the Confederation. Nova Scotia was dragged in, her political leader having been, as everybody believed, bought, and she has been restless ever since. The little colony of Prince Edward's Island came in after the dignified delay due to its greatness. The Dominion has since incorporated the vast hunting-ground of the Hudson's Bay Company, called the North-West; and if that territory becomes peopled in proportion to its size and fertility, to it the centre of power must in time shift, supposing the Confederation endures. Confederations are not made so easily as omelets. In the operation all the centrifugal forces of rivalry, jealousy, and sectional interest, as well as the centripetal forces, are called into play. If you are going to dissolve the Union of these kingdoms to make raw materials for a Federation, take care that you do not break the eggs and fail to make your omelet after all. The people of the several States must be, as Professor Dicey well expresses it, desirous of union, but not of unity. Moreover, the group of States must be pretty well balanced in itself; at least there ought to be no State of such overweening power as to give constant cause of jealousy to the rest, and tempt them to combine against it. A Confederation of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales would probably be a standing cabal of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales against England. The territory, as I have said, may, so long as the Federal principle is observed, be indefinite in extent; but it must at least be in a ring-fence, and it must have in a reasonable degree unity and distinctness of commercial interest. The territory of the Canadian Dominion can barely be said to be in a ring-fence, still less can it be said that there is unity and distinctness of commercial interest. The Dominion is made up of four perfectly separate blocks of territory lying in a broken line along the northern edge of the habitable and cultivable continent. The maritime provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, are severed from Old Canada by a wide and irreclaimable wilderness. Old Canada is severed from the North-West by another wilderness and by a fresh-water sea four hundred miles in length; the North-West from British Columbia by a triple range of mountains. Old Canada is moreover divided between two nationalities, British and French, of the amalgamation of which there is not the slightest hope. Each of the four territories is connected commercially, not with its political partners, but with the States of the Union to the south of it. A grand effort is being made to bind the four together by political railroads; but commerce will not follow merely political lines, and the Intercolonial Railroad,

which cost forty millions of dollars, hardly takes up a passenger or a bale of freight over the greater part of its long course. There are even doubts whether it will not some day be abandoned.

The disjointed and heterogeneous character of the elements of which the Dominion is made up, while it renders the continued existence of Confederation itself precarious, has had the curious effect of producing an apparent stability of government, which it would be a mistake to set down to the credit of party. The parties not only are destitute of any basis in the shape of dividing principles, but they have never really extended beyond the two provinces of Canada which are their native seat. The government has been really personal, almost as personal as that of Bismarck. One man has held power with little interruption for forty years by his skill, ever increasing with practice, in holding together miscellaneous interests of all kinds, provincial, sectional, and personal, and in forming them into a motley basis for his government. He has no doubt made his address go as far as it would, and it has gone a long way; but he has also been compelled to have recourse to corruption in all its protean forms and in all its varied applications, though his own hands are believed by all to have remained clean. Probably no fisher of votes ever had a stranger medley of fishes in his net. Roman Catholics and Orangemen go to the poll for him together. An effective opposition to him cannot be formed simply because there is nothing for it to be formed upon. He stands not upon principle, but upon management. In management he has no rival, and counter principle there can be none. It is needless to say that the system is demoralising as well as expensive. Its existence depends on the life of a man past seventy, after whom there is a fair prospect of political chaos.

In the governments and legislatures of Ontario and Quebec the Dominion parties prevail; though in Quebec, for reasons already mentioned, the dominant party is Conservative, or, as it might more truly be called, Macdonaldite, while in Ontario the Liberal or Anti-Macdonaldite party has the upper hand. In the other local legislatures local interests mainly prevail.

At the outset there was what might be roughly called a freehold suffrage, reasonable and safe enough. But in Canada, as in England, demagogues dish each other by extensions of the franchise, and extend it blindly, not revising the Constitution to see that its Conservative portions will be strong enough to bear the additional strain. It has come at last to giving votes to the Red Indians, as though self-government were a blessing to a savage. The question is no trifling one. The agricultural freeholders are Conservative, especially on the subject of property. The mechanics are beginning to be infected with communism, which, though mostly imported, not native, is, as you see, already breeding trouble, and seems likely to breed more.

In the minds of the British statesmen who promoted Confedera-

tion it was probably a step towards independence. In fact, if it was not a step towards independence, where was the use of it? The Colonies were already united under the Empire, and might at any time have combined their forces for mutual defence. Freedom of internal intercourse, the other great object of Confederation, was also secured, and any questions arising from time to time might have been settled by delegation and conference. It would be difficult, I am afraid, clearly to show that the provinces had actually gained anything by the operation, except a vast development of faction, demagogism, corruption, expenditure, and debt.

We have had since Confederation some political incidents illustrative of the working of the system. The Pacific Railway scandal fatally illustrated the character of the expedients to which party government, resting on no principle, is reduced for support. The enormity of the scandal awakened for a moment the moral sense of the country, and the Government fell. The same affair illustrated the constitutional position of the governor-general; for Lord Dufferin felt himself bound to take the advice of his Ministers regarding their own trial for corruption, prorogued Parliament at their instance, and allowed them to transfer the inquiry from the House of Commons, which was already seised of it, to a Royal Commission of their own appointment. Lord Lorne subsequently, after a faint struggle, consented to the removal of a lieutenant-governor, his own representative, for no assignable offence, merely to gratify party vengeance, which the lieutenant-governor had provoked by the dismissal of a provincial Ministry connected with the party dominant at Ottawa. When it has come to this, one is inclined to ask whether a personal representation of monarchy is of any use at all, and whether a stamp to be affixed to public documents would not do as well. The fiction, as has been already said, is not only futile but mischievous; it masks the necessity, which is most urgent, of real Conservative safeguards and of substantial securities for the stability of government.

Illustrative of the legislative independence of Canada is the adoption of the new fiscal system called the National Policy, which is now avowedly protective against British as well as American goods, and which takes Canada definitively out of the commercial unity of the Empire. There has been no remonstrance on the part of the Home Government, and the author of the measure has since received the Grand Cross of the Bath. There is now a perceptible gravitation towards commercial union with the United States, which would allow the commercial life of the continent to circulate freely through the veins of Canada, and would at once enhance the value of all Canadian property. There are some who think that commercial union would necessarily bring political union in its train. For my part, I can see no such necessity. Rather, I think, the removal of

the Customs line, and the enjoyment of freedom of trade with the rest of the continent, would tend to make Canadians contented with the political system as it is. A nationality must, at all events, be weak if it depends on a Customs line. There can be no doubt that, as it is, the action of economical forces, which draw Canada towards the great mass of English-speaking population on her continent, is strong. It cannot be too often repeated that to speak of the colonies and their destinies in the gross is most fallacious. Australia is in an ocean by herself. Canada is a part of a continent inhabited by people of the same race and language; and a young Canadian thinks no more of going to push his fortunes at New York or Chicago than a Scotch or Yorkshire youth thinks of going to push his fortunes in London. The accuracy of the statistics of Canadian emigration into the United States is a constant subject of dispute; but it is certain that New York and Chicago are full of Canadians, and that there is also a considerable emigration of Canadian farmers to Dakota and other western States.

Not only has Canada asserted her complete fiscal independence by the adoption of the National Policy, but she has begun practically to claim the privilege of making her own commercial treaties, through the High Commissioner who acts as her ambassador, though ostensibly under the authority of the British Foreign Office. Negotiations have been opened with France and Spain, while overtures for the renewal of reciprocity are made from time to time to the United States.

The thread of political connection is wearing thin. This England sees, and the consequence is a recoil which has produced a movement in favour of Imperial Federation. It is proposed not only to arrest the process of gradual emancipation, but to reverse it and to reabsorb the colonies into the unity of the Empire. No definite plan has been propounded; indeed, any demand for a plan is deprecated, and we are adjured to embrace the principle of the scheme and leave the details for future revelation—to which we must answer that the principle of a scheme is its object, and that it is impossible to determine whether the object is practically attainable without a working plan. There is no one in whose eyes the bond between the colonies and the mother country is more precious than it is in mine. Yet I do not hesitate to say that, so far as Canada is concerned, Imperial Federation is a dream. The Canadian people will never part with their self-government. Their tendency is entirely the other way. They have recently, as has been shown, asserted their fiscal independence, and by instituting a Supreme Court of their own, they have evinced a disposition to withdraw as much as they can of their affairs from the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. Every association, to make it reasonable and lasting, must have some practical object. The practical objects of Imperial

Federation would be the maintenance of common armaments and the establishment of a common tariff. But to neither of these, I am persuaded, would Canada ever consent; she would neither contribute to Imperial armaments nor conform to an Imperial tariff. Though her people are brave and hardy, they are not, any more than the people of the United States, military, nor could they be brought to spend their earnings in Asiatic or African wars. The other day when there was talk of sending a regiment to the Soudan, the most Conservative and Imperialist journals anxiously assured their readers that no expenditure of Canadian money on such an object was contemplated or need be feared. Remember that Canada is only in part British. The commercial and fiscal circumstances of the colony again are as different as possible from those of the mother country. Canadian statesmen visiting England, and finding the movement popular in society here, are naturally disposed to prophesy smooth things; but not one of them, so far as I know, advocates Imperial Federation in his own country, nor am I aware that any powerful journal has even treated the question as serious. It is right to be frank upon this subject. A strong delusion appears to be taking hold of some minds and leading them in a perilous direction. It would be disastrous indeed if the United Kingdom were broken up or allowed to go to pieces in expectation of an ampler and grander unity, and the ampler and grander unity should prove unattainable after all.

Why not leave the connection as it is? Because, reply the advocates of Imperial Federation, the connection will not remain as it is; the process of separation will go on and the attenuated tie will snap. Apart from this not unreasonable apprehension, there are, so far as I know, only two reasons against acquiescence in the present system. One of these may be thought rather vague and intangible. It is that the spirit of a dependency, even of a dependency enjoying the largest measure of self-government, is never that of a nation, and that we can make England only in the way in which England herself was made. The other is more tangible, and is brought home to us at this moment by the dispute with the Americans about the Fisheries. The responsibility of Great Britain for the protection of her distant colony is not easily discharged to the distant colony's satisfaction. To Canadians, as to other people, their own concerns seem most important; they forget what the Imperial country has upon her hands in all parts of the globe; they have an unlimited idea of her power; and they expect her to put forth the whole force of the Empire in defence of Canadian fishing rights, while perhaps at the same moment Australians are calling upon her to put forth the whole force of the Empire in defence of their claims upon New Guinea. Confiding in Imperial support, they perhaps take stronger ground and use more bellicose language than they otherwise would. But the more democratic England becomes, the more impossible will it be to get her people to

go to war for any interests but their own. The climax of practical absurdity would be reached if England were involved in war by some quarrel arising out of the Canadian customs duties, imposed partly to protect Canadian manufactures against British goods. Trusting to the shield of the Empire, Canada has no navy of her own, and though she has a militia numbering forty thousand, it is not likely that more than two or three regiments at the very outside could be got ready for the field within the time allowed by the swift march of modern war. Again, if England were involved in a war with Russia, or any other maritime power, the mercantile marine of Canada would be cut up in a quarrel about an Afghan frontier or something equally remote. Nothing could be more calamitous to the colony than a rupture with the mother country. The separation of the American colonies from Great Britain was inevitable; their violent separation was disastrous. The Republic was launched with a revolutionary bias which was just what it did not want, and it was left without a history to steady and exalt the nation. Both in freedom from revolutionary bias and in the possession of a history Canada has a great advantage over her mighty neighbour. On these points opinions and sentiments differ. For my own part, I attach little value to the mere political bond. I should not mourn if nothing were left of it but mutual citizenship without necessity of naturalisation, which might remain even when the governments and legislatures had been finally separated from each other and diplomatic responsibility had ceased. This part of the political connection is little noticed, yet it seems to me the most valuable as well as the most likely to endure.

But, let what may become of the political connection, the nobler dominion of the mother country over her colony, and over all her colonies on that continent, those which have left her side as well as those which still remain with her, is assured for ever. The flag of conquering England still floats over the citadel of Quebec; but it seems to wave a farewell to the scenes of its glory, the historic rock, the famous battle-field, the majestic river which bore the fleet of England to victory, the monument on which the chivalry of the victor has inscribed together the names of Wolfe and Montcalm. For no British redcoats muster round it now. The only British redcoats left on the continent are the reduced garrison of Halifax. That morning drum of England, the roll of which, Webster said, went round the world with the sun, is now, so far as Canada is concerned, a memory of the past. But in blood and language, in literature and history, in laws and institutions, in all that makes national character and the higher life of nations, England, without beat of drum, is there. Nor—if one may be believed who has lived much among Americans and watched the expression of their feelings—is the day far distant when the last traces of the revolutionary feud will have disappeared,



when the hatred which the descendants of British colonists have been taught to cherish against their mother country will cease to exist, even in the most ignoble breast, and when Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall will again be the sacred centre of the whole race. This is that realm of England beyond the Atlantic which George the Third could not forfeit, which Canadian independence if it comes cannot impair, upon which the Star of Empire, let it wend as far westward as it will, can never shed a parting ray.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

## THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE.

MANY seek to know the origin and purposes of the Primrose League, and how it has come to possess a Creed, a Prophet, and a Symbol, and to be a distinct and vivifying factor in the politics of England.

It is the manifestation of the latent strength inherent in the patriotic and constitutional party. The old Tory had become too fossilised to march with the age, while the Conservative as he existed a few years ago was sadly deficient in vigour. To the Radical cry of 'Peace, retrenchment, and reform' he could only respond that he was more peaceful, more disposed to retrenchment and to reform. At the battles of the hustings men haggled at words and were supported on either side by endless arrays of figures. The contest waxed fierce about small measures and raged about still smaller persons, till the bewilderment of the newly enfranchised voter was complete. To remedy this state of things on the Radical side, Birmingham called the Caucus into existence. This new institution does not pretend to enlighten, but only to control the elector. It compels him to delegate his choice to a select few, who in their turn are subordinate to a central authority, which imposes its will both upon the constituency and the representative. The Primrose League, on the contrary, interferes neither with the choice of electors nor with the candidates. It seeks to educate the masses and to organise them, so that they shall voluntarily vote for the cause of order.

In October 1883, when the fortunes of the party were at their lowest ebb, a few friends met in a private room of the Carlton Club, to discuss the depressing subject of Conservative apathy, and to listen to a scheme which had sprung from the brain of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. This was a project for enlisting the young men of various classes, who hitherto had borne no active part, in some body which should replace with advantage the paid canvassers, abolished, and wholesomely abolished, by Sir Henry James's new Act. It was thought that if the opportunity were offered, there was abundance of active spirits willing and ready to enrol themselves in small clubs of friends, and to take up the work of aiding registration, promoting sound principles, and generally encouraging the nearest Conservative association. The 'Habitation' or club scheme was founded on the

probability that a strong spirit of emulation would be developed among the members and also among the Habitations. There was ample ground for believing that recruits might be obtained with ease, by appealing to the veneration with which the memory of Lord Beaconsfield was cherished. Gifted as that statesman was with marvellous political instinct, he had touched chords which did not cease to vibrate when he expired, and he left to his countrymen a legacy of convictions which only needed expression in a formula. Of the profound regard in which the memory of Benjamin Disraeli was held we had ocular demonstration every nineteenth day of April, the anniversary of his death, when all classes in numberless thousands bore the primrose. It was obvious that if the young and energetic of these multitudes, instead of wearing the flower for the day, were to take it as a permanent badge of brotherhood, a confraternity might be established with an unlimited future.

The principles of Lord Beaconsfield and of the constitutional cause were pre-eminently those opposed to the spread of atheism and irreligious teaching, to the revolutionary and republican tendencies of Radicalism, and to the narrow and insular mode of thought which despised our colonies and found utterance in the words 'Perish India.' The creed of the League, therefore, was set forth as 'the maintenance of religion, of the Constitution of the realm, and of the Imperial ascendancy of Great Britain,' or, in shorter form, 'Religion, Constitution, and Empire.'

At first the intention prevailed of shrouding the appearance of the League under a certain veil of mystery. Those who belonged to it were to have grades, but 'the Ruling Councillor' was not to be publicly named. There were several excellent reasons for this. Never was an important undertaking more modestly begun. We did not approach the chiefs of the party. We did not communicate with the men of leading or even with the rank and file, because we knew—and it proved so for a long year and more—that so novel a conception would not find favour amongst those wedded to old methods of procedure until it should command attention by success.

The League was started in a somewhat dismal and dilapidated second floor in Essex Street, Strand, where the original band of enthusiasts met constantly. A paragraph in a newspaper and a few advertisements at once awakened public curiosity and interest, and adherents speedily sent in their names.

The very class for which the League was instituted was the first to respond, and only a few weeks had elapsed when already some hundreds had joined, and the work of forming Habitations was in full swing. The hundreds soon swelled to thousands, and a grand banquet in Freemasons' Tavern marked the first public appearance of the League upon the world's stage. Since that day it has increased by hundreds and tens of hundreds until this moment, when a thou-

and a day is the average entry of new members. It is needless to say that the offices necessary for conducting so gigantic a business have expanded into extensive premises (in Victoria Street), with a vast staff of employes, occupied in sorting and attempting to cope with masses of correspondence from all parts of the country. The chiefs of the party have been glad to accept the highest honours of the League, and have testified to the great results achieved. Many and many a public man, who laughed at first at our 'strange nomenclature,' and was incredulous of our success, has since eagerly sought our aid in founding Habitations in his county or borough, and has largely benefited by the work done by the Knights, Dames, and Associates.

Perhaps the simplest key to a comprehension of the procedure of the Primrose League is to state the conditions and mode of conduct of a Habitation.

Any person can join the League by sending his name to the central office in Victoria Street, with a 'crown'—half-a-crown being his entrance fee, and half-a-crown his year's tribute. Upon his signing a declaration of fidelity to the principles of the League, he receives his diploma of Knight Harbinger, and provided with this he, with not less than twelve other knights, can apply for a 'warrant' to form a Habitation. After this follows the election of a Ruling Councillor, the appointment of secretary, treasurer, wardens, and other officials. Great latitude is allowed to all Habitations so long as they are careful to keep within the strict statutes of the parent League. They may admit associates and fix their tribute at sixpence or whatever sum they deem proper, and they may keep within small limits or extend themselves, as some have done, to thousands, according to the necessities of the town or county in which they are situate. The first and most obvious business of a Habitation is to attend to Registration. I could name counties, such as Suffolk and Hampshire, where the network of Habitations is so complete that every vote in every house in the various electoral divisions is accounted for. The members of Habitations volunteer to take some small district or half a street, and to notify all deaths, departures, or arrivals, so that the Registration may be carefully kept up by the Conservative Association to which they communicate these results. The next duty is to maintain a permanent canvass by means of individual persuasion or public meeting, and to be ready to canvass out-voters at times of bye-elections. *E.g.* an election comes off at York or Devonport; the election agent sends to the central Conservative office at Westminster the names of out-voters resident in London, Leamington, Brighton, &c. The central office sends in the names and addresses to the Grand Council in Victoria Street. They are at once classified and sent to Habitations in the towns named, and the various districts of London; and each local Habitation has it at once in its power to

send voluntary canvassers for each name sent in. Of course, when an election comes on, all Habitations, following the example of the Conservative Associations, suspend their existence, and can take no corporate action. But the individual members, acting no longer as members of the Primrose League, but as individuals, can volunteer to join the committees organised by the election agent. And in these days, when expenses are curtailed and it is no small difficulty to meet the demands of an election from the exiguous sums allowed by the law, the services of volunteers are invaluable, when, as in elections I could name, a number of ladies undertake to write out the addresses on thousands of envelopes, or when scores of young men volunteer two hours a day each for the purpose of delivering circulars, &c., all of which reach their destination, since it is a point of honour to hand them in—a very different state of matters from that which obtained in the days of paid agents and messengers.

Excepting at the election period, the Habitation can organise public meetings, invite able speakers, or obtain from the central office some of their staff of lecturers to explain and develop the objects of the League and further its spread. One of the chief duties incumbent on every Primrose centre is to combat and destroy the Radical fallacy that in modern politics classes are antagonistic. The League, on the contrary, brings all classes together. All vote on a footing of absolute equality, and all meet on terms of the truest fraternity. To this end, it is best that all social gatherings should be held in some public hall, where every knight, dame, or associate can contribute of his knowledge or talent to the instruction and amusement of the evening. We have seen hundreds of such meetings where the enunciation of sound constitutional principles has been varied by ballad-singing and instrumental performances volunteered by those best qualified to please.

Within its limits the Habitation preserves strict order and discipline. It obeys the precepts of the Grand Council, and annually sends delegates to Grand Habitation, which is held in London on or near the 19th of April, on which occasion the Grand Council renews its members and its life by the votes of those present. On the last occasion, besides spectators, there were 2,500 delegates present. Important statutes and ordinances were framed or modified, for, as this new institution grows, many are the new requirements to meet its vast expansion, as well as to satisfy the demands for progress and improvement which are put forward from active centres.

The Habitation such as it has been described is bound to take heed of precepts issued by the Grand Council, such as, for instance, the suspension of its functions during election time; but in all other matters it is left a wide liberty, and frames its own by-laws subject to superior approval, which is rarely withheld. No questions of the smaller current politics disturb its deliberations. These should tend

only to the upholding of religion, constitution, and empire, and necessarily embrace men of different tenets, united firmly in support of these cardinal principles.

The members of the League work for the return of constitutional candidates whenever they present themselves, irrespective of their professions on minor points. Only when the question of the day touches one of its three great principles does the League take distinct action. When the honour of the Empire was at stake with the life of the heroic Gordon, every Habitation sent up a petition for his rescue; and now again, when the existence of the United Kingdom is menaced, the League has been active in the defence of our imperilled Constitution.

The most remarkable feature, however, of this stirring political development has been that for the first time in our history women have taken an active part in controversies hitherto reserved to men. The reason of this, in the first place, is the novelty and suddenness of the Radical and Fenian onslaught. Women, with an instinct peculiarly their own, divined at once the dangers involved in the new doctrines and theories—perceived that if churches were to be overthrown, education divorced from religion, property held to ransom, the Constitution to be riven asunder, England must be in presence of as serious a revolution as ever threatened social order or preceded a Reign of Terror. The women of England speedily adopted the Primrose banner, and the dames, armed with sweet influence and persuasive eloquence, boldly came forward to take their share in the labours of the organisation. Their aid has proved invaluable. Many a lady well known in the world has spoken at meetings, chiefly of friends and neighbours, who have surrendered to the expressions of heartfelt conviction. Many another has devoted all her time and energy to the formation of Habitations in her county or borough; while the working woman has not been behind her sister in enthusiasm or self-sacrifice. The first badge of honour for special service given by the League was conferred on a woman in the West of England, whose daily bread depended on her labour, but who had devoted all her spare time to the cause, and who had richly deserved the honour by her conspicuous services. The ladies have an Executive Committee of their own—meeting every week—working in conjunction with the chief authority; and in business capacity, attention to their manifold duties and powers of management, they have proved themselves in every respect fitted for the responsible duties they have undertaken. The ladies have a fund of their own, and employ it well in the distribution of Primrose literature.

The reader of the London and country press, on taking up almost any newspaper, will see what constant activity is everywhere displayed by the dames, who in every parish in England are endeavouring to promulgate the fundamental principles necessary for the

safety of the commonwealth. No ranting pethouse politician, full of fallacies, can compete with the men and women who, stepping out from the accustomed reserve of their own homes, come forward to meet their fellows in fraternal intercourse, and to discuss with them the origin of error and the ways of truth. The enormous increase in the number of the League dates especially from the time when the ladies first took up their place in its organisation, and it is only due to them to acknowledge in how large a measure the great success achieved has been owing to their efforts.

When the first Festival was held in 1884, after the newborn institution had been nine months in existence, there were a few thousand members, chiefly knights. By Primrose Day 1885, more dames had joined, and 2,000 associates, and our muster-roll was upwards of 11,000. Before and after the election of 1885, the League expanded so rapidly that it was difficult at headquarters to keep pace with the demand for diplomas and warrants. On Primrose Day 1886, the third hundred thousand was reached; while to-day there are more than 350,000 knights, dames, and associates banded together in an enterprise that may now be esteemed a permanent institution.

In round numbers there may be said to be 50,000 knights, 30,000 dames, and 280,000 associates. The knights pay a tribute of half-a-crown yearly; so also do the dames, with the exception of those belonging to the Dames' Grand Council, who pay a guinea. The associates pay nothing to the Grand Council, but a small tribute, generally sixpence, to their own Habitation. The books and balance-sheets of the League have been audited by public accountants, and were approved by a committee of delegates at the last Grand Habitation. It is not usual to publish the accounts of political associations. Three years ago opponents would have laughed at the poverty of the League; now they carp at its wealth. But with the money it receives it has to maintain an organisation that has become very large. It issues millions of tracts and leaflets; provides thousands of lectures where local eloquence is deficient or timid; maintains a large staff that necessarily increases with the work, and finds, for instance, that a thousand pounds does not cover the year's postage. Of the Grand Council, which meets once a fortnight with an average attendance of thirty, there is hardly a man of whom it may not be emphatically said that he is a man of business, and the best interests of the League are therefore closely looked after. It may be mentioned that already a portion of the tribute is remitted to Habitations to aid them in maintaining and perfecting their individual organisation.

Some sorry sneers have been directed against the nomenclature and decorations of the Primrose League, but the answer to these is found in the fact that all are proud to bear the titles which testify to their energy and chivalrous work. The badges are of enormous value, for they are not only a certificate of membership but an absolute

introduction into all Primrose circles, and thus give every member the opportunity of using his talents and influence in every part of the country. They afford also the opportunity of promotion in rank, and are accompanied by the distinction of clasps conferred for good service. Every associate can earn promotion, without fee or tribute, to high rank, upon representation by the Habitation to which he belongs that he is deserving of the honour.

And here occurs the obvious reflection that any man making his way to distinction through the grades of the Primrose League has the road open to him for all political eminence. He who cares to study public affairs and to cultivate his talents, with a view to the persuasion of others and the defence of approved principle, will soon make his mark and be welcomed as one of those who can guide men aright.

The people have sought for a new faith in these times of change and turmoil. Many were led astray by the loud outcry of Radicals and Revolutionists. But a true doctrine has now been propounded. It is based on the highest traditions of British statesmanship as handed down by Pitt and Palmerston and Beaconsfield. The symbol is the popular flower, that suggests lessons of patience through the winter time, and breathes all the bright promise of spring; that blossoms beneath the imperial oak, and to all Englishmen speaks of home. It appeals to a people the most adventurous that the world has ever seen, ready to quit the mansion or the cottage at the call of the country on its world-encircling mission of colonisation and empire. It reminds all of the blessings of constitutional government and true liberty based on the choice and the devotion of the people.

'Peace with honour,' 'Imperium et Libertas,' and many another glorious motto are emblazoned on our banners. They will be carried to victory with all that determination and tenacity which has ever characterised the nation. The land of all the great kings and statesmen who have guided us from small beginnings to our high estate will certainly vindicate their memories, and take care that under the reign of our illustrious Sovereign her realm shall suffer no loss, but shall be maintained and extended and consolidated as a glorious heritage for our children, a blessing to civilisation, and an example to mankind.

ALGERNON BORTHEWICK.



### MODERN CHINA.

CHINA is rather a vast field to cover in a single article, and I cannot pretend to do more than touch upon a few prominent features of that hoary and time-honoured country. A land which contains at the least computation some 250,000,000 of the human race must surely be destined to play no unimportant part in the history of the world. China is no longer the isolated nation she once was, and now that she has frequent communication with Europe, her people may hope to be better understood in the West. Until quite lately everything Chinese was the butt of ridicule: a nation whose mourning garb was white, whose books were read from right to left, and whose every action was almost the exact opposite of ours, was naturally considered somewhat eccentric. Closer acquaintance has, however, gradually removed earlier impressions, and Europeans are now beginning to realise that in the far East there exists an empire which was civilised when their ancestors were rude savages, and whose language, civilisation, and morality, surviving the wreck of centuries, have still much that will bear comparison with modern Europe. It is only within the last forty years that our knowledge of China has attained any degree of accuracy. For a century or more before that a sort of desultory intercourse had been maintained with Southern China, but the movements of Europeans were so restricted and hampered that there were few opportunities of acquiring knowledge. England's only representatives were the members of the East India Company who lived and traded in Canton, while France had her missionaries in Peking, and to the latter we owe almost all we know of China before 1840, the year of our first war with China, the war which Mr. Justin McCarthy calls the Opium War, but of which opium was only one of the many causes. English bayonets soon gained what years of diplomacy had failed to attain, and China consented to admit Europeans on terms of equality with her own subjects. Twenty years passed away, and in 1860 we were again involved in a war with China. With the help of the French we reached Peking, and, striking a blow at the very heart of the Government, we sacked and levelled to the ground one of the most magnificent palaces in the world, and concluded a treaty which still forms the charter of all our privileges

in China. Since then things have gone on fairly smoothly, and China's respect for Western nations, especially the English, has considerably increased.

That China did not receive us at first with much eagerness is scarcely to be wondered at, nor is it strange that she still at times shows a desire to revert to her former state of isolation. China produces in abundance all that its people require; the Chinese are of an eminently conservative turn of mind, and for some three thousand years they had got on tolerably well without us. Dynasties had been overthrown and revolutions often attempted; emperors had passed away by the score, and rebellions past number had swept over the face of the country, but still their old institutions, their moral codes, their language, and their habits of thought had scarcely been affected all through the centuries. All at once they found the European trader obtruding himself with his go-ahead notions of material progress, and saw looming up in the distance visions of the steam-engine, the electric telegraph, and all the other accompaniments of modern civilisation. All these things jarred sorely with their ideas of a philosophic life. Confucius, who lived 500 years before Christ, and whose teachings and precepts form the Chinese Bible, held worldly advancement of little account, and sought to attain rather the moral than the material elevation of mankind. Even now, few Chinese will admit that the European standard of morality is equal to their own.

Christianity they consider to be a good enough religion in as far as, like Buddhism and other native cults, it teaches men to do good, but they cannot see that in practice it has made much impression upon the nations of Europe. Their own country has seldom waged an offensive war, while all Europe appears to them an armed encampment. England prides herself upon her religion and her big ships of war; France sends her missionaries far into the interior, and her torpedo boats cruise round the coast and sink all the unoffending junks that come in their way. This is, of course, the unfavourable side of European character as it presents itself to the ordinary Chinaman. He does not, however, fail to discern our good as well as our bad points. That we are truthful he knows well by experience, and that no bribe will ever tempt an Englishman is a thing he often regrets, but never fails to admire. Though he does not altogether accept our ideas of progress, still he is willing to adopt some of our inventions. Steamers are rapidly supplanting the clumsy junks, and one very large and flourishing line is entirely supported by native capital and conducted by native talent.

Telegraph lines connect the principal cities in the Empire, and even Peking itself now condescends to hold communication through this medium with the rest of the world. To the introduction of railroads, however, China has hitherto offered a most decided opposition. Their history in China is a brief one, but not without interest

One was constructed about ten years ago from Shanghai to Woumng, a distance of about eight miles. The land was purchased by a British firm under the pretext of making an ordinary carriage-road, and the goodwill of the local officials having been secured, the railway was in working order before the Peking authorities got wind of what was going on. When it became known that the 'fire-carriage' was actually running and puffing on the Flowery Land, and that natives were flocking from all parts to have a ride on the mysterious flying coach, the indignation of the Peking Government passed all bounds. Efforts were made to move the British press on the subject, and a Chinaman having been killed on the line, it was suspected that he had been induced by the payment of a sum of money to his family to forfeit his life for the purpose of involving the company. Human life is, it must be remembered, sometimes a marketable commodity in China. At all events the British engine-driver was indicted for manslaughter, and at last things became so bad that the British company consented, on the payment of a heavy indemnity, to give the line over to the Chinese Government. The latter no sooner assumed possession than they tore it up and carted away all the material. It now lies crumbling to decay in the forests of Formosa, and the track is only frequented by wheelbarrows and pedestrians. Such is the history of the first and only passenger line of rail that has yet existed in China.

The Chinese are by no means blind to the advantages of railways, but they see many obstacles to their introduction at present. Foreign engineers and foreign capital would be required for the purpose, and they prefer to wait until they are in a position to command the men and money themselves.

The water communication is excellent in most parts of the Empire, and the sudden introduction of railways would, they imagine, throw a vast number of people out of employment, and cause an economic shock which might lead to a general rebellion—a comparatively frequent occurrence in China.

There are silent influences at work which impel China onward in the path of progress, and foremost amongst these in the future will be the teaching of the native press. As in most other things, China is a standing anomaly in the matter of newspapers. She can boast of having the oldest paper in the world, and altogether she has only three at the present day—the *Peking Gazette*, which was first issued nearly eight hundred years ago, and two papers published at Shanghai, both of which are of very recent origin. The *Peking Gazette*, as it is called in Europe, can scarcely be considered a newspaper in our modern sense of the term. Like the *London Gazette*, it is purely an official publication, containing little but imperial decrees and memorials from the high provincial authorities on State affairs. It is the source from which we get our most reliable knowledge of the working

of the national machinery, of the financial condition of the country, of the movements of officials, and of the whole government of China. As all the documents it contains have been presented to the Emperor, its phraseology is extremely stilted and formal. The first two or three pages generally open with Court announcements and Imperial decrees which are couched in a very commanding and majestic tone, for the Emperor does not spare his abuse in dealing with his servants. The highest Viceroy in the Empire may rise one morning and find that his imperial master has decreed his removal from office, or some obscure country girl may learn with surprise and pleasure that imperial honours have been showered upon her for having tended her aged parents during a long illness. Her name will be handed down among the brilliant examples of filial devotion, and no young lady in this country could be prouder of her university degrees than her Chinese sister is of this mark of imperial favour. In times of national calamity the Emperor often issues a special decree, dwelling upon his own shortcomings and the great crime he has committed in failing to secure the favour of Heaven for his suffering people. Despotic as the Chinese Government is, the right of freedom of speech is well recognised, and there is a class of officers stationed at Peking whose special duty it is to keep watch over the doings of the Emperor and all his Court, and their representations seldom go unheeded. Foreign affairs rarely find any mention in the *Gazette*, and all secret documents are carefully excluded from its pages. Of late, however, the *Gazette* has been less reticent than usual, and during the recent crisis with France the Emperor frequently used it as a medium for letting the French know his opinion of them as a nation. When Mr. Margary was murdered in 1875, the British Government made it a condition of the settlement of the case that the apology tendered to the Queen of Great Britain should be inserted in the *Gazette*; and no more effectual means could have been taken of informing the Chinese people of the humiliating position their Government had been obliged to assume.

About ten years ago an enterprising Englishman in Shanghai started a newspaper with the object of educating the Chinese on European matters. The experiment proved a decided success, and has now become a very valuable property. This paper has its correspondents and agents in most of the principal cities of the Empire, and for variety of information and curious details respecting the life of the people it is a mine of wealth to the foreign student. Its publication is, however, a thorn in the side of the official classes, for it often contains disclosures of a nature little complimentary to them. The Empress is said to peruse its columns daily, and to learn therefrom a deal about the conduct of her servants in the provinces. No other publication has done so much to stir up the inert mass of Chinese indifference. The *Shenpao* and the *Hupao*, another native

paper recently established under still more favourable auspices, stand alone as the pioneers of journalism in a country whose population numbers nearly a third of the human race!

It is now perhaps time to glance at the social life of the people, and here our knowledge is necessarily very scanty. The separation of the sexes is rigidly maintained in China, and no Chinese gentleman would ever dream of introducing his wife or daughters to his most intimate male friend. That would be a shocking breach of etiquette which no respectable family would tolerate. When the last Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James, H. E. Kuo Sung-t'ao, returned to his native country, it was made a serious charge against him that, while in Europe, he had allowed himself to be photographed, and had encouraged his wife to move in the society of barbarian lands. Every house in China has a special wing called the inner hall, which is exclusively appropriated by the ladies. Here they spend their days in such occupations as become their sex, and nothing more shocks a Chinaman's sense of propriety than to see a foreign lady dancing a quadrille, mounting a horse, riding a tricycle, pulling an oar, or even playing an innocent game of tennis. Europeans, with their deference to the weaker sex, seem to them to be the slaves of their women. Despite the drawbacks attending their sex, Chinese women occasionally display remarkable ability, and some of the most accomplished minds the country has produced were among the female sex. At the present moment the destinies of the Empire are guided by the Empress Dowager, and few women have shown greater skill in statecraft. As a rule, however, girls are supposed to make better wives without any training, except in needlework and housekeeping.

Marriage is a very important element in Chinese family life, and is arranged in a manner which would scarcely satisfy European notions. Lovers' sighs, hidden interviews, and all the other preliminaries which go to swell the romance of courtship in more civilised lands, are quite unknown in China. A very prosaic arrangement takes their place. In every village and town there is a class of women, generally widows, who act as intermediaries in these delicate questions. A girl generally gets married about seventeen, a man about twenty. A father, for instance, has a son whom he wants to see settled in life; he looks around among his acquaintances, and comes to the conclusion that So-and-so's daughter would form an eligible partner. Etiquette forbids him broaching the question directly to the girl's parents, and so he employs one of these lady intermediaries to undertake the task. She is furnished with full particulars in writing of the boy's antecedents and prospects, and, armed with these, she goes to the young lady's parents, and presses the suit with all the persuasion that long practice in such matters confers. If successful, the parents meet and arrange the details, and the parties most interested in the whole affair generally see each other for the first time on the wedding-day, to live,

it is to be hoped, happily ever after. Often the first proposal comes from the girl's family, and in that case a direct refusal is never given. A previous engagement is always pleaded, and regret expressed that such a fine offer cannot be accepted. Marriages are most expensive ceremonies in China, and it often takes a man a long while to clear off the debts he has contracted on this festive occasion. I have known men who were earning about 2*l.* a month spending as much as 40*l.* or 50*l.* over the affair.

The Chinese have a firm belief in marriages being made in heaven. A certain deity, whom they call 'the Old Man of the Moon,' links with a silken cord, they say, all predestined couples. Early marriage is earnestly inculcated, and one of their maxims states that there are three cardinal sins, and that to die without offspring is the chief. As in other countries, spring is the time when young people's minds turn to thoughts of love, and most marriages are celebrated in February when the peach-tree blossoms appear. Among the marriage presents are live geese, which are supposed to be emblematical of the concord and happiness of the married state. A Chinaman may divorce his wife for seven different reasons, and in the list are ill-temper and a talkative disposition. The birth of a son is the occasion of much rejoicing, for without sons a man lives without honour and dies unhappy, with no one to worship at his grave and none to continue the family line. The boy is lessoned in good behaviour from his earliest years, and commences to read at the age of four or five. The Chinese language is by far the most difficult in the world, and even Chinese boys make but slow progress in its acquisition. All the sacred books composed by Confucius, Mencius, and other sages of the past, have to be committed to memory, and commentaries without end have to be waded through, analysed, and carefully digested. After days and nights of weary study a Chinese youth is fortunate if he gets his first degree at the age of twenty. This gives him only an honorary title, and if he aspires to a more substantial rank, he must compete again at the provincial capital against some thousands of his fellow provincials. When he gets through this, as he seldom does until after four or five trials, another and still more severe ordeal awaits him. He works hard for three years more, and goes to Peking to pit himself against all the rising talent of the Empire. There some ten thousand of the ablest students from all parts of the country are closeted in separate cells in an immense hall for nine days, during which they undergo all the agony attending the severest examination in the world. The list of successful candidates appears a few days later, and some three hundred out of the large number who have entered find themselves the fortunate possessors of a degree which at once opens up to them the path of official distinction. The first on the list is a far greater celebrity in his own country than a senior wrangler of Cambridge is with us, and if he is not a mere bookworm, he is pretty

certain to rise in the course of years to be the ruler of millions of his fellow-subjects. There is no limit of age for the examination, and instances have occurred where the grandfather, father, and son were all candidates at the same time. At nearly every one of these examinations one or more deaths occur amongst the candidates, and so strict are the regulations against unfair practices that the dead body is lowered by a rope from the wall of the building to prevent any ingress or egress. A few years ago one of the examiners went mad during the holding of the examination, and rather upset things generally.

The Chinese attach the greatest importance to ceremonial observances, and the impetuous European whose duties bring him frequently into contact with them finds it often rather irksome to go through a good quarter of an hour's bowing and scraping before proceeding to discuss business. If your visitor be an official whom you are meeting for the first time, and of whom you may have heard little or nothing before, Chinese politeness requires you to open the conversation by assuring him that his great reputation has reached your ears, and that you have been long yearning to see him. He returns the compliment by observing that your younger brother deems himself highly honoured by being admitted within your stately mansion, and expresses delight at the prospect of being a recipient of your instruction. You then ask his honourable surname, to which he replies that the debased one is called Chang. How many young gentlemen his family contains may elicit the rejoinder that he has seven young brats at home; and so the conversation continues until the stock of terms is exhausted. If the interview is an official one, a table has been laid containing a certain number of dishes according to the rank of the guest. After a little while tea is brought in, and on receiving your cup you rise, walk round to your guest, and, raising it up in both hands, present it to him in as respectful a manner as possible. He repeats the same ceremony to you with the cup which has been handed to him, but your position as host makes it incumbent upon you to offer a show of opposition to such a proceeding on his part. A favourite exclamation on such an occasion is: 'Do you really, my dear sir, consider yourself a stranger, that you treat me thus in my own house?'

After these preliminaries, business commences, and then the real word-fencing is called into play. The business may be of the simplest nature, still it cannot be transacted without a great deal of finessing. Let us take as a common instance the following:—The Chinese *employé* of a British firm has absconded with a lot of dollars, and you go to demand his arrest. The man's name is Chang, and he belongs to the district of Lo. There are in all probability half-a-dozen places in the district called Lo, and after a careful scrutiny, in which the Chinese official gives little help, you find the identical one to which the guilty Chang belonged. The difficulty does not end

here, for you will find that there are at least a dozen Changs in the place, all of whom, according to their own account, have led highly respectable lives from their youth upwards. If you persevere still further, you may find at last the real and veritable Chang, but not the dollars, for these have been spent in bribing the officials to screen him so long from punishment.

Prince Bismarck complained not long ago of the way our Foreign Office inundated him with despatches, but even the writing powers of Downing Street would not be a patch upon those of Chinese statesmen. A masterly policy of inaction is there studied to perfection, and it is rare that any case is settled until reams of paper have been covered in threshing out every detail. A Chinese despatch must be written in a certain stereotyped form, and in acknowledging a despatch you must first begin by quoting *in extenso* all the documents to which you are replying. This system of reproducing all the previous correspondence proves very cumbersome as the case gradually develops. Like a lady's letter, however, the pith of a Chinese communication generally lies in the postscript, and a practised hand will grasp the meaning at a glance. The viceroy of a Chinese province peruses some hundreds of these documents every day, and attaches a minute to each in a business-like style which is not excelled by our best organised departments at home.

In social life Chinese officials are pleasant companions, and are often only too glad to make their escape from work and have a chat with a foreigner who takes an interest in their country. No official is allowed to be seen walking on foot within his own jurisdiction, and as their only mode of locomotion is by covered sedan-chairs, their range of vision is somewhat limited. Often they learn little things from the foreigner which would never have reached their ears in the manipulated reports of their subordinates. They are generally deeply read in the history and literature of their own country; and when it is stated that China has been a country of book-making for thousands of years, and that the art of printing was introduced there several centuries before it was known in Europe, it can easily be imagined that Chinese literature is far more bulky than that of any other nation. As an instance of the size of a single book, I may mention that, when leaving Peking some years ago, I brought down an encyclopaedia, which formed a cargo for two moderately sized boats, as far as Tientsin, whence it was shipped to the British Museum. The Chinaman makes a laudable effort to meet the foreigner halfway. As a rule, he knows no European language, but he makes up for the defect by evincing the deepest interest in the student of his own tongue. If you are reading a Chinese work and have stumbled upon a disputed passage, you have only to mention your difficulty to an educated native, and he will take no end of trouble to assist you. When you quote the passage, his eye brightens and a smile passes



over his whole countenance to find that an enter barbarian is dipping into his own favourite studies. He not only throws light upon the difficulty under review, but treats you to a long disquisition, quoting passage after passage in a way that makes one surprised at the tenacity of the human memory.

No notice of China would be considered complete in this country did it not contain some reference to opium, pigtailed, and small feet. At home mention of China seems always to suggest visions of opium, and the very vastness of opium literature has given rise to rather confused opinions on the subject. Several eminent medical authorities both in India and China maintain that the use of opium is a comparatively harmless enjoyment, while others, whose opinions deserve equal respect, hold that it is the cause of untold evil to the Chinese. As usual in such cases, the truth probably lies between the two extremes. In China I have visited scores of opium shops, have seen hundreds of smokers in all stages of intoxication, and observation has convinced me that physically they are an inferior class. The sunken eye, haggard look, and lack-lustre expression of countenance too often clearly mark the habitual smoker; still, withal, he is certainly no worse than the dram-drinker in this country, and it may be as well to commence at home and put our own house in order before trying to reform that of our Chinese friend at a distance. It must be remembered that, opium apart, the Chinese are eminently a sober race, and few are the people who have no indulgence. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the British Government can now no longer be charged with forcing its Indian opium on the Chinese. The Chinese Government receives a very handsome revenue from the import of the article, which it has frequently shown a desire to retain and increase as far as possible. The amount of opium grown in China equals, if it does not exceed, the total imported from India, and were the trade stopped to-morrow, the only result would be an immense increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China. The Chinese Government, fully appreciating the importance of establishing a good reputation in the West, does not object to pose as a martyr in the matter of opium before the British public, and this explains the contributions which its officers occasionally send to the Anti-Opium Society's publications. There are, it must be admitted, a few statesmen in China, like H. E. Chang Chih-tung, who are earnestly anxious to put a stop to the consumption of opium of every kind, but their action has no more influence on the policy of the Government than has that of the advocates of total abstinence in the direction of affairs in England. The practice of opium-smoking is undoubtedly increasing. Chinese will tell you that twenty years ago no respectable person would be seen smoking; now every fashionable young fellow prides himself on his pipe, and no social meeting would pass off well without it. High and low, nearly all take a whiff of the seductive

drug. Some members of the imperial family are said to be hard smokers, many of the royal princes smoke, the majority of officials do the same, and working men squander a good deal of their hard earnings in the opium shop.

Of small feet and pigtails it is not necessary to say much. Both are considered ornaments in their way, and a nation whose sons wear bell-toppers, and whose daughters go in for a variety of distortions, must be chary of criticising other people's peculiarities. Pigtails, it may not generally be known, are not in their origin Chinese. When the present rulers of China, who are Manchus, seized upon the Empire over two centuries ago, they issued an edict commanding all Chinese to shave their heads and grow a tail like themselves. There was a good deal of trouble at first in enforcing such an order, but the Chinese have long ago forgotten that the appendage of which they are now so proud is a badge of conquest. It would be hard to find anywhere a more submissive subject or a more thoroughly good-natured being than the Chinese peasant. His hard struggle for existence scarcely leaves him time to grumble with his lot. No mechanical inventions have yet relieved him from the burden of toil. His rice-fields have to be irrigated by the old-fashioned water-wheel, the fields themselves are ploughed by a primitive wooden plough which he carries home on his shoulder when his day's work is over, and his crop is reaped with the rudest of sickles, and brought to the stackyard on wheelbarrows. Night and morning he worships the tablets of his ancestors, and twice in the year—once in spring and once in autumn—he repairs to the graves of his family, and communes in spirit with the forefathers of his race. His knowledge of the world extends only to the next market town. No newspaper brings him intelligence from other lands, and to him China is the first and only nation in existence. All other countries are subordinate to the Emperor of China, and all the princes of the earth owe allegiance to the Court of Peking. Tell an ordinary countryman in the North that there are nations in Europe independent of China, and he smiles at your thinking him so innocent as to believe such a story. Peking itself still remains the head-quarters of Celestial ignorance and prejudice. Nearly every state in Europe has its representative there, and in the streets you meet jolly, broad-faced, grinning Mongolians from the bleak North, stately yellow-robed Lamas from Thibet, the puny white-clad Korean from his forbidden land in the East, Anamese and Siamese from the South, and Nepaulese from the confines of our Indian Empire. The spectacle presented by such a motley variety of all nationalities only confirms the ordinary native in the belief that they have, one and all, come to pay their respects and offer their tribute to the 'Lord of all under heaven.' In Southern China knowledge is a little more widely diffused, for emigration has there introduced a slight leavening of foreign influence. Still, its effect has

been minimised as much as possible, and the natural prejudices of the people too often assert themselves on their return to the Flowery Land. The Cantonese go in large numbers to America and Australia; while abroad they dress as foreigners, but once they set foot again on their native soil the foreign dress is discarded, and the returned exile, with his loose trousers and flowing garments, meets his friends with as much ease and grace as if his limbs had never been encased in the tight-fitting barbarian costume. No length of residence abroad ever naturalises a Chinaman. High and low, rich and poor, they all long to get back to China and have their bones mixed with those of their ancestors. About two years ago I came across a Chinaman who had left his native village when a boy of ten, and had returned a wealthy man after thirty years' residence in Boston, having almost entirely forgotten his native dialect. At first he despised his native surroundings and boasted of American freedom, but after a few months he settled down to the life of his neighbours, took great pains to cultivate a pigtail, married, Christian though he was, a couple of wives, and became a model citizen of the Celestial Empire. *Ex uno discite omnes.*

J. N. JORDAN.

## TAINÉ: A LITERARY PORTRAIT.

### I.

TAINÉ's real name is Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, but he is usually called 'Henri Taine,' which he himself, in a letter to me, attributes to a whim of the Editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He was born on the 21st of April, 1828, at Vouziers, a small town between Champagne and the Ardennes. His family may be counted among the intellectual aristocracy of France; all were well educated and also in fairly prosperous circumstances, though not exactly rich. Some were members of the Chamber of Deputies; his grandfather was Sous-préfet. His father, a very learned man, taught Hippolyte Latin; an uncle, who had resided for a long time in America, made him familiar with the English language. All that was English fascinated him from an early period; even as a boy he found delight in reading books in the language of Shakespeare. While French novels were forbidden fruit to the young people, foreign literature was thrown open to them without any restrictions, and their elders rejoiced when a youth showed a disposition to acquaint himself in this way with the languages of other countries. Our hero devoted himself to the study of English classics, and thus at an early age laid the foundation of the accurate knowledge of English literature to which he afterwards owed a large amount of his celebrity.

The promising boy was only thirteen when he lost his father. A year later his mother brought him to Paris, where she at first placed him as boarder in an excellent private school. Not long after he entered the Collège de Bourbon (now Lycée de Condorcet), where he distinguished himself above all his schoolfellows by ripeness of intelligence, by industry and success. At the same time he was the constant object of tender care and unremitting watchfulness on the part of his admirable mother, a woman of warm affections, who did all in her power to bestow a thorough education on her children. In the year 1847 he obtained the first prize for a Latin essay on rhetoric, in 1848 two prizes for philosophical treatises. These achievements threw open to him the doors of the so-called Normal School, a kind of seminary in which the pupils were trained for professional chairs in the universities. This higher preparatory course of study is, how-

ever, utilised by many only as a stepping-stone to a literary career. Many celebrated writers were Taine's colleagues at the Normal School; Edmond About, Prévost-Paradol, J. J. Weiss, Francisque Sarcey—these all were professors only for a short time, and soon embraced definitely the career of literature and journalism.

At the Normal School,<sup>1</sup> which Taine attended for three years; the soundness of his judgment and solidity of his intelligence met with universal recognition. His companions bowed before his superiority, did not venture to address him otherwise than as 'Monsieur Taine,' and called him in as umpire in their quarrels. He had the wonderful gift of being able to study more in a week than others in a month. As the pupils were free to read what they pleased, he devoted the leisure obtained by his rapid work to the study of philosophy, theology, and the Fathers. He went through all the more valuable authors on these topics, and discussed with his colleagues the questions which arose out of them. It was one of his enjoyments to test them, to ascertain their ideas and to penetrate into their minds. The method of instruction pursued in the college was admirably calculated to stimulate the intellectual activity of the students. Ample nourishment was provided for the mental energies of the ardent youths. The debates were carried on with the greatest freedom, every question was submitted to the touchstone of reason, and worked out according to the requirements of logic. Day by day the most varied opinions, political, æsthetic, and philosophical, came into collision in these youthful circles, without any restrictions imposed by the liberal professors, among whom were such men as Jules Simon and Vacherot. On the contrary, they encouraged the utmost freedom of expression in the enunciation of individual views. Their own system of teaching was not so much in the form of lectures as of discussions with the students, who themselves had to deliver orations, followed by a general debate, at the close of which the professors gave a *résumé* of all that had been said. Thus Taine had once to read a paper on Bossuet's mysticism, About one on his politics. Due attention was also given to physical exercise; there were frequent open-air excursions and occasional dances in the evening in the domestic circle, one of the students acting as musician. It is needless to say that under such circumstances as these the years spent in the Ecole Normale sped on pleasantly and profitably. The advantages of the intellectual gymnastics as practised there were enormous, and far outweighed the slight drawbacks, such as a tendency to hyperbole observable in the *élite* of those who issued from that fertile, effervescent, genuinely French mode of education. But none of the pupils of the Normal School did it so much honour as Taine, who had the good fortune to be there at precisely the right time, for

<sup>1</sup> For the description of the then life at this school I am principally indebted to Mr. W. Fraser Rae's biographical sketch of Taine.

after his departure in the year 1861 the establishment suffered an organic transformation in the opposite direction. The collegians had imbibed so strong a feeling of intellectual independence that it was not to be wondered at if they were little inclined to bear the yoke of spiritual oppression. Unfortunately, the times upon which they had fallen were not propitious to freedom of thought, for the 'uncle's nephew' was at the helm. The third Napoleon had attained the goal by the aid of the clergy, and was bound to give them the promised reward. The 'strong hand' of the Buonapartist government did its utmost to chicanery those whose ideas were not acceptable in high places. Anyone who, when put to a certain test, was ready to sign a political and religious confession of faith consonant with the views of the reigning powers, obtained an easy and lucrative post. Taine was rejected, because it was found that his philosophic theories indicated 'erroneous' and 'mischievous' tendencies. But Guizot and Saint-Marc Girardin, who took a warm interest in the talented young man, engaged themselves on his side, and endeavoured to procure at least a modest post for him. They succeeded; but, to show how reluctantly the wishes of even such advocates were granted, Taine's petition that he might be sent to the north for his mother's sake was disregarded, and he was sent to the south, to Toulon.

Only four months afterwards he was transferred to Nevers, where again he was only allowed to remain four months; then he was removed to Poitiers. His salary was exceedingly small, but by strict economy he contrived to make it suffice. He devoted his leisure hours to the pursuit of his philosophical studies; he had a special preference for Hegel. The authorities kept an eye upon him as a 'suspect'; from time to time calumnies were not spared him. Great offence arose out of the fact of his declining to follow the suggestion of the chaplain, that he should write a Latin ode or a French dithyramb in honour of the bishop. This disrespectful refusal was regarded as a confirmation of the charges which had been raised against the objectionable professor, and drew upon him the censure of the Minister of Public Instruction, who threatened him with summary dismissal if such an act of insubordination should occur again. He began to feel uneasy, and when, some months after, he received a decree from the Government appointing him master of a primary school at Besançon, he took this unmistakable hint to heart, and accepted it as a sign that it was time to give up a struggle in which he always came off second best. Was it worth while for the State to bring up young giants, and afterwards set them to collect firewood instead of felling oaks? Taine was relieved of this post by his own request, threw off the yoke of State education, and made his way to Paris. It was no bad exchange, for he at once obtained an advantageous professorship in a superior private school. But the persecutions of the Government were unrelenting; he was obliged to

give up his situation, and had a hard struggle to earn his daily bread. In order to be able to wield his pen independently of the tyranny of public authorities, the much-tormented man betook himself to giving lessons in private families. At the same time he threw himself eagerly into new studies, chiefly of a mathematical, medical, and philosophical character. He frequented the lectures at the Sorbonne, the École de Médecine, and the Natural History Museum. But his special predilection was for modern languages, a considerable number of which he learned.

At Nevers he had occupied himself very much with a new method of psychological criticism, which he steadily followed out in Paris. His literary and biographical essays in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the *Journal des Débats*, and the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique* created attention by the novel theories upon which they were founded. In the year 1853 our author took his degree as Docteur ès lettres, on which occasion, in addition to the ordinary Latin doctoral dissertation (*De personis Platoniciis*), he wrote a French treatise on Lafontaine's *Fables*, the diametrical opposite to a regulation academical thesis. He worked it up afterwards with due attention to the hints of criticism, and published it as a book with the title *Lafontaine and his Fables*, in which form it has already passed through nine editions. This literary outburst of the young doctor created much stir, and no wonder, for the public before whom Taine presented himself were utterly unaccustomed to such originality of treatment, such fecundity of expression, so rich a flow of ideas, such individuality of views, such elegance of style, such thoroughness and versatility of information. 'It was,' says Karl Hillebrand, 'a philosophico-historical carnival after weeks long of fasting;' the whole reading world threw itself upon it with avidity.

In this essay on the great fabulist, Taine started new canons of criticism, set up a bold paradox, and illustrated it from the life and works of Lafontaine. He submits to an exhaustive analysis the causes which co-operated to make him a poet, as well as the method by which he constructed his fables and the aims which he pursued in them. Lafontaine's native place and the peculiarities of its inhabitants are described. Then it is demonstrated that Lafontaine in his own person combined the most prominent characteristics of this race, and that these characteristics were intensified in him by the climate, the quality of the soil, and the scenery of Champagne. From all these constituents he supposes him to have derived the light and unfettered versification which he employs so skilfully in his fables. To the same causes he attributes the failure of Lafontaine's attempts to imitate the ancient poets. As he possessed, together with these qualifications, an intimate acquaintance with the necessities of his age and his country, he could not fail to become a really popular national poet. Taine analyses every innermost recess

of Lafontaine's brain, every feature in his poetry; Lafontaine himself would have been amazed, could he have read the book, to find himself credited with aims and purposes of which he in reality had not the faintest conception when he wrote his fables, to hear himself proclaimed to be the representative and mirror of his time, to discover, finally, that he owed his achievements, not to his own genius and abilities, but to the united co-operation of all the conditions and circumstances in the midst of which he lived.

That every human being is born with certain tendencies peculiar to his race, which guide his thoughts and actions; that all his ideas and his deeds, whether good or evil, are to be traced to these innate tendencies, as a river to its sources,—these are the views which Taine, since his Lafontaine *début*, has ever and everywhere asserted, maintained, and, according to his own conviction, established.

Established! yes, that is the crucial point. As a rule it is admitted that the critic can do no more than express his own opinion. He fulfils his duty when he carefully studies his subject and deals with it dispassionately and as impartially as possible. More is not, and cannot be, demanded from him. Every critic judges according to his circumstances, his experiences, his degree of culture, his fancy, his prejudices, expectations, and sympathies; hence each single criticism remains in every respect an expression of individual opinion. If a criticism commends itself to a majority of men as true and just, it is adopted; but it is not necessarily competent to establish the real worth or worthlessness of the subject under discussion. Quite different are Taine's views of criticism. He deems it possible to bring *certainly* into criticism; he insists upon endowing criticism, like physics and mathematics, with the fixedness of scientific formulae, hedging it round with irrefragable dogmas. His point of view is that criticism must no longer be unreliable, its results no longer fluctuating. At the age of five-and-twenty he springs, a modern Pallas, into literature, ready armed at all points with a critical system, a philosophy, and last, not least, a style of his own. All that he has more minutely developed in the course of several decades is already to be found in his maiden work on Lafontaine. The novelty of the theories, as well as the fresh, forcible, vivacious style of the young doctor won him many friends among the public. 'Nothing venture, nothing have.'

It was not long before another opportunity offered of making his voice heard and applying his theories afresh. In the year 1854 the French Academy offered a prize for the best essay on Livy. The life of the historian was to be related, the circumstances under which he wrote, and the principles according to which he planned his history, were to be discussed, and his place in the ranks of historians was to be determined. None of the essays sent in was considered worthy of the prize, but Taine's was pronounced the best;



only the stricture was added, that it betrayed 'a deficiency in seriousness and in admiration for the brilliant name and the genius of the distinguished man whom he had to criticise.' Taine re-wrote his paper, sent it in again, and this time obtained the prize. Villemain, as spokesman of the Committee of Adjudicators, commended the work in the highest terms, though he was not in harmony with the contents, and said: 'We feel bound to congratulate the author on this creditable *début* on the territory of classical learning, and only wish that we may find similar competitors for all our other offers of prizes, and that we may have such teachers in our schools;' a sarcastic allusion which drew a gentle smile from the dignified Immortals.

The happy author published his prize essay under the title of *Essai sur Tito-Live*, with a preface which was an unpleasant surprise to some of the members of the Academy, and made them wish it were possible to retract their eulogiums and distinctions. In it Taine pushed farther the consequences of his new theories. He maintained with Spinoza that the relation of man to nature is not that of an *imperium in imperio*, but that of a part to the whole; that the mind of man is, like the outer world, subject to laws; that a dominant principle regulates the thoughts and urges on the human machine irresistibly and inevitably. In a word, our author regards man as a 'walking theorem.' Naturally he was charged with denying freedom of will and being a fatalist. His opponents also, and not unreasonably, pointed out the necessary irreconcilability of the ideas represented by two such different names as Livy and Spinoza, and showed how paradoxical it was to cite the writings of the Roman historian in support of the philosophical speculations of the Dutch Jew. But paradox is Taine's element. As to the book itself, it was received with universal applause. The reading public sympathised as little with the author's speculations concerning the historian as with those on Lafontaine, but they appreciated the undeniable merits of both works. Taine contends that the birthplace and mode of life of Livy, the time in which he lived, the events of which he was witness, the direction of his taste and of his studies—that all these co-operated to make him an 'oratorical historian.' The want of method in the arrangement of his great work, the sentiments expressed in it, the prevailing tone and style, the frequency of the speeches occurring in it—all these things are adduced by Taine in support of his hypothesis, and he goes so far as to assert this to be incontestable certainty. Now everyone will allow that the 'surrounding circumstances,' which Taine makes the foundation of his deductions respecting Lafontaine, Livy, and others—time, place, conditions of life, &c.—are valuable and weighty factors in forming a decision about individuals and peoples; but nobody can allow them to constitute infallible certainty in questions of criticism, least of all when we are discussing persons and races long gone by, and whose 'sur-

to construct in a great measure; such a necessarily inductive criticism must ever remain hypothetical. It does not follow that it must be erroneous; it may quite as possibly be correct; but Taine's conclusions with regard to Livy are not only hypothetical and fallible, but actually false. His argument is that Livy was rather a great orator than a great historian. He holds him not to be a good historian because he wields the pen as an orator; he calls him an 'oratorical historian,' and attributes the beauties as well as the defects of his historical style to the preponderantly rhetorical character of his mind. The principle on which he bases this estimate of Livy is evidently erroneous, for Montesquieu, Macaulay, Gibbon, and others were no contemptible historians, notwithstanding their very eminent oratorical power. The same method by which Taine stamps Livy as an 'oratorical' historian might lead to the conclusion, equally hypothetical, that Livy was capable of writing the *History of Rome* only because he was endowed with the genius of a painter or poet. The logical premisses which Taine holds to be unassailable are by no means so. He tries to prove too much, and in his impatience to reach his conclusion, overlooks many things which make against his point of view. The fact that Livy—in contradistinction to the philosophical Thucydides and the practical Tacitus—neglects the grouping of incidents, the consultation of original authorities, and places characteristic expressions in the mouths of his personages, proves, not that he was an 'oratorical' historian, but that he was a careless writer. Facts are in direct opposition to Taine's hypothesis; he has only *maintained*, but not *proved*, that the absence of philosophical generalisations and of diligent research is the characteristic of an orator, and that therefore Livy deserves to be called an 'oratorical historian.' Many great orators, as we have said, have been admirable historians, and have exhibited remarkable powers of research. Taine seems to demand from Livy what is simply an impossibility: faultless, absolutely perfect writing of history.

Much more might be alleged against the propositions maintained in the *Essai sur Tite-Live*; suffice it to emphasise once more that the effort to constitute criticism an exact science has been as unsuccessful here as in the book on Lafontaine. In spite of diligent and careful application of the demonstrative method, criticism remains fallible and individual. By the repetition of 'because' and 'therefore' a case may be made clearer and less unreliable, but that is not equivalent to proof. As a result of Taine's process we have only a series of paradoxes and generalisations, which, indeed, are always most ingeniously carried out, testify to earnestness and ardent pursuit of truth, and are worthy of the highest recognition, but unfortunately are not always infallible. While this clever mode of generalisation in Taine's hands served to enhance the poetic inspiration of Lafontaine, it served also to depreciate the historical endowment of Livy.

## II.

Shortly after the publication of the *Essai sur Vitte-Live* an obstinate affection of the throat compelled our author to seek the healing influence of the Pyrenean baths. The course of treatment extended through two years. For a short time he even lost his voice. During this journey in search of health his favourite study was Spenser's *Faerie Queens*, which perhaps no other Frenchman had at that time read. This explains the high praise which Taine bestowed on the great Elizabethan poet at a later period in his *History of English Literature*. The life among the mountains furnished the invalid with material for fresh literary work. The result was a book entitled *Voyage aux Pyrénées*, which was afterwards enriched with admirable illustrations by Gustave Doré. To judge by the number of editions, this would seem to be the most popular of all Taine's works. In this he avails himself freely of the opportunity of employing his critical method in a new sphere: the art of travelling. His colleague, Edmond About, has also written valuable books of travel, but the author of *A B C du Travailleux* regards things from an entirely different point of view. He directs his attention rather to administrative questions, organisations, taxation, lighting, pavement, in short all that concerns modern civilisation. Taine, on the other hand, dwells more on the intellectual and artistic side of things; he surveys all with the eye of the learned critic; he compares the present with the past, and loves beautiful picturesque scenery. Lest he may become dry and stray too far from the subject in hand, he adopts the plan, instead of clothing his views in the didactic garb, of introducing persons who are to give expression to them, and others to advance opposite opinions. As we should naturally expect, right is always on the side of the author. 'Monsieur Paul' is always right; hence Monsieur Paul evidently represents Monsieur Taine. This being so, the following portraiture of Paul may be taken for an autograph description—intentional or otherwise—of the author himself:—

A daring traveller, an eccentric lover of painting, who believes in nobody but himself. A *raisonneur* much addicted to paradoxes with extreme opinions. His brain is always in a state of effervescence with some new idea which pursues him. He seeks truth in season and out of season. In spirit he is usually about a hundred miles in advance of other people. He enjoys being contradicted, but still more enjoys the pleasure of contradicting. Occasionally his pugnacious temperament leads him astray. In his egoism he regards the world as a puppet-show, in which he is the only spectator.

The book now under consideration showed Taine in a new light: as a descriptive writer of the first order. Hitherto he had been known as an acute critic and an original philosopher; but now it was discovered that in him lay also a fanciful poet, a profound observer of men and manners, a genial and amusing raconteur, a close observer and interpreter of Nature. Books of travel may be

divided generally into two classes: the first pretentious, in which the author decides dogmatically upon all that comes across him, without possessing the necessary information and capabilities; these books overflow with stupidity, vanity, and shallowness. The second class are less pretentious, but equally valueless: the author contents himself with transcribing from his guide-books descriptions of what he has seen, with some slight modifications, and giving a tolerably accurate list of the hotels in which the best beds, the cheapest dinners, and the lowest fees are to be secured. The only travels worthy of notice are included in neither of these two classes; among these Taine's works on the Pyrenees and Italy take a foremost place. He looks not so much on the external aspect of things as on their inner, their psychology; he only occupies himself with the outward so far as is necessary to draw from it arguments for the demonstrations and ratiocinations which he applies to all that he sees and observes. If he describes a landscape—and he does it in the most effective and picturesque manner—he at the same time analyses its separate constituents, and makes it clear how and why their combination produces the impression of beauty. He seeks to explain why many things appear beautiful to us to-day which formerly passed for ugly, and *vice versa*. He inquires into the influence of civilisation on the inhabitants of a region, and the changes which take place in the course of time in the condition of these inhabitants, as well as in their physical and moral constitution. He traces all things up to their causes, and endeavours to investigate all, even the geological, botanical, and climatic conditions of the Pyrenees, but he dwells only so long upon them as to instruct the general reader without boring the initiated. He draws delicate pictures of the customs of the people and the tourist life. No doubt there may be errors and mis-statements in his travelling descriptions, as they are made subordinate to the illustration of his theories. But on the whole they are of considerable merit and the reverse of superficial.

His next publication was, *The French Philosophers of the Nineteenth Century* (1856), a witty, telling, acute analysis of 'official philosophy,' a positivist irruption into the reigning school of the Eclectics, an attack upon that rhetorical spiritualism which, in the eyes of the authorities, had the advantage of giving no umbrage to the clergy, in the eyes of thinkers the disadvantage of tripping airily over the difficulties which it undertook to clear up and do away with, or else of evading them altogether. Taine slays the tenets of five men with the sacrificial knife of ridicule on the altar of sound human reason. Here also he excels in treating a dry subject in an amusing manner. Thanks to his clearness and his *esprit* the public found itself surprised into taking interest in a scientific tournament. Why did Taine select Cousin, Laromiguière, Boyer-Collard, Maine de Biran, and Jouffroy for his target? Apparently because he found

most to censure in them. However, we are far from being ready to endorse the whole contents of the book. Victor Cousin, the high priest of the Eclectics, is the most fiercely handled of all; Taine denounces him as a charlatan, and satirises him vigorously in five long chapters. This specimen of Taine's polemics excited great attention. Cousin's enemies applauded vehemently, and even his friends rejoiced secretly while they condemned openly. If we are to give credit to Mr. Fraser Rae, the distinguished man himself cherished henceforth a more than merely scientific antipathy to his young assailant; he could not forgive the former student of the Ecole Normale for this shock to his throne hitherto held sacred. At the close of the volume, which had originally appeared serially in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, the writer gives a sketch of his own method of pursuing philosophic investigations; for this purpose he again adopts the form of a dialogue between 'Peter' and 'Paul.'

In 1858 Taine republished a collection of articles, which had formerly appeared in magazines, on Macaulay, Thackeray, Dickens (these three were afterwards incorporated in the *History of English Literature*), Fléchier, Guizot, Plato, Saint-Simon, Madame de Lafayette, Montalembert, and Michelet under the title of *Essais de critique et d'histoire*. His method is here the same as in his larger works. Seven years later he followed this up with a similar volume of *New Critical and Historical Essays*, in which the articles on Balzac, La Bruyère, Racine, Jefferson, and Marcus Aurelius are conspicuous for their merit. In the interval he had made his first journey to England, in order to become more closely acquainted with this country, for which he had always had a great predilection, and to pursue his studies of English literature in the reading-room of the British Museum. He met with the most hearty reception and enjoyed intercourse with the most eminent personages. During his somewhat protracted stay he contributed a series of letters to the *Paris Temps*, afterwards published in book form as *Notes sur l'Angleterre* (1861), and again with considerable revision in 1871 after his second visit (the eighth edition appeared in 1884); these are admirable pictures of the social, political, and domestic life of the English. Taine is very favourably disposed towards them without flattering them; he censures what appears to him deserving of censure, but never degenerates into incivility. This work, Mr. W. F. Rae's translation of which has obtained great popularity in England, would be his best book of travels had he not so often allowed himself to be misled by his inductive process into superficial and inaccurate conclusions. He methodically and with exaggerated acumen ascribes influences to 'surrounding circumstances,' which anyone acquainted with England, and unbiassed by foregone conclusions, sees to be purely imaginary. Numerous are the erroneous generalisations founded on superficial and imperfect comprehension of facts. We are sometimes reminded

of the traditional traveller who, finding a red-haired chambermaid at an inn in Alsace, recorded in his journal 'Alsatian women have all red hair,' or the other who saw some wandering gipsies making nails by the roadside, and drew the inference that the inhabitants of the country led a nomad life and subsisted by manufacturing *quincaillerie*. But such slips are too trifling to militate against the reputation of the author as an exceptional traveller, delicate observer, and master of descriptive style. He is the ideal of the 'intelligent foreigner.'

In the year 1863 Taine was appointed examiner in the German language and French literature at the Military Academy of St. Cyr; when he was removed from this post in 1865, the press raised so vigorous a protest that he was recalled a few days afterwards. In October 1864 he was made professor of æsthetics and the history of art at the 'Ecole des Beaux-Arts' in Paris. Here he found a rich field for his activity, as is proved by the works, *Philosophy of Art*, *The Ideal in Art*, *Philosophy of Art in Italy*, *Philosophy of Art in Greece*, *Philosophy of Art in the Netherlands*. He travelled through these countries in the Sixties. We recognise all through the learned, delicate, animated critic. Every sentence bears the stamp of originality and is full of suggestive meaning. Taine does not need to repeat what others have said before him, he thinks for himself. He never writes without a special purpose. He always says what he believes to be true, and not what people like to hear—and that means something in France. As in the above-named books he applies his consistently defended 'method' even in the domain of art, they were as vehemently attacked as his philosophico-historical works. Apart from numerous essays, there is a whole array of pamphlets and lesser books which are directed against Taine's critical method. On the other hand, it is held in high esteem in certain quarters, as, for example, in three issues of Sainte-Beuve's *Nouveaux Lundis*, in Emile Zola's paper *Taine as an Artist* (*Mes Haines*), &c.

Now we arrive at a very remarkable and characteristic book. We are only half agreed with its contents; yet it is so charmingly written, so bright, fascinating, and flowing in its style, that in spite of all differences of opinion we felt impelled to translate it into German. We allude to Taine's chief work, the *History of English Literature*, the first three volumes of which appeared in 1863, while the fourth followed a year later, and under the title of *Contemporaries* contains monographs of Macaulay, Dickens, Carlyle, Mill, Thackeray, and Tennyson, in which he takes six of the greatest authors of the time as representative types of their different classes of literature, and in the most skillful manner uses them as illustrations of his subject. This history is the best which a foreigner has yet written on English Literature. In France also it created great excitement. The author tendered it to the Academy, which handed

it over to a committee appointed to decide upon the bestowal of a special prize of four thousand francs. Each member of this committee read the book, and each declared it to be worthy of the prize which had been founded 'for historical works which show talent.' Yet an unprecedented occurrence took place—this unanimous decision was thrown out by the full assembly of the Academy. The majority confessed indeed to not having read the work which was the object of contention, yet they left unheeded the representations of the spokesman—the aged Villemain, who himself had written so well about England. The Bishop of Orleans pronounced the book irreligious and immoral, because the author denied free will, preached fatalism, slighted the Fathers of the Church, and distinctly commended the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. In short, Monseigneur Dupanloup denounced Monsieur Taine as a heretic in religion and a sceptic in philosophy. Victor Cousin seized this favourable opportunity, on the one side to show that he was completely reconciled with the Church, on the other to avenge himself on his assailant. The learned assembly lent an ear to these two distinguished speakers; without proceeding to a closer examination, they denied the prize to Taine, although its founder had demanded simply talent and not the defence of particular views. A year before, they had refused to admit Littré into the ranks of the Forty. Since that time there has been a considerable change in the spirit and in the constituent members of the Academy. Littré and Alexandre Dumas took their seats in the halls of the Immortals, and a few years ago the gates of the palace on the Quai Conti were thrown open to Taine himself. As a drawback, however, he, who had ever exercised the full rights of free criticism with regard even to the highest intellects, was compelled by the rules of the Academy to pronounce, on this occasion, the panegyric of his somewhat mediocre predecessor, M. de Loménie.

Exceptions, numerous and justifiable, may be taken to the *History of English Literature*, but its importance can never be denied. The fact is, Taine builds up his system with such a loyal striving for accuracy, that it is impossible to refuse our attention to it, even though we may consider that the desired accuracy has not been attained. Emile Zola designates the *History of English Literature* 'a delicately and finely constructed valuable work of art.' Any reader who takes up the work with the expectation of finding a methodical *history* of literature will be disappointed, but not disagreeably so, for instead of a history he will be introduced to a series of portraits on a large scale. He will miss much which appertains to an actual history of literature; many an estimable work and many an author of eminence is barely named or even altogether omitted; hardly any regard is paid to chronology; all literature since Byron, with the exception of the six great portraits above mentioned, is passed over in silence, or only acknowledged by a stray mention of

isolated names; nor is there the slightest allusion to the periodical literature which plays so conspicuous a part in the modern life of England. With all these omissions, however, what remains is sufficient to bring clearly before our eyes the rich treasures to be found in the field of British authorship. The main reason, however, why this masterpiece of Taine's fails to deserve the title of *History of Literature* lies in the prominence which it gives to the treatment of the *psychology* of England. He uses literature only as a delicate, sensitive apparatus, with the aid of which he measures the gradations and variations of a civilisation, seizes all the characteristics, peculiarities, and *nuances* of the soul of a people. In short, he applies his 'method'—an ingenious conglomerate of the Hegel-Condillac-Taine inductive philosophy—to the literature of a nation as a whole, as he has hitherto applied it to individual men, to individual works, to art and to observations by the way. The book has met with universal appreciation, but even its admirers cannot overlook its faults. It would no doubt have been easier to disarm opposition, if Taine had given to the work a title more corresponding to its contents, such as 'Psychology of the History of English Culture illustrated by Portraits from Literature;' or, as a somewhat less long-winded title, 'Psychology of English Literature;' Sainte-Beuve suggested 'Histoire de la race et de la civilisation anglaises par la littérature.'

Here as elsewhere Taine shows himself to be an acute critic, and even his errors reveal the subtle thinker. But he is something besides that—he is also a true artist. He wields, indeed, not the brush, nor the chisel, nor a musical instrument, nor does he write verses or novels; his art is that of treating learned and scientific subjects attractively and beautifully, of raising them to a high level, especially in the *History of English Literature*. As a rule, those who have to deal with a dry theme, think they have done quite enough if they have expressed their ideas and views with perspicuity and in appropriate language, and how frequently they do not even succeed in that! The possibility of working up the material and arranging it so as to produce the greatest possible effect did not enter the mind of many writers before Taine. He understands better than most how to impart not only instruction but literary enjoyment at the same time. If only for this reason, his *English Literature*, as we have said, remains, in spite of all deficiencies, a remarkable and unique work.

After its completion Taine began to suffer the ill-effects of over-exertion, in the form of total intellectual paralysis. For a considerable time he was incapable of study, of writing, of concentrating his thoughts; even the reading of a newspaper was too much for him. It was not till after a long period of absolute rest from every kind of intellectual effort that he recovered permanently. He afterwards published *Jean Graindorge*; or, *Notes on Paris*, a very amusing and popular book satirising modern customs in the French capital;



*Universal Suffrage*, a little brochure; a French translation of the English work, *A Residence in France from 1792 till 1795*; *La Raison* (1870), two volumes in which he transfers his method to a purely philosophical domain. In 1868 Taine married a daughter of the rich merchant Denuelle; since that event he spends the summer and autumn of every year at his country seat at Menthon, in Savoy, the winter and spring in Paris. Just before the outbreak of the last Franco-German war he travelled through Germany, apparently with the intention of producing a work on that country, which, however, he did not do, perhaps in consequence of the hostile attitude towards everything German which his countrymen assumed after Sedan. He is a great admirer of German culture and literature, and has read a good deal of German; a large share of his intellectual tendencies are rooted in German soil. In France, as Paul Janet remarks, 'he generally passes for an interpreter of German ideas, especially as a follower of Hegel and Spinoza.' He himself has no objection to be called a Hegelian, though he stated some years ago, in a private letter to me, that he owed his ideas specially to Montesquieu and Condillac. Hillebrand classes him as nearly allied intellectually with Herder. In two points Taine bears a certain resemblance to Hegel; over-haste in drawing conclusions, and fearlessness in starting, combined with wit in maintaining, the most extravagant assertions.

### III.

The latest and also the most considerable work of our author is *Les origines de la France contemporaine*. It certainly bristles with all Taine's peculiarities, but with this difference, which we gladly acknowledge, that in this case he applies his method with much greater caution and moderation than hitherto, and consequently stumbles into fewer hasty and illogical paradoxes and generalisations than on former occasions. This is a great advantage, and adds to the charm which we find in the book.

Taine is first and foremost a psychologist and historian of civilisation, or we may say a psychological historian of civilisation. He dissects English literature in order to lay open the essence of contemporary English society. He writes the social history of France with the object of deducing from it the essential character of contemporary France. The first section of the comprehensive work now before us issued from the press in the beginning of 1876. The first volume of the second section happened to appear shortly before the centenary of the death of the sponsors of the great Revolution—Voltaire and Rousseau—therefore immediately before the appearance of Renan's *Caliban* (1878), which is neither more nor less than a treatment of the same theme in the same sense, only in a dramatic, poetic form, instead of that of dry analysis. The second part of the second section appeared in 1882, the third in January 1885.

It may be said generally that in this work Taine allows himself to be guided chiefly by an accurate study of facts. He plods with incredible patience through archives and libraries, deeds, reports, correspondences, and memoirs. His work is strong, solid, and trustworthy, so far as the term is applicable in speaking of historical research, because it is eminently conscientious and founded on well-authenticated contemporary records. As soon as we open the first volume (*Pre-revolutionary France, or L'ancien régime*) we observe at the first glance what a difference lies between the manner in which Taine regards and handles these themes, and the way in which they have been treated by Carlyle, Thiers, Mignet, Louis Blanc, Michelet, and others. The most striking circumstance is that Taine has no political sympathies or antipathies whatever. Facts are more important to him than theories. Instead of attaching himself to a party, his chief concern is to fathom the causes of events, to inquire into their connection with other events, and to reveal the results arising out of them.

A. de Tocqueville in his valuable work *L'ancien régime et la Révolution* has treated the very same subject as Taine. But there is no kind of similarity between the methods of treatment followed by the two authors, although both occasionally arrive at the same conclusions. Taine cannot be denied the merit of being more original than most other modern authors. His style here is as brilliant and pithy as in any of his works. Tocqueville's dry facts become in his hands living and real. In the arrangement of his material Taine is immeasurably superior to his famous predecessor, whom, however, he highly esteems and frequently quotes. In contradistinction to Tocqueville, Taine divides his subject-matter into compact, well marked-off sections, thus securing an exactitude and clearness which afford great help to the reader. On the other hand, he is inferior to Tocqueville in the point of discretion in the choice of citations and in loftiness of reflection. He often loses freedom of vision in his attention to detail, and thus fails to command a large horizon and large fields of view. He forgets Michelet's warning that the microscope may become a snare to the writer of history—'It is only too easy to mistake low mosses and fungi for high woods, or insects for giants.'

The author of the *Origines de la France contemporaine* has his own Ariadne clue through the labyrinth of controversy on the question of the great Revolution. He holds that no nation can attain to a stable form of government if it entirely detaches itself from the past, neglects the problem set before it by history, founds a constitution upon theories, and in its experiments treats men as if they were the pawns on a chess-board. He says that modern France, instead of being governed according to its natural requirements, has constantly been supplied with alien and artificial constitutions. 'The coat is

the weight of his evidence; the excessive multiplication of minute details—however valuable they may be for his purpose—becomes wearisome at last. His study of original sources is here more thorough, more careful, and more comprehensive than ever. His judgments betoken such practical wisdom and sound common sense as is rarely found in abstract thinkers like Taine—more especially in those who, like Taine, have never taken an active share in politics.

It is almost impossible for one who has not lived in France, and does not know what an enthusiastic veneration most Frenchmen—above all most French writers—cherish for the Revolution of 1789, to realise what courage it requires to raise one's voice against it; and this is what Taine does. He dares to confess that he has arrived at the same conclusions as Burke; he dares, through many stout volumes, to give in his adhesion to Burke's views on the great Revolution; he dares to pronounce Burke's *Reflections*, which Michelet called a 'miserable piece of declamation,' 'a masterpiece and a prophecy.' What daring! Who could have expected it from an author avowedly liberal, equally denounced by the reactionary party and the clericals? Only one who has kept himself immaculate, who enjoys such a reputation for political impartiality, scientific accuracy, and literary conscientiousness, only one who stands so absolutely independent as a man, a thinker, and an investigator as Taine does, can venture to permit himself such heresy without incurring grave suspicions on the part of liberally minded people. He is certainly no *Le Maistre*, but a man of the modern type, with a leaning to positivism, an open enemy of positive religions.

And this man (remarks Karl Hillebrand) declares the great Revolution to be a group of historical facts, in which evil passions, senseless notions, and purposeless actions far outweigh noble-mindedness, depth, and common sense. If up to this time modern men blamed the Revolution, it was only the Convention, whose terrorism and enactments they painted in dark colours, in order to place the year 1789 and the Constituent Assembly in a favourable light. But now Taine comes forward, throws to the winds all that thousands before him, and side by side with him, have maintained, and says, 'I determined to institute my own researches, instead of consulting historians; I determined to obtain my information from unprejudiced eye-witnesses, and I have come to the conviction that the chief calamity dates not from 1792 but from 1789.'

The results of his investigations are expressed more clearly in the following passage:—

During the three years subsequent to the storming of the Bastille, France offers us a singular spectacle; in the speeches of orators reign the purest humanity, in the laws the fairest symmetry, but in deeds the most savage roughness, in affairs the direct confusion. Surveyed from a distance this system seems to be the triumph of philosophy; closely inspected, it unmask itself as a Carlovigian anarchy.

He speaks of the street mob giving itself the airs of the 'sovereign nation' with a contempt and in language which unconsciously remind

us of Shakespeare's 'Coriolanus.' He compares 'le peuple-roi' and its rule with Milton's hell-monsters:—

Black it stood as night,  
Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell,  
And shook a dreadful dart; what seemed his head,  
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.

In short, he shatters the ideal of his compatriots in the most cruel and reckless fashion, and does not leave the Revolution a leg to stand on.

That Taine, despite his well-known antecedents, could come to such conclusions, can only be explained by what we may call his boundless impartiality. He is so free from bias, and forgets himself so completely in the handling of his subject, that many a reader, taking up *La Révolution*, without any previous acquaintance with his method and his earlier writings, would take him for a Conservative; while there are some passages which, severed from the context, might mislead a superficial reader of reviews into the supposition that he was even a reactionary. In truth there can be no question here of tendency in one direction or another. Taine is, as he always has been, without political bias, but he is sufficiently free from prejudice to desire a *good* government for his country; and as his investigations have convinced him—not in accordance with his inclinations, but in defiance of them—that France was *ill* governed under the Revolution, he makes no secret of his conviction. He quite sees how desirable it was that the miserable state of things under the *ancien régime* should be improved to the advantage of the people, but he fails to see this desirable improvement in the changes introduced in 1789; he even considers that they made things worse. He looks upon the *contrat social* as a very beautiful ideal, but sees the impossibility of its being carried out in practical life, so long as men remain what they always have been and still are. He proves himself through the whole course of his attack upon the constitution of 1791 to be thoroughly acquainted with human nature. To say that Taine wrote against the Revolution in order to ensure his election to the Academy—as was suggested by his recently deceased 'friend' and schoolfellow, About—is nonsense. Taine's impartiality and love of truth are evident and indubitable to everyone who is familiar with his literary character on one side, and on the other with the later literature of the Revolution. The truth lies in the following words of Taine: 'J'ai tracé le portrait [of revolutionary France] sans me préoccuper de mes débats présents; j'ai écrit comme si j'avais eu pour sujet les révolutions de Florence ou d'Athènes. Ceci est de l'histoire, rien de plus.' This may probably prove unsatisfactory to some one-sided French Chauvinists. But the unbiassed foreigner—however radical his tendencies—is not obliged to take umbrage at it, and he must be allowed to rejoice that there are historians who deal with their subject as the anatomist with his,

using the dissecting-scalpel dispassionately. It does not follow that such historians are infallible—nor do we endorse Taine's conclusions as to the French Revolution—but at least they are worthy of more respect than the fanatical sort, or those who overcharge their colouring.

Taine insists on justice above all and in all things, and it is all the same to him whether it is violated towards the people or the king, towards one rank or party or another. This standpoint is certainly a noble, a truly liberal one, and hence it is that he, the free-thinker, enters the lists for the clergy and the Church, for the king and the nobility, wherever injustice is dealt out to any of these powers. In the first volume he sets forth the encroachments of the higher classes and the sufferings of the people. Why should he be forbidden in the second to describe the encroachments of the people and the injuries inflicted on the upper classes? Doubtless his speculations will be distasteful to theorists, and politicians will condemn him for having no political views on points which usually call forth party strife; doubtless he refuses to allow either to monarchs or to philosophers the right to rule despotically, to model the world according to their respective fancies, and his impartiality may be censured as lukewarmness by partisans, but it is precisely for these very reasons that his book will awaken the interest and secure the confidence of unprejudiced readers.

A definitive judgment must be deferred till the whole completed work lies before us. The concluding volume may be expected in the year 1887; it will treat of 'Post-revolutionary France'—*i.e.* the various changes which have befallen Taine's fatherland during the present century.

#### IV.

While discussing Taine's works individually, we have taken occasion to explain his critical method; let us now attempt a general survey of this method as running through them all.

When we invite a critic to pass judgment on a book, a picture, an author, a nation, a school of painting, a style of architecture, a national literature—what course will he pursue? He will either compare the object submitted to his criticism with a pattern of the same nature held to be standard or classical, and pronounce it to be good, very good, bad, very bad, second rate, &c., according as it approaches the pattern or diverges from it more or less. Or else he will estimate the worth of the object to be appraised according to the personal impression which it has made on him—*i.e.* he will only consult his own approval or disapproval. In the former case he is in danger of blaming, in the latter of praising, extravagantly. Now arise the questions how the person of the critic is to be kept apart from his decisions, whether there is a third mode of criticism, and

whether it is possible to attribute convincing force to a critical judgment, instead of regarding it as an opinion or a view. In short, can criticism be made an exact science with absolute and incontrovertible conclusions? One would suppose, considering what human nature is, that an application of the critical faculty in a uniformly mechanical manner, without any regard to the individual feelings of the critic, was an impossibility. But Taine thinks otherwise. He not only believes that this apparently incredible feat can be performed, but even thinks that the results of criticism may be as certain as those of a mathematical problem. And how is this mighty end to be attained? All we have to do—suppose that it is an author who is the subject of criticism—after having read through his works, is to draw up three groups of questions:

(a) Where was the man born? Who were his parents and ancestors? What were the root ideas of his race?

(b) Under what conditions and circumstances was he educated? What position did he hold in society? To what influences was he exposed? How did the spirit of the age affect him?

(c) What were the peculiarities and tendencies of his time, and how did they manifest themselves?

Having obtained certainty on all these points (as if that were so easy!) we shall find the *faculté maîtresse* of the intellect of the author, the fundamental quality which underlies his capabilities and gives them their peculiar direction, and which, therefore, supplies the key for a definitive adjudication of his merits.

Let us take for example Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Addison, a critic coming under the first category of those mentioned above, compares Milton's verse with the requirements of Aristotle, and finds that it so answers to them, that this epic is worthy of the highest commendation. Macaulay, a critic of the other category, does not undertake an exact or detailed criticism; he gives glowing praise to the richness of the imagery, the diction, and versification; he is enchanted with the poem, and his judgment is in unison with the favourable impression which it has made on him. And now, how does Taine proceed? After having by the application of his method answered his three test-questions—'Race, period of time, surrounding circumstances'—and having thence deduced that Milton's *faculté maîtresse* is 'the sense of the sublime,' he seeks to prove by examples how this quality finds expression in his life and works. Milton is compared with Shakespeare as a poet; the difference between the two is said to be that Shakespeare is the poet of impulse, Milton of reason. Then Taine goes on to point out, as a consequence of this assumed fact, that Milton's prose writings and minor poems are admirable, whereas the *Paradise Lost* is a 'sublime but incomplete' poem, a series of reasonings alternating with beautiful images. The leading personages, who were to bear the stamp of

their own individuality, are said to be impersonations of contemporaries; God and the first human pair are transformed into orthodox persons. The genius of the poet, he says, stands out only when he describes monsters and landscapes, or speaks through the mouth of Satan in the tone of a stern republican. If we look closely into the question, we shall find Taine's mode of criticism quite as subjective as Macaulay's. Only the latter *confesses* his criticism to be subjective, whereas Taine holds his to be *objective*, which, however, it is only in the sense of 'impartial,' and not in the sense of 'unprejudiced' or of 'scientifically incontrovertible.'

Were Taine's method really perfect, objective, and infallible, it would necessarily yield the same results in the hands of others as in his own; as in the case of the exact sciences, all difference of opinion would be at an end. But in reality another, armed with Taine's capability of analysis, his keen critical faculty, his comprehensive knowledge, and his charming and effective style, might with the very same method consistently obtain quite opposite results. Taine frequently delights to compare himself to the anatomist wielding the scalpel, to the botanist, or the zoologist. But in the first place these men of science, when they institute their researches, lay aside all human passions, personal predilections, national prejudices, and individual feelings, whereas the critic who can divest himself of all these things in pronouncing judgment is not yet born, and is not likely ever to be born, so long as men remain only human. And, secondly, the anatomist, the zoologist, the botanist can actually make good what he demonstrates in concrete form, for he has the objects bodily before him, while the critic who has to deal with abstract conceptions—such as beauty, goodness, &c.—can only conjecture or surmise, as conceptions are almost always open to various interpretations. Taine's critical method is then not a science, his conclusions are not proofs, they are, on the contrary, often fallacious. Nevertheless his process has, as we have already remarked, the advantage of enhancing the reliability of criticism by continuous grouping of facts and constant endeavour to obtain certainty.

On the other hand, this virtue is apt to degenerate into a fault. The effort to prove too much frequently misleads Taine to wander into false paths. He eagerly sweeps along all that serves his purposes, and thus not infrequently falls into self-contradiction. It happens sometimes that he brings forward the same evidence to confirm one assertion, at another time a quite opposite one. By high-sounding generalisations he magnifies phenomena and occurrences, which appear to anyone else quite harmless or unimportant, into weighty and portentous records. He ascribes much too great and wide-reaching an influence to his three forces or 'surrounding circumstances.' However much, as everyone must admit, this influence of race, of sphere, and of the spirit of the age may operate on the life and the activity of

the man, we cannot go so far as to assume that it alone moulds individuality. If so, how does it happen that brothers and sisters can be so unlike one another? Taine is too inductive by half. He appears to set about his reading with all his preconceived theories and foregone conclusions mustered before him, and to note all that seems to him to confirm them, while he ignores all that tells against them. But this is the direct opposite of objectivity, which can only be approached by the deductive process.

But however far we may be from finding ourselves on the whole in harmony with Taine the philosopher, or rather the anatomist, we must adjudge the highest praise to Taine the writer, the artist. In the former capacity he is, as Zola aptly remarks, a 'thought-mathematician,' a systematician, a slave to the consistent application of his own theories; and the reading of his works often conveys the impression that we are attending the lectures of a professor of geometry. This side of his nature is the result of his erudition, it is not the side from which we can fairly judge our author. The real Taine must be sought in the other direction—in his style, his pictures, his descriptions, his narrations. The merits which he unfolds here are his own, and are not due to study. The poet Taine, the man of flesh and blood, is far preferable to the cold mechanician Taine. Stripped of the 'method,' his writings would be all the more beautiful; indeed, this method would play but a miserable part in the hands of a less skilful and gifted writer; it is only Taine's style that holds it above water. In this clear, trenchant, vivid, glowing, luxuriant style stands revealed, as Zola says in *Mes Haines*, 'the prodigality and love of splendour which characterise a fine gentleman.' This style is deliberately unequal and unpolished, in order to produce the more powerful effect. We see that nothing is undesigned, that the author has his pen well in hand. It possesses all the glow and inspiration of fancy, though fettered by a 'method' which directly tends to the suppression of fancy. His highly finished diction always accommodates itself to the subject under discussion. Apart from the too frequent heaping up of epithets and metaphors à la Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and Bunyan, we are as much surprised by their suitability as by the ease with which they flow from his pen. This is attributable in great measure to the amount of reading, in which he rivals Macaulay, and the assimilatory power of his memory, akin to that of Buckle. His method is mechanical, analytical; his literary individuality, on the other hand, synthetic in its character. Karl Hillebrand says very gracefully in his *Profiles*—'In Taine philosophy is only the frame in which the . . . always lifelike pictures of times and men are set. It is a pity that in the artist's eyes the frame is more important than the picture, that the latter seems to exist only for the sake of the frame.' It is no exaggeration to call Taine an artist in style.

LEOPOLD KATSCHEE.



## THE ANIMALS OF NEW GUINEA.

If we consider Australia as a continent, New Guinea, or Papua as it is better to call it, is the largest island in the world. It lies outstretched across the northern frontier of Australia, between  $130^{\circ}$  and  $150^{\circ}$  East longitude, and reaches from near the Equator to about  $12^{\circ}$  South latitude. By recent computations it is estimated to contain an area of about 306,000 square miles—that is, as much as England and France put together. In striking contrast to the parched-up plains of Australia, New Guinea is traversed throughout by ranges of lofty mountains, whence flowing and abundant rivers find their way into the surrounding ocean. It is consequently covered by a luxuriant vegetation; and although large districts are low and swampy, there can be no doubt that the uplands will eventually be found to supply large areas of fertile land suitable for European colonisation.

For reasons that I shall presently enter upon, Papua is of special interest to the naturalist, and, more than one fourth of its vast area having now definitely passed under the sovereignty of Great Britain, a sketch of its fauna, so far as this is known to us, will probably be the more acceptable to English readers. Before, however, I enter upon a discussion of the animals of New Guinea, I propose to give a short account of the principal scientific expeditions whereby our present knowledge of its fauna has been obtained.

The period and merit of the actual discovery of New Guinea are, like many other events of the same nature, a matter of dispute between the earlier Portuguese and Spanish navigators.<sup>1</sup> But the first naturalist who has given us any particulars as to its fauna is undoubtedly Sonnerat,<sup>2</sup> a Frenchman. It is, however, doubtful, to say the least, whether Sonnerat ever himself landed on the mainland of New Guinea, and it is even affirmed that he advanced only as far as the Papuan island of Guebé, or the adjoining island of Waigion. Here he may have obtained from native traders the skins of the Paradise birds and other undoubtedly Papuan species, which he subsequently figured and described in his *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée*.

Passing by Carteret and Bougainville, who in 1767 and 1768 touched at certain points on the north coast, we come to our

<sup>1</sup> Antonio de Abreu in 1511, and Alvaro de Saavedra in 1528.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée* 2 vols. Paris, 1776.

countryman Forrest, who, so far as we know, was the first discoverer in 1774 of the afterwards celebrated 'Havre Dorey' in the bay of Geelvink, so called after the Dutch ship ('Geelvink' = Yellow-finch) by which it was first entered. At Havre Dorey in 1824, scientific naturalists of the present epoch first put their feet on Papuan soil. From the 26th of July to the 9th of August of that year, the French discovery-ship 'La Coquille' remained at anchor at this well-known harbour in the bay of Geelvink. The celebrated naturalist, Lesson, was attached to the expedition, with his companion Garnot. During their twelve days' stay examples of many new Papuan animals were procured, and afterwards described in their joint work on the Zoology of the voyage of the 'Coquille.'\* M. Lesson's other works, his *Traité* and *Manuel d'Ornithologie* and *Histoire des Paradisiens*, likewise contain many interesting notices arising from observations made on this occasion.

Three years later, in 1827, a second French discovery-ship, the 'Astrolabe,' under the command of Dumont d'Urville, passed another twelve days in the same place. The additional animals obtained on this occasion were afterwards described and figured in the Zoology of the voyage of the 'Astrolabe.'†

The next event to be recorded in the scientific history of Papua sprang from the energy of a different people. A few months after the visit of the 'Astrolabe' to Havre Dorey, in the beginning of 1828, the Government of the Netherlands sent the corvette 'Triton' and schooner 'Iris' from Batavia to found a permanent settlement on the coast of New Guinea. The expedition had on board a royal commissioner and several other members of the scientific expedition which was then engaged in the exploration of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. They first traversed the Dourga Strait on the southern coast, and, thence returning northwards, discovered in the district called Lobo what they describe as a deep and spacious bay, shut in by elevated land, and of a picturesque aspect. Here they constructed a fort, and, on the 24th of August 1828, took formal possession of the whole coast with the usual solemnities in the name of the King of the Netherlands. The bay was named 'Triton's Bay,' and the strait leading to it 'Iris Strait,' to commemorate the names of the two vessels. After several years' occupation 'Fort Dubus' was evacuated (about 1835) on account of the unhealthiness of the locality, and is now said to be in ruins. But the two naturalists, Macclot and Müller, were by no means idle during their stay, and it was to their energy that the National Museum of Leyden is mainly

\* *Voyage autour du Monde, exécuté par ordre du Roi sur la corvette de sa Majesté la Coquille, &c.* Zoologie, par MM. Lesson et Garnot. Paris, 1826.

† *Voyage de découvertes de l'Astrolabe, exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les années 1826-29, sous le commandement de M. J. Dumont d'Urville.* Zoologie, par MM. Quoy et Gaimard. Paris, 1830.

indebted for a splendid series of Papuan animals which remained for many years unrivalled in Europe. It is much to be regretted that no complete account has ever been given of the discoveries of Macklot and Müller. In the magnificent work in which the labours of the Royal Scientific Commission were reported,<sup>5</sup> it is stated that examples of 119 species of birds were obtained in New Guinea, but no complete list is added of them, though several important monographs are given on various groups of Papuan animals, and many new species are shortly described in footnotes attached to the Ethnographical volume of the series.

In 1839 again a French discovery-ship touched at Triton's Bay and other spots on the south-west coast of New Guinea. This was the 'Astrolabe,' under her former commander M. Dumont d'Urville, on her way to the Antarctic seas. Messrs. Hombron and Jacquinot, the naturalists of this celebrated expedition, commonly known as the 'Voyage au Pôle Sud,' made on this occasion several additions to our knowledge of Papuan animals, which were described in the subsequently published account of the Zoology of the voyage.<sup>6</sup>

In 1842 H.M.S. 'Fly,' under the command of Captain Blackwood, made a survey of about 140 miles of the southern coast of New Guinea bordering on Torres Straits, and discovered the mouths of the 'Fly' river afterwards ascended by D'Albertis. The well-known naturalist Jukes was on board the 'Fly,'<sup>7</sup> and made considerable collections in natural history, which were deposited in the British Museum.

The 'Fly' was succeeded in Torres Straits by the still more important surveying expedition of the 'Rattlesnake,' under Captain Owen Stanley, which left England in 1846. During this expedition, which lasted until Captain Stanley's death at Sydney in 1850, the 'Owen Stanley' range of mountains, several of the summits of which exceed 10,000 feet in altitude, was discovered, and the heights of the more important peaks were determined. John Macgillivray was the naturalist, and wrote the subsequently issued narrative of the expedition.<sup>8</sup> The collections were sent to the British Museum.

We now come to 1858, in which year, on the 11th of April, our well-known countryman, Mr. A. R. Wallace, was landed by a Dutch trading vessel at Havre Dorey<sup>9</sup> for a three months' sojourn in this famous spot. Mr. Wallace, however, emphatically asserts that Havre Dorey is 'not a good collecting station for the naturalist.' The

<sup>5</sup> *Verhandelingen over de Natuurlyke Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche overzeesche Bezittingen, &c.*, uitgegeven door C. J. Temminck. Leyden, 1839-1844.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie sur les Corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée, sous le commandement de M. Dumont d'Urville. Zoologie.* Paris, 1812-53.

<sup>7</sup> See his *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. Fly*, 2 vols. London, 1847.

<sup>8</sup> *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, &c.* By John Macgillivray 2 vols. London, 1852.

<sup>9</sup> See Mr. Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* (London, 1869), vol. ii. ch. xxxiv.

ground is low and swampy, birds and butterflies are scarce, and even inferior objects of scientific interest are not too abundant. Mr. Wallace sums up his experiences at Havre Dorey in the following pregnant passage:—

On the 22nd of July the schooner 'Hester Helena' arrived, and five days afterwards we bade adieu to Dorey, without much regret, for in no place which I have visited have I encountered more privations and annoyances. Continual rain, continual sickness, little wholesome food, with a plague of ants and flies, surpassing anything I had before met with, required all a naturalist's ardour to encounter; and when they were uncompensated by great success in collecting, became all the more insupportable. This long-thought-of and much-desired voyage to New Guinea had realised none of my expectations. Instead of being far better than the Aru Islands, it was in almost everything much worse. Instead of producing several of the rarer Paradise birds, I had not even seen one of them, and had not obtained one superlatively fine bird or insect. I cannot deny, however, that Dorey was very rich in ants. One small black kind was excessively abundant. Almost every shrub and tree was more or less infested with it, and its large papery nests were everywhere to be seen. They immediately took possession of my house, building a large nest in the roof, and forming papery tunnels down almost every post. They swarmed on my table as I was at work setting out my insects, carrying them off from under my very nose, and even tearing them from the cards on which they were gummed, if I left them for an instant. They crawled continually over my hands and face, got into my hair, and roamed at will over my whole body, not producing much inconvenience till they began to bite, which they would do on meeting with any obstruction to their passage, and with a sharpness which made me jump again and rush off to undress and turn out the offender. They visited my bed also, so that night brought no relief from their persecutions; and I verily believe that during my three and a half months' residence at Dorey I was never for a single hour free from them. They were not nearly so voracious as many other kinds, but their numbers and ubiquity rendered it necessary to be constantly on guard against them.

The flies that troubled me most were a large kind of blue-bottle or blow-fly. These settled in swarms on my birdskins when first put out to dry, filling their plumage with masses of eggs, which, if neglected, the next day produced maggots. They would get under the wings or under the body where it rested on the drying-board, sometimes actually raising it up half an inch by the mass of eggs deposited in a few hours; and every egg was so firmly glued to the fibres of the feathers as to make it a work of much time and patience to get them off without injuring the bird. In no other locality have I ever been troubled with such a plague as this.

We shall, however, see that subsequent explorers, who were able to penetrate further into the interior, give by no means so unfavourable an account of this district.

Dr. H. A. Bernstein, a well-known German naturalist, visited New Guinea in 1863 and the following year, and collected for the Leyden Museum on the north coast and in the islands adjoining the western extremity.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Bernstein died at Batanta in 1865.

C. H. B. von Rosenberg, who succeeded Bernstein, was long in the service of the Government of the Netherlands, and besides minor excursions to New Guinea made a prolonged exploration of the bay

<sup>10</sup> See *Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, vols. xiv. and xvii. (1864 and 1865).

of Geelvink in 1869-70, of which he has published an interesting account.<sup>11</sup> To Bernstein and Von Rosenberg the Leyden Museum is indebted for a large number of most valuable zoological specimens from New Guinea.

A few years later two travellers from another European nation, which had not previously interested itself in the exploration of this distant land, appeared on the scene, and achieved undoubted success. Signor L. M. d'Albertis, of Genoa, left Italy in 1872, in company with the distinguished traveller and botanist, Dr. Beccari. In the following year, after visiting several points on the southern and western coasts of New Guinea, the travellers finally fixed their quarters at the village of Andai, situated a little inland from Havre Dorey. Hence in November 1872 D'Albertis succeeded in ascending the slopes of Mount Arfak, which rises above the low-lying shore to a height, it is said, of some 10,000 feet. D'Albertis's furthest point was the village of Hatam, about 3,500 feet above the sea-level, and in the midst of the forests inhabited by the finest and rarest Birds of Paradise. On the 9th of September 1872, the very day after his arrival at Hatam, D'Albertis succeeded in shooting specimens of both the Shielded and Six-shafted Birds of Paradise, and shortly afterwards obtained examples of a new and beautiful species, remarkable for its curved bill, which was subsequently named, after its discoverer, *Drepanornis Albertisi*, besides many other zoological novelties of all kinds.

Three years subsequently Mount Arfak was again ascended to a height of 6,700 feet by Dr. Beccari, and upon this occasion again large collections in zoology and botany<sup>12</sup> were made, and the singular playing places made by the Gardener Bower-bird (*Amblyornis inornata*)<sup>13</sup> were discovered and described.

Signor d'Albertis returned to Europe in 1874, but left again at the close of the same year with the intention of exploring the southern portion of New Guinea. In March of the following year he settled in Yule Island, on the southern shore of the south-western peninsula, and resided there some six months, making large collections in natural history, but not succeeding in reaching even to the foot of the range of lofty mountains which towered above him.

Signor d'Albertis afterwards made three successive voyages up the Fly River, the first in the mission steamer 'Ellan Gowan,' and the two others in the 'Neva,' a small steam launch lent to him by the Governor of New South Wales. In the second of these voyages (in 1876) D'Albertis penetrated far into the centre of the great

<sup>11</sup> *Reisdochten naar de Geelrinkbaai op Nieuw-Guinea in de jaren 1869 en 1870*, door C. B. H. von Rosenberg. The Hague, 1875.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Beccari's *Malesia* (Genoa, 1877-84), published in fascicules, contains an account of his principal botanical discoveries.

<sup>13</sup> See Gould's *Birds of New Guinea*, pt. ix., for a figure of this remarkable bird and its playing place.

southern coast of New Guinea, and reached a hilly country, but only succeeded in getting a few glimpses of the great central range, which he named, as in duty bound, the Victor Emmanuel Mountains, after the then reigning King of Italy.<sup>14</sup>

While these expeditions were proceeding in the south, another traveller from Europe was again attacking the northern peninsula of New Guinea.

In March 1873 Dr. A. B. Meyer, now director of the Museum of Dresden, who was at that time travelling in the East Indies, arrived at Dorey and spent some months at that station and at other points in the bay of Geelvink and its various islands. Dr. Meyer, according to his own narrative,<sup>15</sup> succeeded in crossing the mainland of New Guinea from the shores of the bay of Geelvink, over a mountain chain of some 2,000 feet in altitude, to the head of McCluer Inlet on the west coast—a feat previously unaccomplished. Dr. Meyer also made large collections of natural history, and added much to our knowledge of the Papuan fauna.

Returning to the southern coast, we find that Captain Moresby's surveys of the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea in 1873 and 1874 in H.M.S. 'Basilisk' added vastly to our knowledge of the correct outline of this peninsula. Captain Moresby showed that the extreme point of New Guinea in this direction terminates in a huge fork, the lower prong of which ends in an archipelago of islands. Between these new islands and the projection formed by the northern peninsula lies a magnificent sheet of water forty-five miles long, which Captain Moresby named Milne Bay,<sup>16</sup> while the new and convenient passage thus discovered round the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea is designated 'China Straits.' Dr. Comrie, the medical officer of the 'Basilisk' under Captain Moresby, made considerable zoological collections, amongst which were a new Paradise-bird and other novelties.<sup>17</sup>

In February 1875, the 'Challenger' passed along the northern coast of New Guinea and made an attempt to visit Humboldt's Bay, which was frustrated by the hostility of the natives, so that very few specimens of natural history were obtained.<sup>18</sup> But Humboldt's Bay had been previously visited successfully by the Dutch on more than one occasion.

Beginning in 1875, numerous expeditions were sent out from

<sup>14</sup> For a full account of D'Alberty's various expeditions see *New Guinea: what I did and what I saw*. By L. M. d'Alberty. 2 vols. London, 1880.

<sup>15</sup> See 'Dr. Meyer's Expedition to New Guinea,' *Nature*, vol. ix. p. 77.

<sup>16</sup> See *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands*, &c. By Captain J. Moresby, R.N. London, 1878.

<sup>17</sup> See article 'on the birds collected by Dr. Comrie,' by P. L. Solater, *P. Z. S.* 1878, p. 489.

<sup>18</sup> See *Narrative of the Voyage of the Challenger*, vol. i. p. 681 (1885).

Sydney to the Torres Straits and the southern peninsula of New Guinea.

The most noticeable of these, from a scientific point of view, was that of Mr. William Macleay in the 'Chevart' in 1875. Mr. Macleay took with him two other naturalists, Mr. Masters and Mr. Brasier, and two well-known Sydney collectors, Messrs. Spalding and Pettard, and was absent five months. Large collections were made in every branch of zoology, and the results have been published in the *Journal* of the Linnean Society of New South Wales,<sup>19</sup> of which society Mr. Macleay is the president. This part of New Guinea has been also for some time a field of missionary enterprise. In 1871 a mission was first established at Darnley Island in Torres Straits, and branches were subsequently sent out to Redscar Bay and Port Moresby. In 1874 Mountev. W. G. Lawes, who has made valuable collections in several branches of natural history, took charge of the last-named station. Missions have been likewise established as far west as the mouths of the Fly River, and at various other intermediate points. By the aid of the missionaries several energetic collectors from Sydney have obtained access to the interior of this part of the island, and have thrown considerable light on its fauna and flora. Amongst these I may specially mention the names of Dr. James (who was killed by the natives at Hall Sound in 1876), Mr. Broadbent, Mr. Goldie, and Mr. Huntstein. The collections of birds thus formed have been described partly by Mr. R. B. Sharpe in the *Journal* of the Linnean Society of London, and partly by Mr. E. P. Ramsay and other naturalists in the *Proceedings* of the Linnean Society of New South Wales.

But we must not close the list of scientific explorers of New Guinea without alluding to the name of the intrepid Russian traveller, Nicholaieff Miklucho-Maclay, who has made three or four expeditions to different portions of the coast in search of anthropological information. Mr. Miklucho-Maclay's first point was on the north-eastern coast, near Astrolabe Bay, or what is now called the 'Maclay Coast,' where he resided alone amongst the natives for fifteen months. In 1873 he visited the south-western coast of New Guinea at a place called Papua-Koviay, situated somewhere near Triton's Bay, and again stayed among the natives for several months. In 1876 Maclay returned to the north-eastern coast and made a second stay of seventeen months amongst his former friends. Besides these long visits, two other shorter excursions were made by this energetic traveller to New Guinea. It is a great pity that no connected account of his travels has as yet been published.

Finally, a few words may be said about the recent annexation of a large slice of New Guinea to the British Empire. In April 1883 Mr. H. M. Chester, the police magistrate on Thursday Island in Torres

<sup>19</sup> See *Journ. Linn. Soc. N. S. Wales*, vol. i. p. 86, for a general account of the expedition, and that and succeeding volumes for other papers.

Straits, acting under instructions from the Government of Queensland, took formal possession of all New Guinea and its islands lying west of the 141st meridian, the supposed limit of the portion claimed by the Government of the Netherlands. This act was disapproved of by the Home Government, but, after various negotiations with the Australian colonies, on the 6th of November 1884 a British protectorate was proclaimed over the southern coast of New Guinea by the commodore of the Australian Station, and shortly afterwards Major-General (afterwards Sir Peter) Scratchley was appointed special Commissioner for the Government of the new Protectorate. At the close of the last year the German Government took similar steps on the northern coast of this portion of New Guinea and the adjacent islands, Dr. Otto Finsch, the well-known naturalist (who was already well acquainted with this part of the world from his previous travels, having been previously sent out by the Imperial Government as special adviser on this subject. After much discussion between the English and German Governments, the difficulty as to the limits of the rival protectorates was finally settled by the division of New Guinea west of 141° East longitude into two nearly equal portions, of which the southern half was assigned to England, the northern half to Germany. Germany, we are told, has already named her newly acquired territory on the mainland 'King William's Land,' and the adjacent islands the 'Bismarck Islands.' I am not aware that any name has yet been assigned by our Government to the portion left to us by Prince Bismarck's politeness. But I venture to suggest that 'Torresia' would be a much better name for the newly acquired protectorate, bordered as it is on its southern frontier by Torres Straits, than any such term as 'British New Guinea.'

Before discussing the results as to the zoology of New Guinea to be arrived at from the information amassed by the explorers above spoken of, and others which I have not had occasion to specify, let us consider for a few minutes the general conformation of New Guinea. It is an elongated piece of land stretching from north-west to south-east through some twenty degrees of longitude. There can be little doubt that a continuous chain of mountains, of varying altitudes from 16,000 to 2,000 feet, traverses the interior throughout. In the northern peninsula these are known as the 'Arafak mountains,' and rise, it is said, to a height of 10,000 feet, though I am not aware that this estimate is founded upon anything but guess-work. These mountains have been partly ascended by D'Albertis and Beccari, as already mentioned. Further south at the head of McCluer's Inlet the range is stated to have been crossed by Dr. Meyer at a height of about 2,000 feet. We then come to the southern point of the great bay of Geelvink, where a series of altitudes along the 'Charles Louis range' have been approximately ascertained by the Dutch. According to their reports the highest of these are covered



by perpetual snow, and attain an elevation of over 14,000 feet. Passing on to the interior of the main mass of New Guinea, what is probably a continuation of the Charles Louis range was sighted by D'Albertis at the highest point attained on the Fly River in 1876, and named the 'Victor Emmanuel range.' This is again, no doubt, continuous with the Owen Stanley range which traverses the south-eastern peninsula, and of which Mount Owen Stanley (13,200 feet) is, so far as is yet known, the highest summit.

Besides this principal chain several other ranges of mountains occur in New Guinea. The whole northern coast from Point d'Urville to Huon Gulf is bordered by mountains of considerable altitude, which have been called the 'Cyclops' range at their western end, and the 'Finisterre' mountains, said to be about 10,000 feet in altitude, and 'Rawlinson' range, above Huon Gulf. In the peninsula of Onin are also mountains at the back of Triton's Bay, but we have as yet received but few particulars about them.

The principal river-basins of New Guinea, so far as they are known to us, are those of the 'Fly,' the 'Amberno,' and the 'Wa-Samson.' The Fly River, which seems to drain the main mass of southern New Guinea, rises no doubt in the Victor Emmanuel mountains, which, as already mentioned, D'Albertis sighted and named when he ascended the Fly River in 1876.

The Amberno or Mamberan river probably rises on the northern slopes of the same range, and drains the country lying between that and the north coast range, flowing into the sea by many mouths at the eastern end of the great bay of Geelvink. Of the importance of this river and of the magnitude of its outfall we may form some idea from the facts ascertained by the officers of the 'Challenger' when they traversed the ocean off Point d'Urville in 1875.

On the 22nd of February of that year, when about seventy miles off land, the specific gravity of the surface water was found to be lower than usual, and the ship was surrounded by large quantities of drift wood, so that the propeller had to be stopped lest it should be fouled. Amongst the logs around them were many whole uprooted trees, one of which was two feet in diameter. Other objects showing the force of the freshwater current were midribs of palms, stems of large cane-grasses, fruits and seeds of trees, of which the surface scum was so full that they could be scooped up in quantities with a fine net. These phenomena, observed at seventy miles distant from the shore, leave no possible doubt as to the magnitude of the current of the Amberno River.

The third principal river of New Guinea is the Wa-Samson, which rises probably on the western slopes of Mount Arfak, and, after draining the greater part of the Onin Peninsula, runs into the sea at Dampier Straits, at the north-western extremity of the island. The Wa-Samson was visited by Dr. Beccari in 1875. After exploring the

mountains east of Sorong, he crossed the coast range rather further east, at an altitude of 1,200 feet, and descended to the banks of the river, which is described as about twenty yards wide, and flowing with a strong current. The natives have a story that the Wa-Samson passes under a kind of natural tunnel before it reaches the sea.

• Long as the list of scientific explorers of New Guinea, as above given, may seem to be, we cannot suppose that anything like a thorough knowledge of its zoology has been as yet acquired. But sufficient information has been attained to enable an outline to be given of the principal groups of animals that inhabit this strange country.

As regards the mammals of New Guinea, on which subject our best authority is an article by Dr. Peters and the Marquis Doris, published in the *Annals* of the Museo Civico of Genoa for 1880,<sup>28</sup> the total number of this class of animals as yet ascertained to occur in New Guinea is about fifty-three, as will be seen by the following table:—

<i>Mammals of Papua.</i>	
Ungulates (Pig)	1
Bats:	
Fruit-bats	6
Insectivorous	13
	— 19
Rodents:	
<i>Mus</i> (Cosmopolitan)	5
<i>Uromys</i> (Peculiar)	4
<i>Hydromys</i> (Australian)	1
	— 10
Marsupials:	
Dasyures	6
Bandicoots	3
Phalangers	7
Kangaroos	5
	— 21
Monotremes	2
	<u>53</u>

In New Guinea it is at once manifest that all the higher and specially developed groups of mammals are altogether absent. As in Australia, the main mammal population consists of Bats, Rodents, and Marsupials. Of the great group of Ungulates, which in most parts of the world supply such abundant and nutritious food to mankind, only one single representative occurs in New Guinea. This is the pig, which, although certainly also met with in a wild state in New Guinea, is a semi-domestic animal among the natives, and may very probably have been introduced by mankind from the great islands of

<sup>28</sup> 'Enumerazione dei Mammiferi raccolti da C. Beccari, L. M. d'Albertis e A. A. Bruia nella Nuova Guinea propriamente detta.' *Ann. Mus. Civ. di Genova*, xvi. 1880, pp. 662-707, pts. v.-xviii.

the Eastern Archipelago, where several species of the genus *Sus* are known to be indigenous. A small dog is also, according to Mr. W. Macleay, kept in a domestic state by the natives in southern New Guinea.

Of the flying order of bats about nineteen species are known to have occurred in New Guinea, thirteen of which belong to the insectivorous division of the group, while six are fruit-bats. Bats, however, it may be remarked, are nearly cosmopolitan, and have a ready means of migration by flight from one land to another. The presence of bats, therefore, does not enable us to draw any very definite conclusions as to the general character of a fauna.

The Rodents of New Guinea hitherto recognised are about ten in number. Five of these belong to the cosmopolitan genus *Mus*; four to an allied genus, *Uromys*, peculiar to Papua and the adjoining islands; whilst a single *Hydromys*, a genus allied to the mice, but hitherto only known in Australia, has been recently met with in New Guinea.

We now come to the Marsupial order, so well known to us as the prevalent form of mammal life in Australia, where it is represented by five differently organised groups, which constitute so many natural families. Of these five families, four, as will be seen by our table, are also met with in New Guinea. The Carnivorous Dasyures, or 'Native Cats,' as they are called by our colonists in Australia, have at least five representatives in New Guinea, two of which belong to the typical genus *Dasyurus* and the others to *Phascologale*, or one of its subgenera. The Bandicoots of Australia are represented by three species in New Guinea, and the Phalangers by seven. The Kangaroos, so well known as one of the most marked features of animal life in Australia, are represented in New Guinea by two different types. The terrestrial genus *Macropus*, so highly developed in Australia, and to which all the largest and finest species of 'Boomers' and 'Wallaroos' are referable, is also found in New Guinea, together with several members of an allied genus (*Dorcopsis*) which is peculiar to Papua and its islands. But besides these, one of the characteristic features of the fauna of New Guinea is the existence of a form of kangaroo specially modified for arboreal life. It might have been thought that of all known terrestrial mammals, a kangaroo would be one of the least likely to adopt such a mode of existence. But just as in South America Gallinaceous birds, which ordinarily inhabit the ground, have so far altered their habits as to live in the highest trees of the forest, as, in the contrary direction, certain woodpeckers in the Pampas of Buenos Ayres are found to live entirely on the ground, and never to climb a tree, so in the forest-clad hills of New Guinea kangaroos have in the course of long ages become habituated to desert the earth and to live in trees. Two very distinct species of tree-kangaroo (*Dendrolagus*) are found in the forests of New Guinea. It has

lately been discovered that a third species of the same genus occurs in Northern Queensland.<sup>21</sup>

Another strong link to connect New Guinea with Australia has been forged by the discovery in the Arfak Mountains of New Guinea of a gigantic representative of the order Monotremata, the lowest of all existing mammals, which are devoid of teeth and lay eggs like a bird. Until lately the Echidna and the Duckbill of Australia were the sole known forms of this peculiar group, and were believed to be entirely restricted to the Australian continent. But among the spoils from Mount Arfak obtained by Mr. Bruijn and his energetic hunters in 1876 were some bones of an animal that were subsequently proved to belong to a larger form of the Australian Echidna, recognisable not only by its great size, but by having only three toes on its fore limbs. Besides this a slightly modified form of the smaller Australian Echidna is also met with in the south of New Guinea,<sup>22</sup> so that two Monotremes properly appertain to the Papuan fauna, although no traces of the still more extraordinary Duckbill (*Ornithorhynchus*) have as yet been met with outside the area of Australia.

The beauty and variety of the birds of New Guinea have greatly attracted the attention of travellers, and many of the explorers of its forests have devoted their energies specially to collecting specimens of this class. It has consequently come to pass that the birds of New Guinea are much better known to us than the mammals. Moreover, Count Salvadori's excellent monograph of the birds of Papua and the Moluccas<sup>23</sup> is one of the best ornithological works of recent days, and contains, it is hardly necessary to say, a complete account of all that was known of the birds of New Guinea up to the period of its completion. The subjoined table shows the numbers of species of each of the nine orders to which Count Salvadori assigns the 1,028 birds hitherto met with in Papua and the Moluccas.

*Table of Birds of Papua and the Moluccas.*

1. Accipitres . . . . .	64
2. Psittaci . . . . .	102
3. Picarie . . . . .	113
4. Passeres . . . . .	501
5. Columbæ . . . . .	108
6. Gallinæ . . . . .	20
7. Grallatores . . . . .	70
8. Natatores . . . . .	41
9. Struthiones . . . . .	9
Total . . . . .	1,028

<sup>21</sup> *Dendrolagus Lumholtzi*, discovered by the Norwegian naturalist whose name it bears. See *P.E.S.* 1884, p. 287.

<sup>22</sup> *Echidna aculeata Lewesi*, Thomas, *P.E.S.* 1885, p. 329.

<sup>23</sup> Salvadori, *Ornithologia della Papuasia e delle Molucche*. 3 vols. 4to. Torino, 1880-82.

The Parrots of New Guinea are numerous, the greater number of the 102 species mentioned in Count Salvadori's work being met with within its area. As specially characteristic of the Papuan Avifauna I may mention the great Black Cockatoo (*Microglossus*) with its enormous bill, the dwarf Leaf Parrots (*Nasiterna*) with their curious spiny tails, and the extraordinary *Dasyptilus* with its naked head and harsh plumage. Brush-tongued Lorises of the most brilliant colours abound, and are especially characteristic of the Papuan Avifauna, although by no means restricted to it. Count Salvadori includes no less than forty species of this group in his work. The Picarian order in New Guinea is composed mainly of Cuckoos and Kingfishers, both of which groups are well represented. There is but a single Hornbill and a single Bee-eater. On the other hand it should be remarked that, as in Australia, woodpeckers are altogether absent. We now come to the great array of Passeres, of which no less than 501 species are included in Count Salvadori's work. Amongst these Flycatchers, Caterpillar-eaters, and Shrikes play an important part, as might have been expected where insect life is so abundant. The Honey-eaters (*Meliphagidae*), a group specially characteristic of Australia, are likewise highly developed in New Guinea; Count Salvadori enumerates eighty-nine species. But the greatest glory of the Papuan Avifauna is the family of Paradise-birds. These are, in fact, a group of crows, in which the male sex is decked out in the most gaudy and varied plumage, and extraordinary ornamental feathers of the most remarkable forms are developed from different parts of the body. Taking the group of Paradise-birds as understood by Count Salvadori, that is to include the Bower-birds, we find about forty species attributed to Papua and the Moluccas, and one or two brilliant additions have been made to the group since Count Salvadori's work was finished.<sup>24</sup> It is certain from the investigations of recent observers that some of the most brilliant kinds of Paradise-birds are confined to the more elevated mountains, and one of the reasons for predicating a continuous range of high land between Mount Arfak in the north and the Owen Stanleys in the south is that some of the Birds of Paradise previously only known to exist in the highlands of the Onin Peninsula have been lately obtained on the Owen Stanley Range.

The order of Pigeons (*Columbæ*) which succeeds the Passeres in Count Salvadori's volumes is likewise highly developed in New Guinea. Count Salvadori assigns no less than 108 species to Papua and the Moluccas, of which about half belong to the fruit-pigeons (*Ptilopus* and *Carpophaga*), and are of the most gorgeous and varied plumage.

<sup>24</sup> A recent letter from Dr. Finsch informs me of the discovery, high on the Owen Stanley range, of a fine new form of Paradise-bird in which the prevailing colour is blue. This is quite a new tint among the *Paradisææ*.

The remaining orders of the Papuan Avifauna may be passed over with little notice as not containing forms of special significance. I must, however, make an exception in favour of the Gallinaceous family of Megapodæ, of which New Guinea and its islands may be considered as the metropolis. Count Salvadori includes fourteen species of Megapodæ in his work. These birds have huge feet and lengthened toes which adapt them for an exclusively terrestrial life. They are remarkable for depositing their eggs in enormous mounds formed of vegetable matter, sand or earth, and leaving them to be hatched out (like those of tortoises and crocodiles) without incubation by either parent.

To the last constituent division of the Papuan Avifauna, called by Count Salvadori 'Struthionæ,' special attention must be given. The Cassowaries form one of the most important and characteristic elements of the Papuan Avifauna. In New Guinea itself at least three different species have been met with; the other six recognised by Count Salvadori are distributed over the adjacent islands, whilst a tenth species of the genus is an inhabitant of the northern portion of Queensland. The Cassowaries, together with the Emu of Australia, form a most distinct group of the 'Ratite' sub-class of birds, quite different from the Ostriches of Africa and the Rheas of America, and entirely confined to the great Australian region. The Cassowaries and Paradise-birds may be appropriately selected as two of the leading ornithic types of the Papuan sub-region.

Before leaving the subject of the birds of New Guinea mention should be made of the splendid series of illustrations of the Avifauna of New Guinea and the adjacent islands contained in Gould's *Birds of New Guinea*.<sup>23</sup> This fine work commenced by the late Mr. Gould is now being continued by Mr. R. B. Sharpe, and has already reached its nineteenth number, supplying lifelike pictures of upwards of 200 species.

The Reptiles of New Guinea, although presenting many features of interest, need not detain us so long as the birds: the best account of them is that given by the late Dr. Peters and Marquis Doria in their catalogue of the specimens of this group collected by the travellers Beccari, D'Albertis and Bruijn.<sup>24</sup> From this we estimate that the known reptiles of New Guinea are already upwards of sixty in number, whilst it is certain that many more remain to be discovered.

The following table gives a summary of the principal group.

<sup>23</sup> *The Birds of New Guinea and the adjacent Papuan Islands*. By John Gould. London, 1875-83.

<sup>24</sup> See their 'Catalogo dei Rettili e Batraci raccolti da G. Beccari, L. M. d'Albertis ed A. A. Bruijn nella Nuova Guinea propriamente detta.' *Ann. Mus. Civ. di Genova*, xlii. p. 338 (1878).

## Table of Papuan Reptiles and Batrachians.

## a. REPTILES.

I. Crocodiles	1
II. Tortoises	1
III. Lizards	
1. Monitors	4
2. Skinks	21
3. Geckoes	7
4. Agamids	8

40

## IV. Serpents

Non-venomous	1. Colubrids	7
	2. Acrochordians	1
	3. Boas	7
Venomous	4. Elapines	6

21

68

12

## b. BATRACHIANS (Tail-less)

Crocodiles seem to be fortunately rare on the coasts of New Guinea, and but one species has yet been recorded from the northern shores, though it is highly probable that a second may exist on the southern shores adjacent to Australia. Of Tortoises also, exclusive of the Marine Turtles, only one species seems to have been yet discovered. The Lizards hitherto recognised have been referred to about forty species, and belong mostly to groups likewise prevalent in Australia. Finally, of serpents about twenty-one species are now known to occur in New Guinea, of which six belong to the venomous, and fifteen to the non-venomous group of the order. When we consider the serpents of New Guinea more in detail, we shall be again struck with the resemblances which they present to the herpetology of Australia. Amongst the Boas, for example, we find in New Guinea nearly allied representatives of the Carpet-snake (*Morelia*) of Australia. Again, like Australia, New Guinea is entirely free from the true venomous serpents with perforated poison-fangs, the six venomous snakes hitherto met with within its area being all referable to Elapine genera with grooved poison teeth, which are also prevalent in Australia. It is thus evident that an examination of the reptiles of New Guinea induces conclusions like those derived from a study of its mammals and birds, that the fauna of New Guinea is essentially of the same type as that of Australia.

The Batrachians of New Guinea hitherto recognised are not numerous, consisting only of about twelve species of the tailless division, which contains our well-known toads, frogs, and tree-frogs. One of these may be noticed as constituting a very peculiar Papuan type (*Xenobatrachus*); of the remainder, the majority are of marked Australian character, although many of the species are peculiar.

The Fishes of New Guinea are not well known in this country, although our national collection contains, as might have been expected, numerous specimens from the adjoining seas. But the late Dr. Bleeker, a distinguished ichthyologist of Holland, has published many memoirs on Papuan ichthyology in various Dutch periodicals.<sup>27</sup> And Mr. William Macleay, of Sydney, who, as already mentioned, carried out a special scientific expedition to Torres Straits and New Guinea in the 'Chevert' in 1875, made on this occasion, and subsequently, through his collectors, a considerable collection of fishes, and has contributed a series of articles on them to the *Proceedings* of the Linnean Society of New South Wales.

The Land-Mollusks of New Guinea were likewise diligently collected during the 'Chevert Expedition,' and the results published by Mr. John Brazier, of Sydney, in the same journal, whilst in Europe Signor Tapparone-Canefri has examined the collection of Land-Shells made by M. Raffray on the northern coast.<sup>28</sup> Signor Tapparone-Canefri has also recently issued an elaborate and important memoir on the Land-Mollusks of New Guinea and its adjoining islands,<sup>29</sup> which takes up a whole part of the *Annals* of the Museo Civico of Genoa.

But, without descending further into the scale of animal life, I think that what has been above stated is quite sufficient to enable us to arrive at very reliable results concerning the general *fauna* of New Guinea.

Taking, first of all, the mammals as our guide, we observe that the leading feature of the Papuan Mammal-fauna consists in the almost entire absence of all the more highly organised forms of mammal life, and the prevalence of marsupials. This is likewise the case in Australia.

Again, in New Guinea the very low and abnormal forms of mammal-life called 'Monotremes' occur. This is another clear proof of the intimate connection of New Guinea with Australia.

Passing on to the birds, it will be found that a study of the Papuan elements of this class will lead to exactly the same conclusion. The prevalence of lories, kingfishers, honey-eaters, fruit-pigeons, and megapodes is only paralleled in Australia, which also, like New Guinea, has no woodpeckers. At the same time there is a strong element of individuality in the Papuan Avifauna exhibited in the following three ways. (1) By the large number of species in New Guinea, which, although belonging to Australian genera, are themselves peculiar to Papua. (2) By the existence in New Guinea of such families as the Paradise-birds and Cassowaries, which, although feebly represented in

<sup>27</sup> See list of his papers in Mr. E. C. Rye's *Bibliography of New Guinea*, p. 290.

<sup>28</sup> M. Raffray visited Havre Dorey and Amboaki in 1877, having been sent out on a scientific mission by the French Minister of Public Instruction. See his report in *Bull. Soc. Géogr.* p. 335. Paris, 1878.

<sup>29</sup> 'Fauna Malacologica della Nuova Guinea e delle isole adiacenti. Parte I: Molluschi terrestri.' *Ann. Mus. Civ. di Genova*, vol. xix.



Australia, are in the main restricted to New Guinea and its islands. (2) By the presence in New Guinea of a few forms characteristic of the adjacent oriental region, which embraces Southern Asia and the great Sunda Islands.<sup>20</sup> These may be looked upon, like *Sus* among mammals, as recent intruders from the north. An examination of other groups of Papuan animals, so far as they are known to us, will only serve to strengthen the conclusions already pointed to, which may be shortly summarised as follows:

1. New Guinea belongs essentially to the Australian region of the world's surface.
2. New Guinea has nevertheless certain types peculiar to itself or feebly represented in Australia.
3. New Guinea has also a slight but appreciable oriental element in its fauna.

It follows that New Guinea and the adjacent islands may be considered as constituting a particular subdivision of the primary Australian Region, characterised by the possession of certain special forms, and a slight mixture of oriental elements, which may be appropriately called the 'Papuan Sub-region.'

<sup>20</sup> Such as *Buccones*, *Eupetes*, and *Gracula*.

P. I. SCLATER.

## REVISION OF THE BIBLE.

THE honourable and arduous task undertaken by the Old Testament Revision 'Company' has been long in hand—necessarily so, it may be, partly from the often minute and difficult character of the work, but more perhaps from the number of persons engaged upon it. For although 'in the multitude of counsellors' there is sometimes 'safety,' there is also very often too much of hindrance, through differences of opinion and frequent discussions leading to nothing, or to worse. The work, however, has been completed at last; and in one respect it is more fortunate than its predecessor of the New Testament. It has been received with something more of welcome, or at least with fewer hard words, than were often dealt to the latter. This indeed is a point on which it may as yet be premature to speak positively. It is true that no such vehement onslaught has been hitherto made upon the new text as that which, from different sides, awaited the companion work. But this may be only because the attack is not yet ready to deliver. Even a Dean or a Baronet who may be eager for the fight, however much at home he may be in the Greek Testament, may deem it expedient to take time to prepare his weapons for the less familiar field of Hebrew criticism. This knotty point will no doubt be speedily settled. Meanwhile, and failing objections of a weightier kind than have yet appeared, the ordinary reader may be satisfied that the Revised Version, as now before us, is really deserving of the moderate amount of praise which has thus far been bestowed upon it, although it is by no means all that it might have been.<sup>1</sup>

The reader's first impressions as to the general character of the result must, we apprehend, be wholly favourable. Yet, to those who are able to look below the surface, such impressions will hardly fail to be somewhat disturbed by a little continuous examination. This, however, is said with the utmost respect for the Revisers, whose collective wisdom ought certainly to outweigh the judgment of any single individual. Nevertheless, truth has been found to lie even

<sup>1</sup> It is proper to mention that the present paper was written before the publication of the article on the subject in a recent *Quarterly Review*. That article, as was to be expected, is severely hostile to the new version: but its peculiar *antithesis* is such as goes far to deprive it of value as a critical judgment.

with a minority of one! But, not to presume upon this, every thing advanced in the present paper is offered with all due submission—and it will no doubt be received, by those who may favour it with their notice—for no more than it is worth.

However this may be, it is allowable to point out that a large proportion of the changes contained in the revised pages were simply matters of course, and could not have been missed by any competent hand. In no small degree they have, in substance, been anticipated by previous revisers of whom the world has heard but little. A great merit of the Revision is that it has usually left unspoiled the style and rhythm of the venerable Authorised. There are indeed instances to the contrary, which the reader may find in familiar passages in the Psalms for example, but such cases are not numerous any more than are those in which change may be said to have been made for mere changing's sake. Too many instances, however, occur in which a close adherence to the Hebrew idiom has injured the English, and even left the sense obscure; and places are also met with in which archaic or obsolete words have been retained—words which, in accordance with American suggestions, had better have been allowed quietly to drop into disuse.

On such points as these, much has been written by others, and it is not requisite here to enter into details respecting them. Making due allowance for such instances, it remains substantially true that the revised text as a whole, not only reads well, but also forms for those who read it a more faithful representative of the original than that which has hitherto commonly been in their hands. The faults of the Revised largely consist of faults retained from the Authorised. In regard to these it is no worse than the Authorised, while in innumerable cases it is better, as of course it ought to be.

One who judges thus should not forget to allow something for the difficulties under which the Revisers may be said to have worked. In this remark we refer to the Rules prescribed to them by Convocation as well as to the regard which, avowedly or not, had naturally to be paid to the received theologies of the day. What more precisely is intended by these observations will be seen as we proceed—and, in the first place, may be noticed several of the points to which attention is especially invited by the Revisers in their Preface.

(1) The Hebrew Text adopted as the basis of the Revision is, we are told, the Masoretic; the text, that is, which was in the keeping of the Rabbins of the early Christian centuries, and which had been handed down to them (as the term Masoretic implies) from still earlier ages. This text of the original, carefully preserved and no doubt corrected from time to time, where thought defective, was at length in the sixteenth century committed to the press, and since that time has existed in a tolerably fixed and unvaried form. We may be reasonably certain that, allowing for accidental and unimportant

variations, we have now in our hands the sacred text much as it was in the New Testament times. At any rate, we have no other, so it may be as well to speak kindly of what we possess. An extreme regard for the letter has characterised Hebrew copyists and commentators in all ages. Hence the result, that a remarkable uniformity runs through all existing texts of the Hebrew, both manuscript and printed, attesting the care with which the books have been kept—the Rabbins even painfully counting, as they did, paragraphs and words and even letters. Hence too it is that no critical scholar would now think of correcting the Hebrew at all extensively, so as to bring it into agreement either with the Septuagint or with any other textual authority—such, for example, as the Greek of Venice, or the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The ordinary, received, or Masoretic text, then, as found in the printed editions, was used by the Revisers as the basis of their work. Only, as they inform us, ‘in some few instances of extreme difficulty’ they have adopted a reading on the authority of the ancient versions, recording in the margin this departure from their standard. In other instances, variations possessed of a certain probability have been placed in the margin, and the reader will often find that these are not without interest, though but rarely of any substantial importance.

In thus adhering to a definite form of text already established, the Revisers would find their work much simplified, as compared with the laborious task which the Greek revisers undertook, of forming (virtually) a new text for themselves. In truth no other course was open to the O. T. Company. The materials for the formation of a new Hebrew text hardly exist, at least in any available form; or, again, so far as they exist, they would, if applied, scarcely yield results worth the labour that would be required for utilising them. Any one may see this, who will compare the collection of Hebrew readings formed long ago, with wonderful pains and industry, by Kennicott, or the much more recent small collection by Dr. S. Davidson. Some Hebrew manuscripts of much earlier date than any previously known are stated to have been recently brought to light in Egypt. We are not aware that these have as yet been carefully examined, or whether even these oldest of Hebrew manuscripts are likely to afford new readings of any importance. The recent and important ‘Masorah’ of Dr. Ginsburg ought not to be overlooked in this connection, although the writer has had no opportunity of consulting it.

(2) The Revisers proceed to say how they have borne in mind the duty not to make a new translation, but only to revise one already in existence, which has held the position of a classic in the language for more than two centuries. No doubt it was well to keep this carefully in view; but opinions will differ as to whether the Rule may not have been at times too strictly and even unwarrantably adhered to.

Many renderings of importance in which the Authorized has been allowed to stand, out of deference it may be presumed to this rule, are extremely doubtful, to say the least, and to some of them a marginal note has not been added, as it ought to have been, to apprise the reader as to the uncertainty attending the words. For example, in the word 'son,' in Psalm ii. 12; here, indeed, the margin states that 'some ancient versions render *Lay hold of* (or *Receive*) *instruction*, others *Worship in purity*': but it does not state that the rendering 'son' is altogether doubtful, or more than doubtful. The Hebrew word *bar* in the sense of son is an Aramaic word of late use. It occurs in the Chaldee of Ezra and Daniel, but only in one place in the Hebrew books, namely Proverbs xxxi. 2, where it may be taken as indicative of the comparatively late composition of this part of that book. On the other hand, the word (that is, the consonants *br*) occurs several times in the older Hebrew in the sense of *clear*, *pure*; as in Psalm xxiv. 4, 'pure of heart.' It may be used in Psalm ii. 12, in the adverbial sense of *purely*, that is, *sincerely*, or *with reverence*. The meaning therefore may be, Kiss, pay the homage expressed by kissing the garment of Jehovah's anointed king, purely, sincerely, with the reverence due. Against the rendering 'the son,' is the conclusive objection that the original has no Article, which, with such a signification, could not have been absent. Hence the rendering 'son' is inadmissible, or at best extremely doubtful, and this ought at any rate to have been noted. But then this Psalm is usually considered a Messianic Psalm, and very probably it is thought by most readers to refer to Christ, and taken to be a very definite and particular prophecy of Him that was to be Son in the later Christian sense. Nothing can be more ingenious, or more fallacious, than these dogmatic interpretations often are; and it must be added, there are too many of them, even in this revised Old Testament.

Another such case, and one which has probably been determined under a similar influence, may be found in Genesis xlix. 10, 'until Shiloh come.' Here either the first or the second margin is far more probable than the words kept in the text. The words should read therefore, 'until he come to Shiloh,' or else, 'until that which is his shall come.' If, however, the rendering given is to stand, and if Shiloh denotes the Messiah, how strange that the word is never used again throughout the Bible; and that there is nowhere in the New Testament, with all its references to the Old, any allusion to this verse as a prophecy of Christ. Moreover, the prediction, if it be one, is absolutely untrue, and was falsified by the whole later course of Jewish history. The sceptre and the ruler's staff *had* passed from Judah generations or centuries before the birth of Jesus of Nazareth; so that from every point of view the rendering which has been allowed to stand was, and is, inadmissible.

A third case of this kind may be found in Proverbs viii. 22, 'The

Lord possessed me.' Have there ever fairly been a question that the rendering should be 'created me,' as indeed is recognised in the margin, 'Or, formed.' This meaning of the verb is perfectly well established, as in Genesis xiv. 19, and other places. In Proverbs viii. 22, the word is thus rendered in the Septuagint (*ἐποίησέν με*), as it is in Gen. xiv. 19, and as in more than one ancient oriental text. But then, let it be observed, the Authorised corresponds to the theological idea of which Dr. Liddon has made so much in his second Bampton Lecture, to the effect that the personified Wisdom of Prov. viii. is identical with the Logos of the fourth Gospel;—that the personified Wisdom of Proverbs was therefore a kind of anticipation of that future personage in whom the Logos (in its origin, it should be remembered, a conception not of Christianity, but of Greek philosophy) was to become incarnate;—an anticipation, again, which was unknown and unheard of until some of the ancient Fathers began to speculate about it, long after it could have been of any evidential use as a prophetic anticipation applicable to Christ! This idea, baseless and extravagant as it is, would no doubt find many defenders at the present day; and it may possibly have been the real, though unavowed, reason for the retention of the word 'possessed.' We would not for a moment suggest any intentional deviation from the straight path of exact translation; but clearly a strong bias was likely to arise from such ideas and to sway the mind occupied with them, almost without its own knowledge. While this is true, it is also to be admitted that instances occur in which the meaning 'possessed' is found. It is adopted by the Revised (without much sense and against the parallelism) in Psalm cxxxix. 13, and elsewhere. Still it is not difficult to understand that where a meaning usually deemed heretical comes into a sort of competition with one of the opposite kind, the latter, in the Jerusalem Chamber, will be most likely to be preferred. Accordingly, the Revision retains 'possessed,' while 'formed' is consigned to the margin, and the full meaning *produced, created*, expressed by the Septuagint as well as by the Targum and the Syriac, is altogether ignored. The margin, however, affords at least some hint of the true state of the case, and for this the reader should not be ungrateful. Instances like Gen. xxxvii. 3, 'coat of many colours,' are rather different from the foregoing, but equally unjustifiable.

The Rule imposed by Convocation requiring a two-thirds majority for altering the Authorised manifestly tended to preserve old renderings, even against the judgment of very decided majorities of the revising body. A vote of 7 to 4, or 11 to 6, or 15 to 8, would, with such a rule, have no force. The rule was thus, in effect, an ingenious device of conservative obstruction, tending and perhaps designed to give the translators of 1611 a great advantage over the more ample knowledge and less dogmatic spirit of the nineteenth century. From

this source have probably proceeded many faulty renderings of the revised text.

(3) The next subject of importance to which the Preface calls attention is the way in which the word denoting the Sacred Name has been rendered—the Hebrew word, that is to say, which, as found in the Masoretic text, has given origin to the English form *JEHOVAH*. In reference to this important word, the following particulars should be kept in view.

The Jews from very ancient times, probably long before the Christian era, have refrained from uttering the divine name. Nor is that name now pronounced in the synagogue reading of the Hebrew scriptures. The consequence is that the true pronunciation of this word has long been lost, and is probably now irrecoverable. In the printed Bibles the original *JHVH* is pointed, that is to say, vocalised, so as to be pronounced *adonai* (Lord), and in the synagogue reading the same word *adonai* is read instead of it (with some exceptions in which the word God is substituted, and on which we need not dwell). What the origin, the pronunciation, or the meaning of the name *JhvH* may have been, can now only be matter of speculation, and the subject need not here occupy much of our attention. We are told by great authorities that the word should be vocalised as *Jahve* (Yahve), or *Jahveh*, and that it signifies in effect the Giver of Life; more literally, He that causeth to live. A slightly different account would explain it as simply expressive of existence, as though it meant, He that exists, the Self-existent One, or the Eternal, as rendered by the Jewish translator Benisch. This explanation is closely related to yet another, which is perhaps only an old Rabbinical fancy. It detects in the form *Jehovah* an abbreviation for the future and past tenses as well as the present participle of the Hebrew verb of existence. According to this the meaning would again be, The Eternal, He who was, who is and who shall be. This is almost too ingenious; but it is not without support, as in Revelation i. 4, where the strongly Hebraising writer gives in Greek a designation of the Almighty which closely corresponds to this last stated derivation of *JhvH*. Support for the same view has been found in an inscription on the temple of Isis, quoted by Gesenius from Plutarch, which may be Englished, 'I am that which was and is and shall be.' The most recent discussion of the subject may be seen in the works mentioned below.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving these uncertain points, we have next to notice a fact on which there is no doubt or question whatever. The ancient translators of the Septuagint, about 220 B.C., following the sentiment and usage of their people, refrained from translating, as no doubt they refrained from uttering, the sacred name. They had the word *JhvH* indeed in their Hebrew manuscripts; but, not attempting any trans-

<sup>2</sup> *Hebrew Words and Synonyms*, Part I. By Rev. Edward G. King, B.D. 1884. Comp. Prof. Driver's Essay on the 'Tetragrammaton', in *Studia Biblica*, 1885.

lation of it, they too fall back upon the word *adonai*. This, however, they rendered in their Greek version by the Greek *Kúrios* (Lord). Thus *Kúrios* came by a kind of accident to stand in the Septuagint as the representative of the sacred and unutterable Jhvh—not as being a translation of it (for it was never translated, any more than it was ever uttered), but simply as its substitute or representative. Hence again from the Septuagint version in which this first occurred, the word Lord (*Dominus*) came into the Latin, and from this again into nearly all modern versions, and more particularly into the Authorised English of 1611. To this must now be added the Revised Version of 1885.

The Revisers observe, 'It has been thought advisable in regard to the word 'JHVOAH' to follow the usage of the Authorised Version and not to insert it uniformly in place of 'LORD' or 'GOD,' which, when printed in small capitals, represent the words substituted by Jewish custom for the ineffable Name, according to the vowel points by which it is distinguished.' This statement is certainly surprising and was hardly to be expected from a revising Company of our day—except indeed under the constraining influence of long-descended theological prepossessions. For let the reader further observe and weigh the following considerations: the word Jhvh, whatever may have been its lost pronunciation, is a *proper name*. Probably no one who knows anything about it would think of disputing this. It is everywhere used as a proper name, quite as truly so as the words Moses, Abraham, Isaiah, or any other of the numerous personal names of the Old Testament. Now, Christian revisers may be supposed to be free from the excessive reverence of the Jews, ancient or modern, in regard to this sacred word. Why, therefore, should they not express it as what it really is, a proper name? The only reason that can be suggested is this—that we do not know how it was pronounced. But are we therefore at liberty to alter it entirely, to deprive it of its character of a personal name, and in effect banish it from our English Bible? They who would take this course should remember that we do not know how the names Moses, Abraham, Isaiah, and a hundred others were pronounced; any more than we know how the name Jhvh was pronounced. Yet no translator or reviser either, whether under the influence of Convocation or not, would think of representing these names by a totally different set of words, words altogether different from their originals both in sound and in etymological sense.

It follows from all this that the true representative of the Tetragrammaton is the name itself, whether the form preferred be Jahveh, or the venerable and euphonious JHVOAH. It is at least to be hoped that the barbarous-looking Yahveh or Yahweh will not become a permanent word of the language. The form Jehovah may in reality be not far from the ancient sound of the word, though formed apparently by the mere adaptation of the vocalisation of *adonai*, and



although, in this form, of comparatively modern origin. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the common form as pointed may preserve something of the ancient sound, handed down traditionally from pre-Christian times to the Masoretic punctuators, and by them transmitted to their successors with the vowels of *adonai*. At any rate the form *Jehovah* has just the same right to be used as the representative of the unutterable name, as the word *Moses* or any other name of Hebrew history to be retained as the designation of the person to whom it is given. The exact pronunciation of these personal names is no more known than is that of '*Jehovah*,' but yet no one hesitates to employ them as they stand.

In the recent translation of the Hebrew Scriptures by Mr. Samuel Sharpe the form *Jehovah* is everywhere consistently employed. This is done with excellent effect; for the word is itself one of expressive and interesting form and sound, and is in no way unworthy to stand as the representative of the Name of Names.

The Revisers must therefore be held to have acted arbitrarily in their treatment of this word; and we are left to the conjecture that here again reasons of the theological kind have had more to do with this adherence to the term '*Lord*,' than they would themselves care to admit. The following considerations will illustrate this conclusion. The *Kúrios* of the Septuagint, the representative in that version of the untranslated *Jhvh*, is also perpetually recurring in the Christian scriptures. And is not this, some will ask, most significant? Does it not suggest, adumbrate, foretell, anticipate, even though with singular obscurity, the mysterious fact of the identity of the Person denoted by the word *Kúrios* in the two Testaments?—thus showing prophetically the real nature of Him to whom the Christian Church owes its existence and has given the name of *Lord*? Against this ingenious theory there is the fatal objection before alluded to, namely, that the idea of the supposed identity was unknown and never thought of until the ingenuity of the Church Fathers had begun to speculate about the *Logos*, long after the date when the coincidence might have been useful as a proof of anything. Yet the theory is one which is by no means out of favour with English theologians of a certain school. It may be found in the writings even of eminent preachers and scholars like Dr. Liddon and Professor Kennedy of Cambridge. The latter, in his Christmas Day sermon (1882) before the University, expressly makes use of this argument, quite easily assuming that the *Lord* of the Old Testament must needs be the *Lord* of the New. Nevertheless, this old fancy of the Fathers, though advanced anew by these eminent scholars, is about as groundless as other ingenious things to be met with in the same ancient writers—their statements for instance about demoniacal possessions and their attendant marvels.

The mode of dealing with this word in the Old Testament will

remind some readers of the somewhat analogous way in which the New Testament Revisers have treated the term *πνεῦμα*, in some places rendering it by 'Spirit,' in others by the word 'Ghost'; this too in bold defiance of their own principle of uniformity of rendering, so very faithfully applied in small and unimportant cases. According to this in itself very proper principle the same Greek word, wherever the sense and context admit, should always be rendered by the same English. But why, then, was not this done in so weighty a case as this of the word *πνεῦμα*?—why, except that to have applied it consistently would have been to leave a great word of the Creeds out of the New Testament?—and that would have been heresy indeed. Accordingly the rendering 'Ghost' must be retained, at whatever sacrifice of consistency, and even though so excellent a word as 'Spirit' with its depth and richness of signification could so easily and so rightly have been substituted for it—this, too, in every case without a single exception.

Before taking leave of this subject it may be well to notice the way in which the Revisers have sometimes dealt with the word *adonai*. Strictly and properly, the form is 'my lord,' or 'my master'; a term of deference and respect used of and to a superior, like *Κύριος* frequently in the New Testament. So it is in the case of Abraham's servant speaking of his master, Gen. xxiv. 12, 27. In some cases, however, the word has been given by the Revision as 'the Lord' (Gen. xviii. 27, 30, 32; Ps. ii. 4; compare Ps. cx. 1, 5), as if it were the word Jehovah, only not in small capitals. The consequence is that, whereas Abraham speaking to Jehovah addresses him in the familiar form of 'my lord' (just as he might have done with any human personage), the Revision makes it appear (or rather follows the Authorised, in leaving it to appear) as if the higher title 'the Lord,' with its religious associations, were employed by Abraham in this familiar conversation with Jehovah. The meaning 'my lord,' is properly adopted by the Revision in Gen. xviii. 3, xix. 19; but here, as if with the purpose of going as far from the exact meaning as possible, a margin has been added, 'Or, O Lord.' Why has this inaccurate margin been added? The Hebrew word does not mean 'O Lord,' but simply 'my lord,' or, at most, 'O my lord,' as in numerous cases throughout the Hebrew Scriptures. Have we merely an oversight in this margin; or is it a result of the same tendency to make the Old Testament correspond as much as possible to ideas of the popular theology of our day?

The proposal has been made by an over-sealous person, and made we believe to the Revisionists, to print all adjectives and pronouns in immediate connection with the Divine name with initial Capitals, in the manner of the Sermons and other Compositions of a certain modern School of Theologians. Happily this attempt to modernise the Old Testament and make it speak the language of a sect has not

thus far succeeded, and probably it was not even entertained by the Revision Company. But some of the facts commented upon in the foregoing pages exhibit too much of the dogmatic spirit which dictated this proposal.

(4) In regard to the difficult word *Sheol*, rendered in the Authorised by 'grave,' 'pit,' or 'hell,' the mode of proceeding appears to be on the whole not injudicious. The word is very probably a proper name, like the Greek Hades, denoting the under-world, or abode of the souls of the dead. 'Under-world' is scarcely admissible as an English word; otherwise, it might have been used as the equivalent of *Sheol*. 'Grave,' and 'pit' are either of them too insignificant to stand as its sole representative. 'Hell,' considering the ideas commonly associated with the term, is decidedly wrong, but the Revisers have left it in one passage, in which the context, as they think, sufficiently suggests and guards the signification intended. But this may be doubted, and with ignorant or unthoughtful readers, such as we have in Sunday Schools as well as in congregations, the popular meaning of the word is pretty sure to be understood. Would it not then have been better, in Isaiah xiv., to have rendered 'The world beneath is moved for thee,' with '*Sheol*' in the margin? The Revision would thus have been rid of the objectionable 'hell' altogether; as this word ought also to have been removed from the New Testament, as a term which, in its mediæval and still living acceptation, goes so far beyond the real meaning of the original. The revisers have left 'grave' or 'pit' in the text (they tell us) in historical narratives—but have used the original word itself in the poetical books. This may pass, but it is not easy to see why 'pit' should have been introduced in place of 'hell,' in such a passage as Psalm lv. 15, 'Let them go down alive into the pit,' when *Sheol* would have read equally well, and has in so many other places been substituted. In such cases there is perhaps simply oversight; but everywhere it is well that the original *Sheol* is found noted in the margin, when not used in the text. This gives at least the suggestion of uniformity which is due to the Hebrew; and it enables a reader to detect and correct the inconsistency of the Revision. In many places too the word 'grave' would have been a more poetical and melodious word than the unfamiliar *Sheol*; as in Job xi. 8, 'Deeper than the grave, what canst thou know?' \*

The Revisers would have preferred the word 'hell,' they tell us, as the usual rendering of '*Sheol*,' could the former 'have been taken in its original sense, as used in the Creeds.' This is a strange and surely an inconsiderate statement. Can there be a doubt that the word hell, 'as used in the Creeds,' by those who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries imposed or re-imposed the Creeds upon the English Church, was intended to be understood in the mediæval sense as 'the place of torment'? The Fathers of English orthodoxy, as it was then established, were devout believers in a hell of the most un-

questionable kind, one of fire and brimstone, devils and lost souls. Such then, there can be no doubt, was intended to be the 'hell' of the Creeds. From a Sheol of this description, it is at least satisfactory to see that the Revisers so evidently shrink, in common most probably with all thoughtful religious persons of our day.

(5) The reader of the revised New Testament will be prepared to find that the revisers of the Old, while retaining the numbering of the chapters and verses, have arranged their text in paragraphs, and at the same time have abandoned the chapter and page headings. This latter course was unavoidable, in the hands of honest and capable workmen. The headings of the Authorised are too often a confused and strange medley, tending only to put the reader off the true historical interpretation of a passage. This is more especially the case in the prophetic books. The headings are in truth wholly without authority, and nobody can say with any certainty from whose hand they proceeded. But one thing is clear enough, namely, that they correspond to the theological belief of King James's revisers, and the century to which *they* belonged, and if we are not to regard such persons as infallible, there is no reason for adhering to their ideas of the meaning of passages, unless independent inquiry should sanction them, as no doubt, in historical books, it often does. It is a pity that our popular preachers do not sometimes give their people more information than they commonly do give, on more than one of the points just touched.

(6) More questionable is the style of printing adopted by the Revisers, in order to exhibit the parallelism which is characteristic of Hebrew poetry. To some extent, a degree of parallelism is characteristic of Hebrew prose also, for this too has a constant tendency to run into the style designated by that term. Everywhere, however, this form of composition, where it exists, speaks for itself and asserts itself. It was therefore unnecessary, for the sake of exhibiting it to the eye, to print the English version in lines so often broken and unsightly. The text is greatly disfigured by this arrangement, especially in pages or columns of small size, where so often the sentence cannot be put into one line, and where therefore there is a constant overrunning of words, and a breaking up of the lines into unequal parts. What can be more unpleasant in this way than the appearance of many portions of Job, for example?—or the greater part of Psalm xviii.?—or much of Psalm lxxxix.? In such cases and as a rule, nothing would have been lost, and much space would have been saved, by printing the lines in the ordinary prose manner, and leaving the parallelism to speak for itself, as it would mostly do. Moreover, there is at times in the English a sort of pretence of parallelism to which the sense does not correspond—that is to say, there is no true parallelism, while yet the words are printed as if there were.

The inexpediency of this mode of printing is tacitly acknowledged by the Revisers when they come to the prophetic books, which although poetical in their language and spirit and abounding in instances of the most beautiful parallelism, as in Isaiah i. 2 *seq.*, are printed as prose. It is to be regretted that the same mode of printing has not been followed throughout.

(7) The Preface further speaks of the relations of the English revisers with the American O. T. Company, which, as in the case of the New Testament, appear to have been of an advantageous and harmonious character. The Americans, it will strike many persons, have shown themselves more free from hampering influences than their English co-workers, and have proposed various changes, the rejection of which many readers will regret. Among these is the suggestion to introduce the word *Jehovah*, wherever it occurs in the Hebrew text. This proposal, with many others of less consequence, was rejected by the English revisers, no doubt on consideration, but, so far as appears, without reason given. The reader has nevertheless, the advantage of seeing the American suggestions in the Appendix to each volume of the Revised Version.

Passing on from the Preface, a few additional observations may now be made on detached passages of special interest; and these will occupy the remainder of this paper.

The words of Exodus iii. 14 are interesting both in themselves and because of the persistent attempts which have been made to connect them with John viii. 58. 'And God said unto Moses, I am that I am:' the margin properly recognises the fact that the tense here used is really a *future* in form, and that the words may be rendered, 'I will be that I will be.' The Authorised rendering to which the revisers have adhered may have had its origin from the Septuagint, imitated, though not closely, by the Vulgate, and so received into modern versions. The Septuagint reads *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, I am the existing one; or better, I am he who is. This is little more than a loose paraphrase and not by any means a close rendering of the Hebrew; and it was departed from by the ancient translators Aquila and Theodotion, who were both of them Jews, or Jewish converts, and well acquainted with Hebrew. Both of these translators are remarkable for the literal character of their Greek renderings from the Hebrew. They translate the words before us by the future *ἐσθωμαι ὅτι ἐσθωμαι*, I will be what I will be; and this was followed by Luther, by early English translators, by Dathe, Castalio, Geddes, Wellbeloved, and others. The purport of the words, in either rendering, it is not so easy to perceive. In the one case, it may be eternity of existence, suggesting the connection of the phrase with the name *Jehovah*;<sup>\*</sup> in the other case, it may be faithfulness to promises, as though the

\* The words are perhaps simply equivalent to '*Jehovah*' expressed, as it were, in the first person.

Speaker would say, My name shall be, 'I will be faithful to the promises made of old to the fathers and now to you the people of Israel.'

In either case, the want of connection with John viii. 58 is clear enough. Here, a totally different reference, that namely to the Logos idea of the Gospel, is what most probably unlocks the meaning of the passage: or otherwise the 'I am' of John is the same as the 'I am' of Mark xiii. 6, and is found also in other places of the fourth Gospel. The meaning, therefore, may be 'I am *he*,' that is to say, the expected Messiah. We venture to think that the margin, in this case as in others, ought to have stood in the text; but to put it in this place of honour was more perhaps than ought to be asked for.

In Exodus vi. 2, the new text *has* been bold enough to adopt the form JEHOVAH instead of 'the LORD.' From the nature of the context it could not have done otherwise. The same form recurs no less than four times in this chapter (vv. 2, 3, 7, 8); then after this unwonted adherence to the original, the rendering weakly goes back (v. 11) to the old form, 'the LORD.' Such is the inconsistency put upon our Revisers, or a preponderating minority of them, by the tyranny of long-descended usage—just as it must be held to have been in the New Testament in the case of the word 'Ghost,' and in several others of equal importance.

Passing on to the Book of Isaiah, we come to some other examples of the same inability to respond to the requirements of an independent and purely historical revision. Isaiah vii. 14, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel,' is the first case in point. The Revisers have here adhered to the old rendering, in the face of the very plainest and most incontestable Hebrew. This, literally rendered, runs thus:— 'Behold the maiden (or young woman) is with child and beareth a son and calleth his name Immanuel.' The article before 'maiden' has been left unacknowledged, except, in the margin. The word rendered 'virgin,' it is well ascertained, is a word of elastic import, and may here denote what the words immediately following suggest, probably a young woman whose state was known to the prophet, and who was therefore, it may be inferred, the prophet's own wife. The word which the Revisers have rendered by 'shall conceive,' is not a verb but a verbal adjective, denoting an existing condition, not a future one. It is the identical word which occurs in connection with Hagar, Genesis xvi. 11, where it is correctly given by the Revision, 'Behold, thou art with child.' Why, then, is there such a deviation from the Hebrew in the rendering of the words of Isaiah?—why, except, consciously or unconsciously, to suit a foregone theological theory as to the child of which Isaiah speaks? The margin, it may be said, apprises the reader of the true form of the Hebrew. But then, it should be remembered, the margin will not usually be read from the pulpit. The result therefore to the great public of church

and chapel-goers will be much the same as if the Revision had adopted the bolder course of altogether keeping out of sight the exact full meaning of the prophet's words.

The necessity of close and careful rendering in this case is easily shown. It depends entirely on the translation whether the English reader is to accept the passage in its obvious historical sense, or in the imported, artificial sense of a mysterious and obscure prophecy relating to the distant future, having little connection with Isaiah's own day. The latter is what the text as it now stands will be popularly held to suggest, and would seem to have been intended to suggest; but this is altogether without warrant, if we are to be guided by the prophet's words and their context.

Isaiah is speaking with immediate reference to the events of his day, and to persons there standing before him. He wishes to inspire the king and his attendants with confidence, and he gives them a visible sign by which they may be informed and guided. He refers to a person of whom he has knowledge whose child is shortly to be born. This child shall have a significant name given to it, and in this name is the main strength of the prophecy. The child shall be called 'Immanuel' (God is with us), and thus he shall be a visible sign that Jehovah has not forgotten his people, but will be with them to deliver them. The word rendered 'a virgin' may properly have the meaning 'young woman,' as Gesenius has shown. In this he is followed by Ewald, who however regards the words as Messianic. There is no necessity for so considering them and little probability in so doing, unless we are to suppose that Isaiah expected the birth of the Messiah within a few months of the time at which he was speaking. On the other hand it is observable that this prophet is fond of these significant names. In two cases he gives such names to his children, Shear-jashub and Maher-shalal-hash-baz (vii. 3, viii. 1, 3). In this case of the child Immanuel, we have a third case of the kind; all the three therefore bearing special reference to the political circumstances of the time, and being intended to express the prophet's confidence in the future fortunes of his people, in spite of the adversities which for the moment seem to be overwhelming them. The words of the prophecy respecting Immanuel were, however, in later times, and especially among the Christians, read and applied in the Messianic sense, as is seen by the quotation of the verse in Matthew i. 23, where the writer (in Greek) of the Gospel, more faithful to the original scripture than the English revisers, has not omitted to render the article; although (probably following the Septuagint) he has used future tenses for his verbs. These tense forms, however, are not in the Hebrew; for, as before said, in the one case we have a verbal adjective, denoting a present condition, while in the two other cases we have participial forms which are present, not future, in signification.

Another of these significant names occurs in a remarkable and

usually misapplied verse, *Isaiah ix. 6*—‘Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.’ The more literal rendering is,—‘His name shall be called Wonder, Counsel-giver, mighty God [or hero], Father of duration, Prince of peace.’ Ought these terms to be regarded as forming one long compound name, like *Mahe-shalal-hash-baz*, only twice as long? or ought they to be translated as separate words, as in the Authorised followed by the Revised? *Shear-jashub*, *Mahe-shalal-hash-baz*, *Immanu-el*, are given untranslated, as proper names. It would almost seem that consistency of treatment would have dictated a similar course in regard to this longer form of name. The result would be certainly unique and somewhat fantastic perhaps in appearance; but if it correspond to the facts of the case, appearances are of but small consequence. ‘His name shall be called *Peleh-Joetz-El-gibbor-Abi-ad-Shar-shalom*’;—allowable, perhaps, and at any rate in harmony with the other significant names in the immediate context and with the usage of *Isaiah*. But this course would have been a bold one, and perhaps the Revisers have done better to keep the rendering as it was.

One other passage in this book deserves especial notice, for the care with which the Revisers have treated it. We allude to the great prophecy formed by *Isaiah lii. 13–liii. 12*. One little defect of the Revision may be pointed out. These fifteen verses do not sufficiently appear to stand together as one connected piece, which they unquestionably are. To show this, there ought to have been more of a break in the lines, between verses 12 and 13 of chapter *lii.*; whereas, as the passage stands, the reader has no intimation given him whether he is to consider verses 13, 14, 15, as belonging to chapter *lii.* and forming its conclusion, or as belonging to *liii.* and forming its commencement. The latter is, however, very clearly the case, and it might have been indicated to the reader by the insertion of the word ‘*But,*’ at the beginning of *liii. 1*.

Next may be observed the historical character given to this passage, probably not intentionally, but only as an incidental consequence of the careful rendering of the tenses. Down to *liii. 10*, we have the statement of what may be termed the ground of the prophetic anticipations which follow. The tenses are here historical, and are so rendered throughout. The translation is indeed as close as it well can be, perhaps a little too much so, in one or two places, and the effect is consistent and harmonious. The result of the sufferings of the Servant of Jehovah shall be, for his people, prosperity, redemption, expiation of their sins—in accordance with the ancient and widely spread idea that by suffering, even the suffering of others, sin may be atoned for and put away. The ‘Servant’ shall see the fruits of his work, of his past endurance and faithfulness, in the future happi-



men of Israel, in their deliverance from Babylon and restoration to their own land.

The inquiry as to the person to whom the prophet is thus referring, is not one to be here entered upon at any length. But several sections of this part of the Book (from chapter xl. onwards), in which the Servant of Jehovah is introduced, very plainly indicate that what the prophet has in his mind can be no other than the collective Israel, especially the more faithful portion of the nation, who stood firm in their adherence to the service and worship of Jehovah amidst the misfortunes of the Captivity. In several instances the Servant is expressly named as 'Jacob' and as 'Israel' (xli. 8, 14; xliv. 1; xiv. 4; xlix. 3); and is evidently not one individual but a plurality of individuals: 'But thou Israel my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. . . . Thou art my servant, I have chosen thee and not cast thee away. . . . Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel; I will help thee, saith Jehovah' (xli. 8, 9, 14). The import of such expressions is too plain to be missed, and it might seem that only the most devoted allegiance to a foregone conclusion could prevent a man from seeing what the prophet intends to denote under this often recurring phrase. So then, he commences the section, lii. 13—liii. 12, by naming this ideal person in the usual way as the 'Servant,' and goes on to say that, notwithstanding his adversities and sufferings, he shall prosper and see the reward of his faithfulness.

In the wording of the passage, which indeed required but little correction, two or three of the marginal alterations appear to suit the main drift of the whole better than the words actually placed in the text. On these we must not dwell, except only to observe that the word 'deaths' in the margin of liii. 9 corresponds to the plurality of the ideal object in the prophet's thoughts; and that the word 'rich' in the same verse should at least have had a margin. In scriptural usage this word is at times synonymous with proud, oppressive, tyrannical—as indeed the rich men of those times so often were. The word, therefore, may here denote the Babylonian masters and oppressors of Jehovah's Servant. With them, in the midst of them, his grave has been made, far away from his own land. This explanation is favoured or required by the parallel 'wicked.' An alternative rendering would have served to warn readers off the notion of a reference to the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea. This, however, with many expositors would be a good reason for omitting such a margin.

But to these small corrections and strictures there might obviously be no end. Such books as Isaiah, Job, and the Psalms present matter and occasion for comment in endless variety. And each critic may easily bring out a different set of suggestions—for indeed Hebrew words are too often vague and elastic as well as obscure enough to allow of very different renderings. And so, from all this it

follows that the ordinary or unlearned reader may be fairly satisfied with the Old Testament Revised as it is now put into his hands; and may receive it as the best that is for the present attainable—at least under the auspices of so numerous and distinguished a ‘company.’

It follows again that it will be the duty of English people who ‘profess and call themselves Christians,’ to make use of this Old Testament! They, at least, who say that they value the Bible as the very ‘Word of God,’ will not surely be satisfied to read from their pulpits, or give to their children, an inferior and often misleading representative of the Divine Word, when a more adequate and correct form of it is at their command. Have they even a right to do this, supposing they have the power? Theological bias and long-established custom have indeed in such a question enormous influence. But with reasonable people, capable of forming an intelligent judgment on these subjects, mere sentiment and use or even the dogmatic systems of churches, ought not to be allowed to override the dictates of common sense, so as to render fruitless the appeal of sound learning, as virtually made in this Revised Version—proceeding as it does from earnest and competent scholars. Indifference and neglect such as this are not to be justified, hardly to be expected. But alas, in the case of the New Testament the vast majority, both of churches and ministers, have hitherto shown that they belong to the class of which the irreconcilable old monk was a distinguished member. Like him in reading his Latin manuscript, they too have largely preferred to cling to their ancient *mumpsimus*, or rather its English equivalent, merely because they have been accustomed to it, and even when the right word is placed before their eyes. Whether, and how far, this will be done in the case of the Old Testament too, time will show; and for the present no very sanguine expectation can be entertained on the point.

#### NOTE.

In the foregoing remarks on ‘the Servant of Jehovah’ and some kindred topics, it is not intended to imply that the Hebrew prophets, or some of them, did not look forward to a wide diffusion of their religion, ‘the knowledge of Jehovah’ (Isaiah xi. 9) among the nations. There can be no doubt that they did so. But that their anticipation had the definite personal form attributed to it by later Christian interpreters, and commonly assumed in the popular theologies of our time, is more than questionable.

G. VANCE SMITH.

## WHAT THE WORKING CLASSES READ.

A GREAT deal is said and written nowadays about the education and enlightenment of the masses. The working man, as compared with his ancestor, is regarded as a prodigy of learning. Nearly every newspaper is conducted with a view, if not to finding favour with 'the people,' at least to avoid giving the people offence. Publications of all kinds—religious, political, philanthropic, social—are started in their interests. Periodicals edited especially to meet the wants of the British working man and his wife are launched in legions upon the bookseller's stall, and cheap editions innumerable take the field almost hourly. To cast one's eye over the pile of papers and serials in the first stationer's one comes to is to receive the impression that the working classes must be the most omnivorous devourers of mental food ever known. A market which a century since was exclusively controlled by the aristocracy is now open to the democrat or the socialist equally with the most blue-blooded of peers. 'A Workman' gets his letter to the editor printed in the *Times*; and the national newspaper even advocates the cause of the all-prescient proletariat. The monthly reviews print articles from representatives of trade-unions, and the venerable and stately quarterlies undertake to criticise the doings of the democracy only in the most conciliatory, not to say flattering, spirit. Now and again some austere political misanthrope ventures to characterise this pandering to the popular palate as 'venal rubbish,' but it is a protest against a condition of things supported by general acclamation. As with the most reactionary of politicians, so with the most prejudiced of newspaper and magazine editors. The working classes, it is believed, must be 'won over,' or success is impossible. How universal is this impression a very cursory glance at the broadsheets and handy volumes of the present day will demonstrate. Demos, in fact, having acquired full command of Parliamentary power, is now rapidly becoming the spoilt child of the press. What is the motive of the journalist? Is it utilitarian or mercenary? or has he merely fallen a victim to popular superstition?

In some cases, doubtless, it is utilitarian; in many more, purely mercenary; in all an affirmative reply to the last question would explain the phenomenon. When the duty on paper was removed, it

is hardly a figure of speech to say that the literary floodgates were opened, and the land was swamped with publications of every degree of pretension and worth. Great Britain was to be socially, morally, and politically regenerated by means of the printing press. Enterprising publishers started papers appealing to all varieties of taste. The brothers Chambers, with skilful fingers, turned the hose of their genius upon the kingdom; every educated hand seemed anxious to join in the good work, and societies for the dissemination of useful knowledge attained a luxuriant profusion in the new-born crusade against the darkness, the ignorance, the degradation of centuries. A sacred fire possessed the organisers of the people's press, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century the full force of the injunction 'Let there be light' seemed to be borne in upon the soul of wide-awake journalists. In right good earnest they set to work to lift the lowly from the quagmires and cesspools in which their earthly lives were supposed to be plunged, and—is it libellous to add?—to make money. Few philanthropic movements are more hollow in their aims than the philanthropy of the press. Take up almost any paper, unless it be a so-called 'society' journal, or a journal appealing exclusively to the drawing room, and it is difficult to resist the exclamation, 'How disinterested!' Apparently the broadsheet was started and is maintained solely in the cause of the people. If the upper classes are so fortunate as to escape being rated on their ill-gotten affluence and unwarranted social or political eminence, neither are the lower classes any longer the butt for the satire and contempt of the leader-writer. The operations of the pen-and-ink purgatory go briskly forward. Directly any abuse in the ranks of the masses is discovered, an article is secured on it in one of the papers, and an organisation started for its removal. Never was cynicism wrapped in such a garb of solicitude. The explanation is obvious. The daily press is conducted in the interests of the people, because it is believed the people read the daily press. The belief rests on very slender grounds. The working classes concern themselves little about any newspapers save those issued on the Sabbath.

The great daily papers do not fall much into the hands of the masses. Many working men, doubtless, buy the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Chronicle*, but they buy them chiefly for their advertisements. To say, however, that the working men do not read the more influential dailies would not be true. They read them at their clubs, their eating-houses, and the public-house, whilst, in some establishments where several men—tailors for instance—are employed in a separate room, the whole number subscribes towards one or two morning papers and the time lost by one man, who, for an hour or more, will read aloud, the others listening as they work. Working-men's clubs of course take those papers which advocate the political cause to which they are attached. Publicans, as a rule, take the

*Times* or the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the special edition of the *Evening Standard*. Coffee-shops generally patronise the *Standard*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Daily News*, and the special *Evening Standard*. All these broadsheets are glanced at during meal times at the coffee-tavern, or at the public-house bar of an evening, but they exercise little effect politically. There are only two daily papers in London which exclusively appeal to and are almost exclusively bought by the man who earns his livelihood by manual toil. These are the *Echo* and the *Evening News*. For years the former held undisputed possession of the ground, and, as was assumed, of the popular taste also. The *Echo*, Radical and revolutionary in its tendency, was believed faithfully to represent the views of the working classes. As a matter of fact, it did nothing of the kind, and except in the case of an infinitesimal minority, had no influence, and was purchased merely for its record of events. The *Evening News* has come rapidly into favour, and has proved itself a formidable rival to the *Echo*. For my own part, I do not know a single working man who buys the *Echo*, but I do know several who buy and read the *Evening News*. A careful examination of the aims of the two papers would now induce one to believe that there must be a very strong Conservative feeling latent in the breasts of the working classes, and that it was only necessary for an enterprising Conservative to start 'an evening halfpenny' to dissipate the illusion that the people were Radical to the backbone. This conclusion is as unsound as that concerning the *Echo*. The *Evening News* is read in preference to the *Echo* because it is the more amusing. That, and that alone, is the secret.

It is, as has been hinted, significant of the particular time devoted to reading by the working classes that the papers which they most largely purchase are issued on the Sabbath. How voracious their reading must be then, all dwellers in the metropolis who, soon after breakfast every Sunday morning, are disturbed by the newsboy's cry, will have formed a shrewd conception. Few working-class homes in England fail to 'take in' some kind of paper on the day of rest. In point of sale, *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* occupies the first place. The total number of copies disposed of weekly is said to be little short of three-quarters of a million. It professes Liberalism, and it is now the most reliable of its class. Among its Liberal contemporaries it is decidedly the most patriotic and loyal. If the papers read by the working classes have any political influence deserving of the name, there need be little fear that the democracy will consent to sever the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. *Lloyd's* has made a stand against Home Rule as determined as that of any of the Conservative journals, and its lead is followed, however half-heartedly, by most of the other Radical and Liberal weeklies. One

thing is remarkable about *Lloyd's* in comparison with several of the more prominent of its companions. First in the field as a Sunday newspaper, it lacks any sort of relief in the way of light and amusing general sketches. What *Lloyd's* has not in this respect the *Weekly Dispatch* is famous for. Mr. G. R. Sims's papers on the lives of the poor which have appeared from time to time in the *Dispatch* are among the best things secured by the weekly press. The *Dispatch*, from the time when, published at sixpence, it was read in turns by half the population of nearly every village in England, each reader subscribing towards the cost of the whole, has always shown great enterprise. Like *Lloyd's*, it has a supreme horror of anything savouring of aristocratic red-tapeism or privilege, and indulges periodically in tirades against the oppression of the many by the few. Its judgments are, on the whole, characterised by a spirit of fairness, and are not of the intolerant and Republican type of *Reynolds's Newspaper*. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, equally with Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill, come under the not very keen lash of this latter journal if they do not act consistently in accordance with its doctrines about capitalists and landlords. Its antipathy to the monarchy is ludicrous in its extravagance. One instance may be given of this which occurred not long ago. A company of foremen tailors held a dinner in St. James's. When the Queen's health was proposed, two of the company hissed and in various ways evinced their Republican sentiments. This the loyal foremen of the sartorial profession resented, and in a very little time the offenders were bundled, in a free fight, headlong out of the room. The comment of *Reynolds's* on this incident was that the two anti-monarchists were evidently the only two sober people in the room! Another paper, similar politically to *Reynolds's*, is the erewhile *Weekly Times*. This journal has recently been incorporated with the *Weekly Echo*, which, though issued by the proprietors of the *Echo* did not prove a success.

The Conservative cause is very poorly supported in the Sabbatically distributed press. The *Sunday Times*, admirably conducted and full of amusing matter as it is, is not purchased to any large extent by working men and women. *England* is so meagre in its news, so intolerant and intolerable in its denunciations of everything Radical, and so bent on publishing little more than those facts which tend to the discredit of the Liberal party, that its failure to reach the masses is not surprising. The *People* must carry off the palm as a Conservative weekly intended for the people. It acts thoroughly up to its title, and is one of the most valuable Conservative organs appealing to the true democracy. The *Referee* cannot properly be called a working-man's paper, though many artisans and shop assistants look forward to its perusal on Sunday morning as regularly as they look forward to their breakfast. Mr. Sims's 'Mustard and Cress' is to

this class of readers quite as entertaining a feature in the paper as are its sporting opinions. The *Penny Illustrated Paper*, under the guidance of the son of the editor of the *Illustrated London News*, has secured a well-merited popularity with every class. It has practically no rival. It sells in its hundreds of thousands weekly, and is impartial in its pictorial delineations of all kinds of matters interesting to the proletariat. Now it is a battle, now a shipwreck; one week there is a batch of Conservative portraits given, another a batch of Liberal. Whatever of interest that takes place during the week and lends itself to treatment in a pen-and-ink sketch is brought before the admiring gaze of the multitude by the *Penny Illustrated*, whilst the world in general is rallied good-humouredly on its faults and foibles by the editor in the person of the Showman. In addition to these papers there are published weekly a legion of religious or semi-religious newspapers—for instance, the *Christian Million*, the *Christian World*, and the *Family Circle*—a bare mention of the names of which would fill a page. The majority of the readers of these are not to be found among the working classes. Further, there exists a host of local journals, published at a halfpenny or a penny, and an equally overwhelming array of organs devoted to particular trades.

An important constituent in the mental food—or rather poison—of the people is the penny novelette. There can be no doubt that this class of fiction has much deteriorated in point of literary merit. The *London Journal* is not what it was years ago. Its stories are frequently the veriest trash, and its illustrations are on a par with its stories. A couple of decades since, when *All the Year Round* and *Chambers's Journal* were the leading spirits of nearly every well-to-do and of many poor homes, the *London Journal* occupied a far more dignified position than it has since taken up. It has lost much of its ancient prestige, and is in many ways inferior to the *Family Herald*. While such stories as 'The House on the Marsh' enliven the pages of the latter, it will soar far ahead of the *London Journal*. We come next to the penny novelettes. Some of these are positively vicious; others are foolish. All may be characterised as cheap and nasty. They are utterly contemptible in literary execution; they thrive on the wicked baronet or nobleman and the faithless but handsome peeress, and find their chief supporters among shop-girls, seamstresses, and domestic servants. It is hardly surprising that there should exist in the impressionable minds of the masses an aversion more or less deep to the upper classes. If one of their own order, man or woman, appears in the pages of these unwholesome prints, it is only as a paragon of virtue, who is probably ruined, or at any rate wronged, by that incarnation of evil, the sensuous aristocrat, standing six feet, with his dark eyes, heavy moustache, pearl-like teeth, and black hair. Throughout the story the keynote struck is highborn scoundrelism. Every social

misdeemeanour is called in to assist the progress of the slipshod narrative. Crime and love are the essential ingredients, and the influence exercised over the feminine reader, often unenlightened by any close contact with the classes whom the novelist pretends to portray, crystallises into an irremovable dislike of the upper strata of society. The same dish is served up again and again; and the surprising thing is that the readers do not tire of the ceaseless record of wrong-doing on the part of the wealthy which forms the staple of these nonsensical, if not nauseating, stories.

Half-way between the penny novelette and the *Leisure Hour* or the *Sunday at Home* stands *Household Words*. This journal, published at a penny, no more resembles its parent and namesake than Zola resembles Scott. It is not indeed intended to do so, though many of its readers among the poorer classes, misled by the nomenclature alike of the paper and its editor, frequently believe they are purchasing the magazine founded by the great novelist. Its stories, generally printed anonymously, are of a much higher order than the love-and-murder concoctions of many of its contemporaries, and useful papers on the household and household management are published every week. Neither *All the Year Round* nor *Chambers's Journal* is much read by the masses. Three-halfpence is just one third too high a price to induce the people to purchase a weekly publication.

Of the more religious magazines which find favour in the eyes of the working classes, the two chief are the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*. Both occupy a higher place in the popular estimation than either *Good Words*, the *Sunday Magazine*, or the *Quiver*, and certainly than *Cassell's Family Magazine*. Neither has *Home Chimes*, fighting courageously against adverse fortune, won the hearts of the people. A sign of the times is the popularity of such papers as *Great Thoughts*, *Tit-Bits*, *Rare Bits*, and *Cassell's Saturday Journal*. Any one of these journals might appropriately be called an old curiosity sheet. Brief and good is its motto. *Great Thoughts* culls from master works some of the choicest ideas ever given to the world, and both *Rare Bits* and *Tit-Bits* collect all they can find of interest in any volume they can lay their hands on. Like *Cassell's Saturday Journal*, they offer prizes for literary competitions, and as these competitions are largely entered into by their readers, they may fairly claim to discharge a very important function in educating the people. It may be objected that the reading of the scraps printed in these papers tends to develop a habit of loose reading. The answer is that, whatever habit it engenders, if the working classes did not read these papers they would read hardly anything save the novelette or the weekly newspaper; and, even though gained in a disjointed fashion, it is surely better for them to acquire pieces of historical information thuswise than never to acquire them at all. The two



comic papers most popular with the working classes are founded on the Tit-Bit principle. *Scraps and Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday* have nothing to recommend them artistically, but they contain sketches, literary and pictorial, characterised by rollicking fun and broad caricature.

Only the more prominent periodical publications which reach the masses have now been indicated. Sufficient, however, has been said to convey a definite idea of what the working classes read either in the way of newspapers or novelettes. In both departments England will compare favourably with America or France. With one or two exceptions, the popular literature—the literature, that is, which finds its way into the homes of the labourer and the artisan—has not sunk to the low and vicious level of much of that born in New York and Paris. The papers which the working man of either of these cities is invited to peruse are vulgar, sensuous, and unwholesome. It is to be regretted that several public-houses in London subscribe to these exotic journals for the especial edification of their customers. The English papers as a rule are more silly than vicious. If they are not calculated to raise the moral tone of their readers above that which poverty and overcrowding may have engendered, they at least are not calculated to do any very grave mischief. The worst that can be urged against them is that they *do* help to keep the moral tone of their readers low. Occasionally the editors of penny novelettes are so fortunate as to secure a story from such writers as Miss Florence Marryat and Miss Jean Middlemass. These ladies are probably not aware of the exact nature of the pages which their name will do much to make popular.

The penny novelette has probably much more effect on the women members of the working classes than the newspaper has on the men. As in the former case, so in the latter. In the majority of instances the objects held up to the derision of the people are the aristocracy, the plutocracy, and sometimes even the monarchy itself. Anyone who, being ignorant of the English working man, should take up the chief Sunday papers published for him would probably jump to the conclusion that he was Radical to the backbone. With the exception of the Conservative weeklies, every working-man's paper resorts to the coarsest attacks on the wealthy and high-placed. Capital and birth are the two themes on which the democratic journalist never tires of expatiating. By deriding the governing classes he hopes to arouse the enthusiasm of his public. He is, however, victim to the delusion that the democracy is primarily moved by enmity towards the aristocracy. If the influence of the working-man's paper was as great as many imagine, the whole fabric of British wealth and society would be immediately undermined, destroyed, and reorganised on a socialist, or semi-socialist, basis. In truth that influence is small. Instead of acting up to the teachings

of their papers and effecting a revolution, the English labourer either reads the political articles and fails to act up to them, or does not read them at all. Nothing is more common than to hear a working man extol some particularly bitter onslaught on his social betters. 'Splendid attack on So-and-so,' he will say. 'Quite true; So-and-so has had his way too long;' but apparently it never enters his head to rise in rebellion against the object of his animadversion. His ideas are more abstract than practical. Possibly, too, he recognises that the journalist has written not from conviction of the soundness of the position he supports, but because he believes that it is the position which the working classes will approve and appreciate. It is, moreover, as he knows, much easier to examine a thing and attack its anomalies as a whole than to examine its parts and foundation and discover whether its heart is sound. The efforts of the journalist are thus entirely wasted. Again, for one man who reads the political section of the paper, half-a-dozen study the latest 'mystery' and the police news, while another half-dozen devote their chief attention to the general sketches. The newspapers which appeal to the working classes would do real good if, instead of picking holes in the characters of the high-born and criticising in a spirit of narrow and mistaken economy the national estimates, they were to devote some time to matters which exclusively concern the working population of the country. For instance, it is rare to find a working-man's newspaper pointing out the advantages of the colonies to the people and the best way to emigrate, or the adverse side of Free Trade. The Radical section of these newspapers is bigoted in its democratic sentiments, and supports every anti-capitalist or anti-landlord utterance, however wild, from Messrs. Cobden and Bright down to Messrs. Chamberlain and Morley. Luckily, as I have said, the superficial views usually current in the Sunday broadsheet have not yet succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the masses. It will be an ill day for this country when the literary pedagogue of the Sabbath can induce the democracy to believe in his infallibility.

In the shape of books the working classes read very little. Years ago, had one walked into almost any poor but respectable man's room in the kingdom, one would probably have found two books at least—the Bible and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Both were held in extreme veneration. Now it is to be feared that very few working men and women read the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the Bible is far from being what it was—the book of the home. For this the propagation of Sunday newspapers is largely to blame. The weary toiler now spends his Sunday afternoons smoking his pipe and digesting the week's record of criminalities. Formerly, if not addicted to drinking or wasting his hours with boon companions, he became one of the family gathering, whilst his wife or daughter, or perchance he himself, read a chapter from the Book of books. I do not intend to say

that the working classes do not read the Bible now; what I do say and believe is that they do not read it as extensively and regularly as they did a generation or two previously. It is not easy to indicate precisely what other books they read. There can be no question, however, that when they read books they usually read good books. They do not read many, but what they read are of a high order. Cheap editions have brought standard works within their reach, and though the privilege is not largely availed of, it is not altogether neglected. No idea of the reading of the working classes can be arrived at by comparing it with the reading of the upper classes. The latter read everything possible of nearly every author. The former read one or two works in a lifetime, but they usually re-read them several times. Such a method may tend to narrowness; it at least tends to thoroughness, as far as it goes. Lots of working men have studied with great care one or two of Shakespeare's plays; others know one or two of Dickens's works almost by heart. One working man I knew claimed to have read carefully only two books—the Bible and Shakespeare. To say nothing of what it would mean to acquire an adequate perception—and of course he had not done so—of all the glories of these two glorious works, how many people of culture have ever read both, word by word? Another member of the democracy had plunged into the deep waters of *Paradise Lost*, and gone from cover to cover. At the same time there are working men who will devour every book they can buy or can secure from friends, and a curious undigested, if not indigestible, mass they do sometimes get hold of. Hundreds, on the other hand, have never read a line of a book.

The chief difficulty about literature for the working classes is to reach them. If the literature were lying on their table they would often read, but they seldom sally forth into the highways and byways of the literary world to discover what they shall purchase. Beyond doubt they have become possessors of thousands of cheap volumes, but the working men and women of England do not number thousands, but millions, and it is matter for regret that, with the many means of disseminating among them the masterpieces of the English language, more energy is not exerted in bringing home to them the inherent attractions of Shakespeare, Scott, Marryat, Dickens, Lytton, Eliot. The working classes read the Sunday newspaper as largely as they do because it is left at their door. What religious organisations have done in the distribution of tracts which the working classes do not read, surely some other organisation might do for the distribution of works of a wholesome character and of abiding interest which they would read. Without underrating their beneficial action, it may safely be said that free libraries have not done all that was expected of them in the way of bringing the literary gems of the world within the reach of the son of toil. The

elementary education now received by every child at least gives him a power of reading not always possessed by his fathers, but such power is not necessarily employed. He might read more if books were brought to his home. Between the free library and his home, morally and materially, stands the public-house.

Taking cognisance of the working classes as a whole, there is one thing which I believe to be indisputable—viz. that the instruction imparted through the Board School has not superinduced any large amount of reading, except in a shape contemptible and worthless. Neither the newspaper nor the novelette contains any element calculated to carry peace and contentment to the working man's door. There is nothing in it to elevate, to ennoble, to inspire with a desire for truth and right-living. And if, as men and women, the masses have a particular liking for such reading, the disposition is not surprising when we consider what they read as children. The periodical literature of the poor is in every respect inferior to the periodical literature of the well-to-do; the Sunday newspaper is not comparable for a moment in its knowledge of politics with the daily newspaper, and is apparently equally ignorant of the ways of men generally. The working classes, in point of fact, are written down to. This is the mistake frequently made by educated men who take up subjects and deal with them for the uneducated. It will, of course, be urged that the Sunday newspaper is a business concern, and that the journalist produces what he finds is read. The excuse is unworthy and unwarranted. The working classes have made no demand for the ephemeral matter placed before them on Sunday mornings, and it is well to bear in mind that one can scarcely look to the working classes to raise the tone of their press. Rather ought we to look to the press to ply the weapons in its hands with all the energy and talent possible, with a view to awakening the working classes to higher ideals and the virtues of self-reliance and self-restraint, and not to court popularity by unmeasured and unjustifiable criticism of people who have made their position by conscientious industry, or of things which, if not of Utopian perfection, are yet not so black as interested agitators paint them. Whatever influence the working-class press may have exercised in the past, one thing is certain—as the masses open their eyes more and more to facts, that influence will probably expand. It is, then, the bounden duty of the press which finds its chief patrons among the labourers, the artisans, and the mechanics of England to beware of leading them astray, morally, politically, or socially.

EDWARD G. SALMON.

## FRANCE AND THE NEW HEBRIDES.

ANNEXATION in the Pacific is fast becoming a momentous problem, the solution of which bristles with difficulties and imperils the *entente cordiale* at present existing between Great Britain and foreign Powers. The subject is not only playing a prominent part in the great diplomatic drama of European politics, but is tending to shake the confidence that for more than half a century has existed between the Australian Colonies and the mother country.

Important as the question is to the prestige of Great Britain and the future welfare of Australasia, it is looked at by the Imperial authorities and by the Colonial communities from somewhat different standpoints.

This is not unnatural, for while the annexing or giving up of islands in the Pacific may involve the Imperial Government in awkward questions of foreign policy, to our Colonies the matter is one of domestic importance, affecting not only the trade of their country, but the future safety of their shores.

France already possesses very considerable influence in the Pacific. In the great maritime highway between Panama and Auckland, commonly called the Eastern Pacific, the French possessions comprise the Marquesas, the Tahitian Archipelago, and the Leeward Islands.

(1) The Marquesas, a group of eleven islands, were ceded to France by a treaty with Admiral Dupetit-Thouars in May 1842. Here for some time a military garrison was kept up, but the French Government finding such an establishment more expensive than necessary, finally abandoned it on the 1st of January, 1859.

The Tahitian Archipelago may be subdivided thus:

(a) Tahiti Moorea, Tetiaroa, Meetia, Tubai, Raivavae, the Gambier islets, and Rapa, an important island, not so much from a commercial point of view as on account of its harbour, which has been described—possibly by an enthusiast—as ‘one of the finest natural harbours in the world.’

(b) The Low Archipelago, also known as the Paumotu group, a vast collection of coral islands extending over sixteen degrees of longitude, numbering seventy-eight islands, and covering an area of 6,600 square kilometres, chiefly valuable for their mother-of-pearl trade.

Admiral Thouars seized Tahiti in August 1842, and during the following year this island was, at the request of its queen and principal chiefs, placed under a French protectorate. On the 29th of May, 1880, King Pōmaré the Fifth handed over the administration of Tahiti and its dependencies to M. Cheser, commissioner of the Republic. The cession was duly ratified by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, and on the 30th of September, 1880, the President of the French Republic declared:

(a) The island of Tahiti and the archipelagoes depending upon it to be French colonies.

(b) French nationality to be conferred in full upon all the former subjects of the king of Tahiti.

Tahiti is now the centre of government of the French<sup>1</sup> establishments in the Eastern Pacific.

(3) The Leeward Islands. Soon after the establishment of the French protectorate over Tahiti in 1843, a dispute arose between Great Britain and France relative to the islands of Huahine, Raiatea, and Borabora, three large islands in the vicinity of the Society group, commonly called the Leeward Islands. The matter was definitely settled between Lord Palmerston and Comte de Jarnac by the Treaty of 1847, in which the two Governments reciprocally engaged:

1. Formally to acknowledge the independence of the islands Huahine, Raiatea, Borabora (to the leeward of Tahiti), and of the small islands adjacent to and dependent upon those islands.

2. Never to take possession of the said islands, nor of any one or more of them, either absolutely or under the title of a protectorate, or in any other form whatever.

3. Never to acknowledge that a chief or prince reigning at Tahiti can at the same time reign in any one or more of the other islands above mentioned, nor, on the other hand, that a chief or prince reigning in any one or more of those other islands can reign at the same time in Tahiti, the reciprocal independence of the islands above-mentioned and of the island of Tahiti and its dependencies being established as a principle.

In 1882, however, in direct contravention of articles 1 and 2 of this declaration, the French flag was hoisted at Raiatea, and a provisional protectorate assumed over that island by the French authorities of Tahiti. True, this proceeding was disavowed by the French Government, but Sir Charles Dilke, in answer to a question put to him in the House of Commons on this point, admitted that the French authorities had seized the opportunity to open negotiations for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1847 in consideration of adequate concessions on our part in connection with other pending questions. How far the much-vexed question of the Newfoundland fisheries was allowed to enter into the settlement of this matter I am not in a position to determine. One thing is certain, that the French flag is

<sup>1</sup> The population of the French establishments in the Eastern Pacific is over 25,000.

still flying at Raiatea, and these three important islands, declared independent in 1847, are now regarded as French possessions.

In the Western Pacific, the trade route of the future, between Vancouver Island and Sydney, is intercepted, 720 miles north-east of Queensland, by French New Caledonia, 200 miles long and 30 broad, possessing the two secure harbours of Port Balade and Port St. Vincent, and by the adjacent group of the Loyalty Islands, which were annexed by France in 1864. Not content with the influence they already possess in these waters, France now seeks to annex the New Hebrides, an important group of islands west of the Fijis, distant only 900 miles from New Zealand and 1,200 from Australia, and lying in the great commercial highway of our vessels, and those of New Zealand, on the American, Japanese, and Chinese routes.\*

Mr. Stout, the Premier of New Zealand, in a letter to the Agent-General of that colony, dated the 27th of February, 1886, graphically interprets the designs of France :

It has been apparent to me for some time that the cost of New Caledonia to France must have been great, and no doubt the French Government now see that there is little hope of reducing the expenditure. New Caledonia can produce little, her mines have failed, and her soil is not so fertile as to enable her to rely on vegetable products. The convicts who have served their time are unable to maintain themselves in the colony. They have either to leave, seeking a home in Australasia or Fiji, or else they commit some fresh crime, and are again kept at the expense of the State. Colonisation in any proper sense of the term is impossible. The French officials, no doubt, have seen that what is required to make New Caledonia approach a self-supporting position is some outlet for settlement of the convicts and emigrants. This wish can only be obtained by the annexation of the New Hebrides. These islands are rich in soil, and will maintain a considerable population. They are near New Caledonia, and the French have several settlements amongst them. It is only natural, therefore, that France should try and obtain possession of the New Hebrides.

So little is known in this country even by the political exponents of our Pacific policy respecting these islands that, before discussing the subject of their annexation either by France or England, it will be as well to acquaint my readers with some particulars concerning their position and people. The New Hebrides lie between 13° 16' and 20° 15' south latitude, and 166° 40' and 170° 20' east longitude, and are included in the new division of the Western Pacific.<sup>†</sup> The group consists of over thirty inhabited islands of volcanic origin, which extend 400 miles NNW. and SSE., and have an estimated population of 150,000.

Espirito Santo, the most northern island, has the largest area, sixty-six miles long and twenty-two broad. Quiros, a Spanish explorer, first discovered its existence in 1606. Subsequently Bougainville

\* The trade between the Australian Colonies and the Western Pacific Islands between 1871 and 1880 amounted to the value of 6,456,986*l*.

† I allude to the new definition of the Western Pacific given in the Declaration signed between Great Britain and Germany, the 6th of April, 1886.

visited it, and some of the surrounding islands in 1768, but the complete discovery of the group was reserved for our own great navigator Cook, in 1774.

Aneiteum, situated at the extreme south, is about forty miles in circumference, and has a native population over two thousand, all of whom are Christians. Every person above five years old can read, more or less, and attends school. Crime is rare, life and property are secure. Cotton grows well; hurricanes are frequent and severe; but the chief distinction of Aneiteum consists in its harbour, which is spacious and sheltered from all points except the west. The entrance is wide and free from obstruction, and safe anchorage for vessels of any size is obtainable.

Tanna, sixteen miles from Aneiteum, about twenty-five miles long and twelve broad, is considered the richest and most beautiful. The population is between ten and twenty thousand. Its unique attraction is a volcano, which has been in a constant state of activity since 1774. Port Resolution, situated at the extreme north-east of the island, is a fair harbour. North of Tanna lies the less fertile but equally mountainous island of Erromanga, triangular in shape, with a sea-board of nearly seventy-five miles. It was here the great missionary John Williams was murdered.

Vaté,<sup>4</sup> or Sandwich Island, thirty-five miles long and about fifteen broad, is situated fifty-four miles north of Erromanga; the climate is rather damp. The great features of this island are its magnificent bays and harbours. The finest harbour is Havannah, formed by the mainland of Vaté and two other islands. South of Vaté is the large island of Api, fertile, wooded, and thickly populated.

Mallicollo, the second largest island of the group, situated between Api and Espiritu Santo, is covered with cocoanut trees, and has a good landing-place on its western side, with deep water close to the beach. St. Esprit island is a very convenient place for watering, as boats can easily pull into the river Jordan, which flows into the bay of St. Philip. The ordinary trade-winds blow beautifully fresh and cool over the land, and cause the temperature to be about four degrees lower than the other islands. The remaining islands of any importance are Pentecost, possessing two good watering-places towards the south-west end of the island; Lepers Island, with a magnificent mountain rising to the height of 4,000 feet; Aurora and Ambrym, the latter a perfect gem.

The natives of the New Hebrides are dark in colour and of moderate stature; their weapons are clubs, spears, bows, arrows, and tomahawks. The dry season lasts, however, from May to October, both months inclusive, and the wet season from November to April; occasionally much rain falls in the dry season, generally accompanied by a change of wind from eastward. The normal

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes called Efaté.



direction of the trade-winds is from ESE, but the stronger winds, which very often succeed calms, are from SE., and may be expected when the wind veers round to E. or NE.

Under the Charter of 1840 the group originally formed part of New Zealand, and in 1845 it was so indicated in the Commission which appointed Sir George Grey governor of that colony; this fact I look upon as being most material to the present issue. In 1863 the boundaries of New Zealand were altered and declared to be 182° east longitude, and 175° west longitude, and 33° and 53° south latitude, a fact which Sir George Grey somewhat aptly remarks, and I agree with him, does not affect the status of the islands as being a possession of the Crown, which they may still remain, although they have ceased to be a part of the colony of New Zealand. Sir Arthur Gordon evidently understood his authority as High Commissioner extended over them, for he appointed Captain Cyprian Bridge, R.N., to be a deputy commissioner there, and it was in that character that Captain Bridge went to the islands. Anyhow, it is now a matter of history that for fifteen years the independence of these islands was respected by France and not interfered with by Great Britain. However, in 1877 events happened which but too plainly showed to those on the spot that it was the desire, if not the intention, of France to annex the New Hebrides. The colonies, not unnaturally preferring the presence of a friendly rather than a possibly hostile power in their midst, began to petition the Queen to annex the islands, and towards the close of the year 1877 public opinion in Australia ran so high on the subject, and the tone of the colonial press so alarmed the French Government, that their Ambassador sent the following letter to Lord Derby, then Lord Beaconsfield's Foreign Minister :—

*The Marquis d'Harcourt to the Earl of Derby.*

Ambassade de France : le 18 janvier 1878.

M. le Comte,—Il s'est établi entre l'île de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et le groupe des Nouvelles-Hébrides des rapports d'ordre commercial qui se sont rapidement développés, en raison de leur voisinage, et qui présentent pour la prospérité de notre établissement colonial une importance considérable.

Mon Gouvernement, qui attache beaucoup de prix à ce que ces relations continuent sur le même pied, se préoccupe dans une certaine mesure d'un mouvement d'opinion qui se serait produit en Australie dans ce dernier temps.

Les journaux de ce pays auraient dénié l'intention qu'ils attribuent à la France de réunir les Nouvelles-Hébrides à ses possessions, et demanderaient qu'afin de prévenir cette éventualité, l'archipel dont il s'agit fût placé sous la souveraineté de la couronne d'Angleterre.

Sans attacher à ce mouvement de l'opinion une très-grande importance, mon Gouvernement tient toutefois à déclarer que pour ce qui le concerne il n'a pas le projet de porter atteinte à l'indépendance des Nouvelles-Hébrides, et il serait heureux de savoir que de son côté le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté est également disposé à le respecter.

Veulles, &c.,  
D'HARCOURT.

S.E. le Comte de Derby, &c.

In answer to this, Lord Derby (with the concurrence of the Colonial Office) gave to the French Government the famous assurance of the 1st of February, 1878, 'that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of proposing any measures to Parliament with a view of changing the condition of independence which the New Hebrides now enjoy,' an understanding Sir Michael Hicks-Beach lost no time in signifying to the Australian Colonies.

Thus was brought about the Anglo-French Agreement of 1878, which has been, and still is, interpreted by the Imperial authorities as preventing any interference either by Great Britain or Australia in the condition of the New Hebrides.

On the 20th of April, 1883, it was officially announced by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that neither France nor Britain intended to take possession of the New Hebrides—an engagement which was renewed by Comte d'Aunay, the French Chargé d'Affaires, on the part of France, by the 'Note Verbale' of the 9th of July, 1883, and publicly referred to the following night by Lord Granville in the House of Lords; yet, in spite of M. Ch. Lacour's expression of cordiality, and his expressed anxiety to receive a written

*\* Note Verbale du 9 juillet 1883.*

Vers la fin du mois dernier, le Représentant de la France à Londres a entretenu le Principal Secrétaire d'État de la Reine de la démarche faite récemment par les colonies australiennes en vue de provoquer la réunion à la Couronne de divers groupes d'îles du Pacifique, et notamment des Nouvelles-Hébrides.

En ce qui concerne les Nouvelles-Hébrides, la question avait été, dès 1878, posée dans les mêmes termes; elle avait alors fourni l'occasion d'un échange de notes, dans lesquelles chacun des deux gouvernements avait déclaré qu'en ce qui le concernait, il n'avait pas l'intention de porter atteinte à l'indépendance de l'archipel.

Il n'est survenu depuis lors aucun incident qui parût de nature à modifier cet accord de vues. Le fait même que Lord Lyons a cru devoir, au mois de mars dernier, remettre sous les yeux du Ministre des Affaires étrangères à Paris le texte des notes susmentionnées attestait qu'à ce moment encore le gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique y attachait la même valeur et persistait dans les mêmes dispositions.

Cependant, dans le récent entretien, dont la démarche des colonies australiennes a fait le sujet, le Principal Secrétaire d'État s'est borné à dire que le gouvernement anglais n'avait encore pris aucune décision relativement à la réponse qui leur serait faite. Les autres membres du gouvernement qui ont eu depuis à traiter de la question au Parlement, se sont même montrés plus réservés et n'ont fait aucune mention des déclarations de 1878. Dès cette époque, le gouvernement français avait fait connaître le prix qu'il attachait, en raison des rapports établis entre ces établissements de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et les Nouvelles-Hébrides, à ce qu'aucun changement ne fût apporté à la situation politique de ce dernier groupe d'îles. Loins de diminuer l'importance de ces rapports, ceux-ci n'ont, depuis lors, cessé de s'accroître: ils présentent aujourd'hui pour notre colonie un intérêt de premier ordre.

Le gouvernement de la République a, par suite, le devoir de s'assurer si les déclarations de 1878 ont pour le gouvernement de la Reine, comme pour lui, conservé toute leur valeur, et d'insister, s'il y a lieu, pour le maintien de l'état actuel des choses.

Le Cabinet de Londres ne sera pas surpris qu'en présence du mouvement d'opinion auquel la démarche des colonies australiennes a donné lieu, et des manifestations qui pourraient en résulter inopinément de part ou d'autre, le gouvernement français tiende à être fixé, à bref délai, sur la manière dont la question est envisagée par le gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

confirmation\* of Lord Granville's answer to the Note Verbale, current events but too plainly indicate that France is playing the same game with the 1878 understanding as she did with the Treaty of 1847. Just as the settlement of certain pending questions were to act as a set-off against the surrender of Raiatea and the surrounding islands, so the bribe of no more transportation of French criminals to the Pacific is offered as compensation to the Australian Colonies for their share in the loss of the New Hebrides. True, the island of Rapa is to be thrown in if the bargain is struck; but the possession of a comparatively unknown port in the midst of French territory in the Eastern Pacific hardly compensates us for the loss of a magnificent group of islands, possessing fine harbours, in the immediate vicinity of our valuable colonies in the Western Pacific.

The remarks of the present Premier of New Zealand on this arrangement are significant:

The proposal made to the English Secretary of Foreign Affairs (says Mr. Stout) of sending no more convicts to the Pacific if these islands are obtained by France has no doubt been thought by the French authorities to be one that will be pleasing to the colonies.

I do not deny that it is a great concession, for, no doubt, having New Caledonia as the French *dépôt* for *recidivistes* is much worse than having New Caledonia and New Hebrides as French colonies for moral people. I am only expressing my own views: still I am of opinion that in New Zealand, and, I believe, in the Australian Colonies, there will be no assent made to the proposition of the French Ambassador.

Mr. Osborne Morgan, speaking officially on this subject the other night in the House of Commons, said that the Government attached the greatest importance to the opinion of the Australian Colonies. A well-meant statement, no doubt, but one which will be received in Australasia with some amount of credulity, seeing the weight colonial opinion had in the recent settlement of the New Guinea difficulty between Great Britain and Germany. Let us hope that the shilly-shallying policy then displayed by the Home authorities will not again be repeated in the question of the New Hebrides, and that Mr. Service, then Premier of Victoria, may not have occasion to repeat what he said to me in Melbourne, that the colonial policy of Lord Derby had done 'a lasting injury to the Australian Colonies.'

A *propos* of the telegram of June 16, announcing the hoisting of the French flag at the New Hebrides, I would here call attention to the remarks of M. Gabriel Charmes when discussing in the *Journal des Débats* the contingent possibility of the colonial policy of France bringing her into collision with England. I give the translation, laid before the Victorian Parliament:—

\* 'Les explications fournies au Parlement anglais nous donnent la confiance que la réponse du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique à notre dernière communication ne tardera pas à constater, définitivement, l'accord qui paraît subsister dans les intentions des deux pays, relativement à l'Archipel des Nouvelles-Hébrides.' (Paris, le 16 Juillet 1883. M. Ch. Lacour to Lord Lyons.)

The English papers threaten us with the possible hostility of England. They must pardon us for doubting it. The enmity of England we should of course be sorry to incur. But we know our neighbours well enough to see the wide difference there exists between their words and their deeds.

Now what is the opinion of the colonies on the subject. New Zealand has been credited with approving the scheme suggested by the Government, and it was so stated by Mr. Osborne Morgan in the House of Commons only a few weeks since. That such, however, is not the case the following letter plainly shows:—

*The Premier of New Zealand to the Premier of Victoria.*

Premier's Office, Wellington: March 5, 1886.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that on receipt of your secret and confidential telegram on the 28th of February, and as my colleagues were not then available for consultation, I addressed a letter to our Agent-General, in it giving my views on the subject of the New Hebrides, the part of the letter dealing with which I now enclose for your information. Since then the Cabinet has fully endorsed my action, and it only remains, therefore, for me to convey to you the assurances of this Government of their willingness to co-operate with you and the other Australian Governments in the endeavour to prevent so undesirable a result as the acquisition of New Hebrides by France.—I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT STOUT.

The Hon. the Premier, Melbourne, Victoria.

The reasons that will induce the colonies to refuse their assent to the present proposal are thus summarised by Mr. Stout in his letter to the Agent-General for New Zealand, dated the 27th of February, 1886:—

1. The New Hebrides have been practically looked upon as a British possession.
2. They have been the seat of the Presbyterian Mission in the Pacific, and any advance they have made in civilisation has been due to that Church.
3. It is well known that whilst the French Government at home allows absolute freedom in religious matters—indeed is thought to be opposed to the Catholic Church—yet abroad, and in the Pacific especially, occupation by France is thought to mean the granting of privileges to the Roman Catholic Church that are not granted to any other religious body.
4. There is also a strong feeling in the colonies that they should protest against any further occupation by foreign Powers of the Pacific Islands.
5. The islanders themselves are strongly opposed to French occupation.
6. The labour question will complicate the issue, for it is apparent to me the getting of labourers in the islands for plantations in Fiji and elsewhere is attended with great and increasing difficulties.

Victoria, now as before, takes the lead in opposing any scheme by which these islands may become a French possession.

When it was reported in Melbourne that French annexation was imminent, Mr. Service prophetically pointed out that, unless prompt and united action was taken by the colonies, the matter would soon be *un fait accompli*. After communicating his fear to the other colonies, they unanimously agreed by their various ministers that it might prove a fault, to be ever deplored, but never to be

remotely, if Australia, through necessities, were to allow the New Hebrides, in the important strategic position which they occupy towards her, to fall without an effort into the hands of a foreign Power. These views were telegraphed to Lord Derby, who appeared impressed with the gravity of the question, and requested that the views of the colonies might be embodied in a joint paper to be submitted to the Cabinet. This was accordingly done, and on the 20th of July, 1883, the Agents-General submitted an able and exhaustive memorandum on the subject, which, however, was not signed by Sir Arthur Blyth, the Agent-General for South Australia, as his government had instructed him that they did not coincide with the views of the other colonies with regard either to annexation or the establishment of a protectorate over the New Hebrides.

On the 24th of February, 1886, Mr. Murray Smith sent the following telegraphic intimation of the French proposals to the Premier of Victoria:—

[In secret cypher. Secret and Confidential]

London, 24th February, 1886.

Had an interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. All the Agents accompanied by Canadian Commissioner. Received express assurances Her Majesty's Government are determined to strictly adhere to pledge that nothing shall be done to change position of New Hebrides without previously consulting colonial Governments, but he requests us to inform Governments confidentially that the French Ambassador has offered Secretary of State Foreign Affairs France will cease transportation altogether in the Pacific if she is allowed have New Hebrides—whereon he has replied nothing shall be done without consulting the colonies, which was recognised by the Ambassador. Secretary of State for the Colonies then said that these proposals might be more acceptable if Rapa were given to England, and now Granville invites Governments to consider the proposals of French Ambassador, and to communicate result as soon as convenient, consistent with the importance of subject. Rights British subjects, missionaries, guaranteed. Communicate to other Governments.

R. MURRAY SMITH.

Various telegrams have passed between Victoria and London in reply. When, however, it became evident that the question was to be compromised, Mr. Gillies, the Victorian Premier, telegraphed his ultimatum to Mr. Murray Smith, who hesitated at first to lay it literally before Lord Granville.

To the Agent-General, London. Melbourne, March 24, 1886.

To-day's *Age* states English politicians favour cession New Hebrides France, condition no transportation, and that Agents-General have no hope successfully opposing this proposal, and are privately convinced France will win. Can this impression prevail? Colonies cannot protest more than they have done. Surely their interests and wishes must be more to England than French aggrandisement. The feeling in colonies is that if Germany or France had Australia peopled by their own, neither would tolerate foreign Power seizing any of islands, New Hebrides least of all, under the circumstances. What would be the use speaking of Imperial Federation in face of an act which would proclaim stronger than any language contemptuous indifference for our wishes and future prospects?

Should English Ministers give away, or allow to be taken, New Hebrides today, Australasia will assuredly take them back when able.

D. GILLIES.

Queensland agrees with Victoria, and the views of this colony are contained in the following telegram, which was settled in conference between Mr. Griffith, Premier of Queensland, and Mr. Gillies on the 13th of March last, and afterwards submitted to the other federated colonies :

'Colonies in Federal Council, except Fiji, which cannot be communicated with, have insuperable objections any alterations in status New Hebrides in direction sovereignty of France. They adhere to the resolution Sydney convention and address of Federal Council 5th February. In their opinion very strong reason to believe that if France cannot get an increase of territory she will have very soon to wholly relinquish to deport prisoners Pacific. Should she not, legislative powers Australian colonies must be exercised to protect their own interests by exclusion. Under the circumstances no advantage will be derived from accepting proposals, but only very considerable injury.'

D. GILLIES.

South Australia may be opposed to annexing or protecting the New Hebrides, but Mr. Downer, the Premier, has plainly indicated that the desire of his government is to act in co-operation with Victoria in the present matter, and upon Mr. Gillies communicating the proposed telegram to the Agent-General, the South Australian Prime Minister replied :—

Adelaide, March 16.

I agree to whole of telegram.

J. W. DOWKER.

New South Wales apparently approves of the compromise and refuses to interfere. The temptation to get rid of the awkward *récidiviste* question has proved too much for the colony, and Sir Patrick Jennings, the Premier, is already making inquiries through his Agent-General as to 'within what period the occupation of colonies in the Pacific as penal settlements of France will cease.' Sir Henry Parkes and his friends, however, take an opposite view, and so the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales may be said to be divided upon this important point.

When the whole matter of annexation of the neighbouring islands in the Western Pacific was discussed at the Intercolonial Convention, held at Sydney in 1883, by representatives from the governments of all the British Colonies of Australasia, it was unanimously resolved :—

That, although the understanding of 1878 between Great Britain and France recognising the independence of the New Hebrides appears to preclude the Convention from making any recommendation inconsistent with that understanding, the Convention urges upon Her Majesty's Government that it is extremely desirable that such understanding should give place to some more definite engagement which shall secure these islands from falling under any foreign dominion. At the same time the Convention trusts Her Majesty's Government will avail itself of any opportunity that may arise for negotiating with the Government of France with the object of obtaining the control of these islands and the interests of Australasia.

\* See, in connection with this, evidence of Fardère, Governor of New Caledonia p. 17, Parliamentary paper C 4894.

And the delegates then and there engaged to recommend measures for defraying the cost incurred in giving effect to the resolution, having regard of course to the importance of Imperial and Australasian interests.

It will, therefore, be seen that if the present Government of New South Wales is ready to coincide with Great Britain in giving up the New Hebrides to France, the late Sir Alexander Stuart, Mr. George Dibbs, and Mr. Bede Dally, who represented that colony at the Convention of 1883, though opposed to annexation, entertained strong views against the islands falling into the hands of a foreign Power.

Tasmania and Western Australia agree more or less with Victoria.

The missionaries too are not favourable to French annexation, and their opinion should carry weight, seeing the present civilised condition of the New Hebrides is chiefly due to their heroic conduct and self-denying efforts.

Dr. Steel of Sydney says :—

the population of natives in the New Hebrides is rapidly declining, and these islands will certainly be annexed by some Power, as they are well fitted to grow all kinds of tropical spices and other fruits. They were discovered for the most part by British navigators, traded with by British vessels, regularly visited by Her Majesty's ships of war, and justice frequently administered by Her Majesty's naval officers, and finally evangelised by the labours and munificence of British subjects.

Mr. Paton, senior missionary of the New Hebrides Mission, thus expresses himself :—

The sympathy of the New Hebrides natives are all with Great Britain, hence they long for British protection ; while they fear and hate the French, who appear eager to annex the group, because they have seen the way the French have treated the native races of New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, and other South Sea Islands.

All the men, and all the money (over 140,000*l.*) used in civilising and Christianising the New Hebrides, have been British. Now fourteen missionaries, and the 'Dayspring' mission ship, and about 150 native evangelists and teachers, are employed in the above work on this group, in which over 6,000*l.* yearly of British and British colonial money is expended, and certainly it would be unwise to let any other Power now to take possession and reap the fruits of all this British outlay. All the imports of the New Hebrides are from Sydney and Melbourne and British colonies, and all its exports are also to British colonies.

The thirteen islands of this group, on which life and property are now comparatively safe, the 8,000 professed Christians on the group, and all the churches formed among them, are, by God's blessing, the fruits of the labours of British missionaries, who, at great toil, expense, and loss of life, have translated, got printed, and taught the natives to read the Bible, in part, or in whole, in nine different languages of this group, while 70,000 at least are longing and ready for the Gospel. On this group twenty-one members of the mission family died, or were murdered by the savages in beginning God's work among them, not including good Bishop Paterson, of the Melanesian mission, and we fear all this good work would be lost if the New Hebrides fell into other than British hands.

Mr. Macdonald gives the following account of the Presbyterian Mission in the New Hebrides :—

It has now fourteen European missionaries, together with about 180 native Christian teachers, who may be regarded as the hope of their race both as to Chris-

timely and civilization. The mission is carried on at an annual expense of about £6000, of British home and colonial money. The natives to a man are as much in favour of British as they are opposed to French civilization. There is not commercially a richer or more fertile group than the New Hebrides in the Pacific.

Several memorials and petitions have been addressed from time to time to the Queen, praying for a protectorate or annexation of the New Hebrides.

In 1862 the chiefs of Tanna sent a petition to Sir John Young, governor of New South Wales, for a protectorate.

In 1868 one was presented by the New Hebrides Mission through Lord Belmore, and the same year another was presented by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland to Lord Stanley.

In 1872 one was sent to Lord Kimberley by the same religious body.

In 1874 Victoria petitioned, and also the natives of Vaté, through Mr. Carey, of H.M.S. 'Conflict.'

In 1877 the Presbyterian Church of Victoria and New South Wales, the Free Church of Scotland, and the New Hebrides Mission, all petitioned Great Britain for annexation.

And, in 1882, all the Presbyterian Church of Australasia, assembled in Conference at Sydney, entreated for the annexation of the group.

In face of this information, I venture to think the postponement of the settlement of this much-vexed question in order to convert the colonies to the Imperial view is fraught with much danger both to their interests and our own, and if some more immediate action is not now taken, we shall find ourselves checkmated by France.

While the 1878 understanding nominally remains in force, annexation by either France or England of the New Hebrides is impossible without disturbing the *entente cordiale* at present existing between the two nations.

Some alteration in the present condition of these affairs must, in the interests of Great Britain and Australasia, take place.

Having regard to the important work done in these islands by our own missionaries, and the expressed opinion of our Australian Colonies, any compromise that would place the New Hebrides under the control of France cannot be considered. The interests of British subjects in Australasia require that there should exist in the New Hebrides some form of government which can insure protection of life and property, and otherwise facilitate commercial intercourse, which it is but too evident that the Western Pacific Order in Council of 1877 fails to effect.

What I suggest is, that a Government, representing native, colonial, French, and British interests, should be formed, and diplomatically recognised by the interested Powers as authoritative.

C. KINLOCH COOPER.



## RECREATIVE EVENING SCHOOLS.

UNDER this title a work has lately been begun in London, which has as yet attracted little attention.

Before the public knew anything about it, a representative body of working men, the London Trades Council, had proposed it to the School Board of London, and the Board, almost without variation, adopted the proposals of the Council. Recreative evening schools had been tried in Nottingham, where Dr. Paton, the originator of the scheme, had influence enough to induce the local board to make the experiment, and they had been proved a success.

The scheme was not therefore a castle in the air—it was practical and workable, and adopted at once on this guarantee by the London Board. The thing was settled in principle before the general public had even heard of it. For my own part, when I first saw the circular of the London Trades Council appealing to us all to come and take their young people in hand, and by the means suggested help to complete their imperfect education and gather them in from the streets, I felt overwhelmed. It was too delightful to be readily believed. All our poor little efforts here and there by clubs and institutes had small and partial results; they left such vast masses outside becoming more and more beyond control, and exercising a great force of attraction on those inside our little folds, that one struggled on against a disposition to despair. It was worse than our work being small, that it could not be thorough in the midst of such a world. The very sense of humour in the people was vitiated; that which pleased and amused the youths set the nerves of the cultured on edge; vulgarity could go no further. Through such a deflection of taste it seemed hopeless to bring it back. People who thought to do it by a ballad concert or some nice penny readings here and there, no doubt had a reward in themselves; but they might as well try to sweeten the pestiferous concourse of the drains of London at Barking Reach by dropping into it a few rose-leaves. When, therefore, the leaders of the working men, who are apt, some of us fancy, to confine themselves too exclusively to dreams of a millennium politically achieved, and not to try enough what may be done for the people by the people without any Parliament-made laws, suddenly began thus to arouse themselves

and to look at home, the world seemed to grow brighter. One had been longing and praying that parents would appear to care a little more what became of their big boys and big girls, and keep a tighter hand upon them and take an interest in bringing them up decently and giving them better education; but at the same time there had been no denying how much excuse was to be made under the existing conditions of London life. But suddenly, after years of working without help or even much apparent sympathy from parents, there arose this voice from the people themselves, demanding what we had longed for, and the antiphon of the London School Board.

The way was opened at once to a great and united movement, in which all men of good-will might and must join to bring back these lost tribes of uneducated children. For the fact confronts us that much of the thirteen millions spent annually on elementary education is barren of results of real value, owing to education coming to a dead stop for almost all children at the age of twelve or thirteen. At that age a child has just mastered the mechanical acquirement of the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic; it has been entrusted with the keys of knowledge, but does not enter in; it has arrived at the starting-point of education, and there it stops—that is to say, education ends where it ought to begin. Thus, at a tremendous expenditure, over which we are always growling, we give the national progeny an education which we allow to be wasted and turned to no account. The enormity of the waste may be gathered from the fact that nearly half a million of children leave school every year and only about five per cent., it is calculated, pursue their education in any way from the point where it is dropped; and of the two and a half millions who are between the age for leaving school and eighteen, but twenty-seven thousand attend evening schools in the course of the year—many out of this small number only for a short time. Of course we may be met by ignorant optimists with the comfortable assumption that there is much home education and self-education going on; but those who know will say that this is a vain confidence.

Since education became compulsory and the enforcement of school attendance a matter of police; since the State stepped in between the parent and the child, and made the period of school attendance a sort of penal servitude, it is rarely that study is voluntarily continued or resumed when that period is terminated. An intense reaction sets in. The policeman's hand off its collar, the child naturally runs away; the parent considers the duty of educating fulfilled. Then the labours of life begin; and ten hours in a factory tax the child's physical powers to the utmost. There is no appetite for books when the crowd of fagged boys escapes from the long daily bondage, or the girls, cramped up at their work so many hours, get out into the streets.

Nor in London, where 84,000 leave school every year, have many of them homes in which, if they were ever so well-disposed, they

could sit down comfortably to study. It is not the exception for parents to be out with the door-keys in their pockets; and these poor children in vast numbers roam the streets, and, instead of continuing and improving their education, are quickly turning aside from all the good they have learned, and losing the grace of their schooldays. For the last four years evening classes have been opening in the Board Schools as they did long before in others; but what can be expected?—only failure. This is illustrated by the total evening school attendance already stated. We might as well expect a released convict to return of his own accord to prison as for those weary children to go back to school. For the immense majority, education absolutely ceases when they leave school, and the slight impression is soon obliterated. Just at the time when they would acquire a taste for study—when it would cease to be a mechanical drudgery, when they would understand the value of instruction, the whole process ceases, and all that has gone before and for each child cost the country and its parents so much money, is rendered to a great degree, if not entirely, valueless.

True there is a literature specially provided for the vast amount of raw material annually flung out of our schools ready for manufacture. It is to enable the two million and a half of boys and girls in transition to be laid hold upon by this horrible scoundrel-making machinery that we have taught them to read. This kind of literature, of which I see a good deal, represents the world through a distorting medium of false sentiment, infamous hero-worship, vicious love; a world devoted to burglaries, highway robberies, murders, and other crimes of every depth of dye. Instead of teaching anything of sterling worth, this literature depraves and warps the ideas of youths, and makes them long for highly spiced criminal excitements. Surely this is a bad use for the treasure of the country to be applied to, providing a market for such garbage. Regarded simply from the lowest ratepayer's point of view, it is a frightful and intolerable waste of revenue.

Many of these children, doing children's work, when they grow up will be without trades. Instead of developing in them—in this middle term when they are practically working for others, not for themselves—aptitudes which would conduct them to well-being, if not to fortune, and create new elements of productive force, and of future prosperity to the country, we allow them to relapse into almost total ignorance. We do not bring them on far enough to take advantage of technical education, even if it were offered them free. With the immense advances of knowledge, there are processes in every industry for which much intelligence is needed to make a thorough workman. In all the subdivisions of trade a general insight is not acquired save by those who are educated enough to obtain it for themselves. Without it the individual is helpless and at the mercy of others; he knows only his own minute part of a puzzle which he cannot put

together. Nor can he, without a knowledge of principles, improve on old methods.

So the farther invention and discovery go ahead, the farther the ignorant workman is left behind, and reduced to a state of impotency. His ignorance becomes intenser ignorance as light and knowledge increase. Some change of process which affects his minute subdivision throws him out of work and reduces him to pauperism. The industrial mechanism acquires an extreme delicacy when this is the case; it is disorganised and reduced to helplessness by the slightest change as it could not have been in primitive times, when each mechanic was master of a trade—not merely of a small portion of it. He could formerly, as he cannot now, adapt himself to altered circumstances.

The material loss is great, but the political and moral loss immeasurable. These are the future electors who will exercise so much influence on the world's destiny. The constituents of an imperial race, they ought to be educated with a view to the power they will wield. Every Englishman ought to know something about the dependencies of England, as one of the heirs of such a splendid inheritance; he should understand English interests, something about her commerce, her competitors, the productions and trade of other lands. He ought to know his country's historical as well as her geographical position. He cannot, with safety to the empire, be allowed to be so ignorant as to be unfit for his political trust, like loose ballast in a vessel, liable, in any agitation that may arise, to roll from side to side and so to destroy national stability.

For the individual those years are decisive between thirteen and eighteen. They form the character; they regulate the habits of a lifetime; they stamp the features. Nevermore can those years be overtaken. Each year half a million cross the rubicon of life and leave behind the power to change. We speak and write about 'the residuum' and 'scum'—mixed in metaphor and ideas—throwing the blame on 'this last' whose educational opportunities have been but as one hour to the twelve of his betters; and we forget it is to our own shame that, in a day of great enlightenment, intenser shadow falls upon the masses. The Education Act of 1870, which was looked upon as the Abolition of Ignorance, has failed to achieve its object; it has left darkness grosser by the revolt of those educated under compulsion. The education it has enforced is worthless; it is like a fair woman without discretion—as a pearl in a swine's snout—this mere capacity to read which leaves its possessor brutal and uncultured. How is this shortcoming to be remedied? We have gone as far as we dare in the direction of cramming the greatest amount of teaching possible into the shortest span of a child's life. The question of overpressure is one about which doctors and educational pundits differ; but I can testify that I have seen children driven dull by overwork. At this moment, as I write, a woman has called with her

little girl, who has got 'St. Viper's Dance' from working and worrying before the examinations; it is a fact that children's sleep is disturbed by the nightmare pressure which makes them cry out in their dreams; and I have stated elsewhere that one of my teachers was sent for lately to calm the agony of mind of a little girl, on her death-bed, at being absent from the impending school inspection, that she might, as her mother said, die in peace. Considering the miserable results we do get up to the age of thirteen, the listless progress, in spite of driving, that children of a languid temperament, from under-feeding and other sanitary causes, make, it is hard to see how we can diminish aught of the tale that is exacted; but the responsibility would be perilous of crowding more than is already imposed upon it on that narrow ledge of childhood. We cannot ask less, and we dare not ask more.

There are strong objections to other expedients—to making school attendance compulsory to a more advanced age, or evening-school attendance compulsory, as in Switzerland and in certain of the German States. The former would be hard on the parents, the latter harder on the children. There is a demand for cheap labour; and at the present moment, when the number of men unemployed is so formidable, the wages of their children are the only support of multitudes. It may be true, if they were driven to school there would be more work for men; but, on the other hand, it is by children's labour that a good deal of work is kept in the country which would otherwise go abroad. The working man is—perhaps fortunately—inconsistent in this, that while he will not himself work below a certain standard he considers fair for a man's labour, he will allow his boys to do the same work for a much less wage.

But however this may be—whether in the long run it would, or would not, be better for the working man if his children were kept at school to fourteen or fifteen, instead of being sent prematurely to labour, and, though bringing in a few shillings, cheapening the whole labour market—there can be no doubt that there are many poor women dependent on their boys' earnings. Even as it is, magistrates are loth to convict in such cases.

Among the working lads with whom I associate, no few are the chief support of their mothers: and the lives of self-denial led by many of these poor fellows—unattractive, perhaps, in exterior, rough in manners, often far from choice in language—must, where sterling and unconscious merit is weighed, be deemed noble. The effect of taking away such innumerable props from humble life would be to considerably increase the pauperism of the country and aggravate the distresses of the poorer classes. Certainly it is no time to do this.

But to compel school attendance after all these weary hours imposed on the young toiler, for whom Nature has intended youth as the playtime of life—mental drudgery coming upon the top of bodily

drudgery—would be to inflict an intolerable wrong—to make these lads more discontented and defiant than they are, and to affect most injuriously the physique of the rising generation—had enough already. Besides, it would be found very hard in this country to enforce school attendance upon working boys. But the possibility of doing so, it is hardly worth discussing, for the electorate would never allow such a tyrannical Act to pass. Compulsory education, even of school children, is unpopular enough, and the country would not stand compulsion being applied beyond the existing limits.

Out of this dilemma the success of the new movement will release us. Its method is to make the evening school a place of welcome, of pleasure and recreation, mixed with solid usefulness and educational work. I hope that the Board will, as it is seen how the experiment works, allow more recreation to be interwoven by the voluntary teachers into the code subjects taught by its own paid teachers; and that the latter will enter into the spirit of the method and infuse into their own teaching more life and reality, and make it bear more on the concerns of the boys' and girls' daily life. This will be all the more needful as, from having, this first session of the experiment, only those who are students for pure study's sake, we begin to gather in those who are less eager for knowledge and more bent on recreation.

The work begun during this winter is no test; but it has prevented schools from dying out as they generally do at the end of the session, and in some instances added to them. But our sound has not yet gone out; our specific has not been tried on the roving street boys and street girls whom we want to attract in; and it is on the ultimate power of the system to draw in these outsiders that its claims will rest.

It is for the prodigals of education that we want the windows of our house to be full of light and suggestion of entertainment. We want the stream borne outward of song, and the music of the drill, and the running of many feet in the maze, and the clinking of dumb-bells, and the inspiring word of command, and the shadow of graceful movements, to bring in those young wasters of their youth. Then we shall show them our pictures vivid with colour, and bring them round Greater Britain, and make them travelled, and teach them of science and art, and carry their minds far back into the realms of history and show them many wonders. And their minds will glow like the pictures and begin to teem with new thoughts and ideas, and they will slowly understand why it was they were dragged to school as little children, spite of tears and often with poor little empty stomachs. The drawing class will impart a new delight, and in the other art classes, carving wood and modelling—that strange making power of man—the likeness of the Highest will begin to develop, and the *Geist* to come into eyes till now dull and defiant. Thus our new leaven will work until the whole mass is leavened; and those weird crowds of haggard boys and wild, unkempt girls have disappeared from the

highway; for the servant abroad has gathered and compelled them to come in by the best compulsion, the irresistible attraction within, to the house of wisdom.

It may possibly be assumed that there is something antagonistic in this movement to work of a similar kind actually going on in church schools and clubs. So far from that being the case, the new association will gladly help, where help is needed, to fill with a fuller life the work being carried on through those channels. But the main reason why so much is undone is that the Board Schools, which form a large part of the educational system, have had no organ such as church schools have for assimilating children of a larger growth.

They have no clergy to shepherd the children and follow them out into life, to retain their affections and collect them to social gatherings, and by the combination of the simple pleasures of their lives with religious duties to bind them together. They have no guilds, no homes in the country. There has been nothing hitherto but the bare, hard machinery of education, without the faintest hold of love or interest beyond code work. And yet these schools stand where schools were needed most, and where, as child life is thickest, so boy and girl life is thickest also, and they are the only fostering wings that ever the pupils passing through them know. Those hundreds of thousands have never consequently been affiliated to any religious body, but, having passed through and had their wretched portion of education divided to them, they get no more care and are lost in the sea of human life. But there stand those splendid palaces of education through which they have gone, forming a vast network over the whole of the world-like city, and provided, for those past scholars, under the new evening-school code, with a staff of paid teachers, always on the spot to maintain discipline; with all their apparatus; with playgrounds—oases in the mighty deserts of London.

All that is needed is to bring them the organised life and friendship which religious workers supply in the denominational schools. The local secretary and the body of voluntary helpers, with the evening-school managers, will form the soul of the new body, which will grow from term to term, and attract to itself more and more of the lost children of the schools. Religious work, far from being hindered by taking these young people out of the streets, will be made by degrees possible among them. Decency, order, good taste, are not anti-religious, but the best handmaids of religion. Those boys and girls who have received the shade of thought and refinement, and had the roughness and studied brutality of the streets removed, will be touched by the Old Story as they could not have been in the former days. Music will find its way into their souls, and the beauty of religious art and pageantry will exercise its glamour. There will be the imagination to climb above vulgar things, eyes to see, and ears to hear.

The idea, then, is not only to make the evening school bright with

song, with gymnastic exercises set to music like the soldier's march, with vivid pictures awakening the dull imagination, bounded hitherto by the bricks and mortar and dustbins in courts and alleys, to scenes of travel and history, and natural phenomena, and the wonders of nature and science; not only to set young fingers carving and drawing and modelling, and fill empty heads, but also to fill empty hearts; to give friends to these boys and girls; to give them right hands of fellowship; to go with them to the cricket-field, to the swimming-bath, on country rambles. To pilot a party of London boys through the forest is a new experience; the world becomes fresh to old eyes from theirs. Wonder inexpressible as a pair of jays dart out before us, chattering down the long avenues; or the wood-pigeons persuade, or the cuckoos are recognised as the original of the cuckoo-clock. The commonest things are gathered as if they were enchanted, until the freight they intended to bring home grows beyond bounds, and the discovery of Nature's prodigality at last makes them throw all away save some little branch or flower, as an evidence that fairy-land exists. Then we can have botanical and entomological excursions, and open their minds and imaginations by these country dips. Gradually the life of the evening school will become corporate; it will not dissolve at the end of each session; by the grace of the Board we shall keep all that we have gained, and wind refining influences round our young people, and implant a purer taste, which will begin to reflect itself on public amusements. 'The Great' and 'the Jolly,' and all the other unspeakable vulgarisms at whom men cacchinated, will be hissed off, and real humour will return to its deserted abode; and real singing, and beautiful dancing, and true sentiment, and business good and true to art and nature of all kinds, will again be appreciated. Time will develop our plans. Those lordly schools will still be our centres; their paid and regular staff, the great dependence and permanent strength of the work, will enter into it with all their hearts when they come to understand it fully, and see its ends and aims; our voluntary work will be a graft on the strong stem, to make it fruitful; but all the fruit will not be on this little grafted bough; the whole tree will be glorious with fruit and blossom.

Then we shall begin to extend our work still further; to make provision that once in the year the country sun shall bronze pale faces; to draft our girls and boys away to hospitable country houses or cottages where the Squire will make them the welcome guests of the villagers for a happy week or two—halcyon days in their toiling, noisy, ugly lives—days that will illuminate and sweeten the year by pleasant recollections and joyful hope. Then, linked with our school life-centres—and who can tell but that the Board, backed up by public opinion, may take this up?—we shall establish higher and technical schools, not barred with golden bars against the poor, but open without payment to needy talent. So, having found out in our first grade



evening schools the natural resources of the country, we shall pass them on and develop them; and apprentices whom their masters teach grudgingly and of necessity, trying to spin out teaching to the last, lest they should know too much and possibly break away, and so prevent them from ever becoming thorough workmen, we shall, in these universal technical schools, teach the highest and fullest and best, without regard to their selfish masters' scruples and fears.

From the mass, submitted to the test of simple art classes, talent will be separated and handed on to a more advanced training. Every boy may have friends, opportunities, possibilities opened to him, horizons of hope. He will by his teachers be linked to a world of greater culture than his own, and also have his eyes and heart opened to the fact that he is not overlooked, not uncared-for, in this vast crowd of human beings. Plans will thus widen out, and, through unsatisfactory results and many impediments, we must look forward and see the day of great things through the day of small beginnings. It will need continuous well-directed energy and order to work out a system, and there must be no carpet-knights in posts of trust and responsibility. Away through the evening the children of light must speed, with unflinching punctuality and the sense of a great trust. Nothing must make them fail or weary to realise the great ends which will be gained by the faithful discharge of small duties, and the vastness of the scheme, in which they are links, will stimulate them and quicken their pulses. There are many looking on who are profound unbelievers in voluntary work and workers, and prophesy, 'They won't stick to it.' But I believe that when we get the right men—as we shall in course of time—and get rid of the wrong ones—weed out our mistakes—there is something so distinct, so hopeful, and so approaching to a new faith and the light and heat of enthusiasm its passage generates in this movement, that there is no room for fear of our voluntary workers failing. I do not depend on the 'upper classes' alone—this is a working-men's movement. Young workmen I have found throw themselves into it heartily; they are willing to go long distances; and I think to see teachers of their own class among them has a great influence on the taught. Here there is no suspicion of condescension, no instruction from a superior's point of view; but one of themselves, entirely on their own level, who comes in a brotherly way to make them happier or better. This is the feeling we must all aim at imparting to those we teach; and we must try in this work, as much as possible, to get rid of the disadvantages of birth, 'gentility,' difference of sphere, to drop on our side all ideas about difference of station. We shall not really derogate thereby from any respect to which we are duly entitled, but it will be given freely and even lovingly.

FREEMAN WILLS.

## *THE DISSOLUTION AND THE COUNTRY.*

IN the debate rising out of the defeat of Mr. Disraeli's Government on the Irish Church resolutions in 1868, Mr. Gladstone stated what were the conditions which in his view justified a Minister in making an appeal to the country by way of dissolution against an adverse Parliamentary vote. There must, he said, be in the first place an adequate issue of public policy. There must, in the second, be a reasonable probability that the decision of the country will reverse that of the House of Commons. Both these conditions certainly exist now. Mr. Gladstone, in his latest manifesto, stated that the issue before the nation is the gravest which has been submitted to it during the past half-century. He might probably have said with truth that it is the gravest which has been submitted to the country since the Act of Union with Ireland was passed. There is no ground for doubting that not only Her Majesty's Ministers, but the parties and groups of parties allied against them, hold, the one with alarm, the others with hope, that there is a fair chance of the country refusing to countenance the vote against Home Rule for Ireland. Both sides are eager, but both sides feel that the result is supremely uncertain. Mr. Gladstone mentioned another condition which had been alleged to justify dissolution of Parliament, but of which he denied the force. A Ministry may not dissolve simply for the purpose of obtaining from the country a vote for its own continuance in office. Usually this disallowed consideration is inseparable from the others. Whatever may be the definite issue before them, the constituencies will ordinarily vote less upon that than upon the general character of the Administration which makes appeal to them. Certainly this will be so in the elections which are now impending. The country, if it returns a Ministerial majority to the new Parliament, will vote more for Mr. Gladstone than for Home Rule. It will vote for Home Rule because it is proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and not for Mr. Gladstone because he proposes Home Rule. If his attitude on the subject had been the reverse of what it is, if the provisions and machinery of his Bills had been wholly dissimilar from what they were, there is no reason to doubt that the members of Parliament who went with him into the lobby on the 8th of June would still have accompanied him thither, and that, with the exception perhaps of Mr. John Morley, his Cabinet would

have adhered to him with glutinous tenacity. If Mr. Gladstone had proposed Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, Mr. Chamberlain's scheme would now command the assent of the majority of the Liberal party. If, in the exercise of his own freedom of judgment, Mr. Chamberlain had propounded a counter-scheme identical with that which Mr. Gladstone has put forward, he would be scouted and denounced as a traitor, animated by motives of jealousy and personal rivalry.

Mr. Gladstone is not himself responsible for this state of feeling among large classes of his fellow-subjects, possibly among a majority of the people of these islands. But it imposes an immense responsibility on him. The statesman who is sure that any scheme which he may devise will be accepted by half, or nearly, or more than, half of the nation simply because he has devised it, is bound to be very careful in his proposals—to think once, to think twice, to think thrice before he lays them before the world, and to think three times more before he refuses to modify them. The dictum of the old saint and sage, bidding his readers to consider the things said and not the person saying them, is a counsel of perfection to which the weakness of human nature can seldom be equal. But the more the hearers consider the person who speaks or writes, the more the person speaking or writing is bound to consider the things spoken or written. The jealous scrutiny, the minute and sceptical examination which they decline to exercise on him, he must exercise on himself. Mr. Gladstone has written much on the influence of authority in matters of opinion: it cannot be excluded from them. People will believe because the evidence has convinced somebody else. They assent to the conclusions of a man of thought or action without understanding his premisses or his processes. The wielders of an authority such as Mr. Gladstone exercises in England are invested with a power and a responsibility compared with which those of a despotic sovereign or a dictator are slight. Mr. Gladstone submits his scheme to the judgment of the country; and a large part of the country is prepared to submit its judgment to Mr. Gladstone's scheme.

Mr. Gladstone could not have gained such a position as this without being as well entitled to it as any human being could possibly be. But then no human being is entitled to such a position, or can occupy it with safety to himself or to those who submit themselves to his guidance. It is dangerous to his own reputation, and diminishes the services which he might render his country. The excessive confidence of large masses of his countrymen arouses in others a distrust as exaggerated and more blind. One of the denunciations of which he has lately been made the object is the familiar one of fomenting social discord, of inflaming the poor and ignorant against the rich and cultivated, of setting up uninformed sentiment against reasoned conviction. The accusation is unjust.

The antagonists of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme—for which I am not pleading, which, as I have endeavoured to point out in the pages of this Review, approaches the subject from a point of view and deals with it by methods essentially faulty—are not content to argue against it or to suggest amendments in it. They boast that the rank, the riches, the leisure, and the culture of England are hostile to it. When Mr. Gladstone says, 'I sorrowfully admit this,' the reply is, 'You are setting class against class. You are endeavouring to incite ignorance and poverty against station, title, and wealth, to drown social influence in numbers, to subject the instructed judgment of the professions to the crude sentiment of the labouring classes.' It is impossible to imagine anything more mischievous than this discrimination, whether for exaltation or disparagement, of certain classes in the nation against the great body of the nation itself. The classes do not exist apart from the nation; the nation is the aggregate of classes. The blame of this dangerous way of speaking and writing must rest in the main with those who set the example of it, and only in a secondary way, though still really, with those who retort it. There is fallacy in the argument on both sides—if that can be called argument which is rather an appeal by question-begging phrases to intellectual or moral Pharisaism. The words 'education' and 'culture' are much abused in this connection. Leisure and wealth and rank undoubtedly present opportunities of education and culture. But opportunity without stimulus is often barren. The number of persons belonging to the privileged and wealthy classes who achieve personal distinction is relatively few. The man who, born to affluence and social consideration, is content to work as if he had these things to gain, whom the love of fame or other worthy motive prompts to 'scorn delights and live laborious days,' is a very exceptional being, as is shown by the exceptional praise which he receives whenever he makes his appearance. The great body of what is called educated opinion is simply fashionable opinion. People who wish to be considered socially what they ought to besflock in herds after the society statesman and the pet political hero of the day, as they run after the pet actor, the pet painter, the pet lecturer, even the pet monstrosity, the last dwarf, or the latest two-headed nightingale of the season. This imitative and servile movement of fashion is dignified by the name of the tendency of educated opinion. Even when the education and culture are real, they should be appropriate to the subject-matter on which their authority is cited. The successful soldier of fortune, the court poet, the Albemarle Street lecturer who makes science, not popular, but fashionable, may be profound politicians, but the arts in which they are eminent do not give any presumption even of political capacity. There is a great run just now on the writings of Burke, which have become a sort of Holy Scriptures of politics, and of which, as of the Bible, it may be said:

'This is the book where each his doctrine seeks, and this the book where each his doctrine finds.' 'It cannot escape observation,' says Burke, 'that where men are too much confined to professional and faculty habits, and, as it were, inveterate in the concurrent employment of that narrow circle, they are rather disabled than qualified for whatever depends on the knowledge of mankind, on experience in mixed affairs, or a comprehensive connected view of the various complicated external and internal interests which go to the formation of that multifarious thing called a State.' We may set this passage against the often-quoted sentence of Jesus the son of Sirach: 'How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?' To be in close and vital contact for existence' sake with the essential realities of life is often a more copious source of that moral and practical wisdom which is the basis of politics than the exclusive pursuit of special arts or sciences, or than a dilettante trifling with them. It is, however, pertinent to remark that the author of Ecclesiasticus was not speaking of Parliamentary government, Home Rule, or the agricultural labourer's vote. As a matter of fact, the tribunal has been constituted by the consent of Liberals and Conservatives alike. To endeavour to discredit its moral competence is idle, and is very bad tactics besides. An advocate who should denounce the jury he addresses as unintelligent and ignorant, would stand a small chance of getting a verdict. To begin by setting the Court against you is a blunder into which an old forensic hand would not fall.

That the labouring classes are the best judges of the question which will be at issue in the coming election is not so much a true, or a false, as an idle proposition. They are more under the influence of feeling and less under the influence of fashion than persons in easier social circumstances. But sometimes feeling may be wrong, and occasionally fashion may be right. They have a strong instinct of justice and fair play when their own real or supposed interests are not too directly involved; but that instinct, it may be hoped, and that qualification of it, it is to be feared, are common to Englishmen of all ranks. A wise statesmanship will appeal to the conscience and judgment of the country as a whole, endeavouring to enlighten the one and to stimulate the other, and will avoid disparaging the selfish prepossessions of the classes to the people, or the ignorance of the people to the classes. The commencement of this crimination and recrimination has been with the partisans of rank, wealth, and leisure as the guides of political conduct. History warns us. The distinction drawn between the optimates and the populares in Rome, in the days before the republican constitution perished, under the demagogic 'one-man rule' of Julius Cæsar, corresponded very closely with that which imprudent persons are drawing now between the

cultivated and the ignorant. The optimates consisted, we are told by one of their partisans, of the senate, the better and larger part of the equestrian order, and such of the plebeians as were unaffected by pernicious counsels—the upper and upper-middle classes, that is to say, with a sprinkling of the conservative working men. As contrasted with the populares, they were made up of the men and classes ‘*qui neque nocentes sunt, nec natura improbi, nec furiosi, nec malis domesticis impediti.*’ The distinctions which were drawn in Imperial Rome between the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*, between the ‘fat people’ and the ‘lean people’ in some of the Italian republics of the Middle Ages, between the aristocrats and the populace under the first French Revolution, and in later revolutions between the labourers and capitalists, suggest caution to persons inclined to insist on similar distinctions for purposes of political warfare in England. This method of controversy will raise directly far more serious questions than any which it may be employed indirectly to settle.

As the election proceeds, the language of intellectual and social scorn now used towards the great body of the electors will be abated. It will be well if it be not exchanged for coarse and fulsome flattery. Horace Walpole mentions that Lord Talbot, addressing the House of Lords on some matter connected with the King, was misled into calling the peers ‘your majesties’ instead of ‘your lordships.’ He withdrew the phrase as an oversight, but said he should have used it by design if addressing the people. The people, the legal people as the French phrase has it, are sovereign in fact, and not merely in rhetoric; the ultimate appeal is to them; the Crown, the two Houses of Parliament, the Ministry, the rival parties in the State, submit to their decision as final. It is vitally important that the issue which they have to decide should be correctly apprehended. Apart from that, the most righteous feeling will help but little to the solution. Mr. Gladstone presents it in the question, ‘Will you govern Ireland by coercion, or will you let her manage her own affairs?’ If the controversy were simply between himself and Lord Salisbury, this might be enough. Lord Salisbury now denies—and of course everyone will accept his disclaimer—that when he spoke of twenty years of resolute government, he meant twenty years of coercion. Unfortunately he spoke of coercion in the sentence in which, according to his later account, he was not thinking of it. He mentioned the repeal at the end of the twenty years of the coercive laws of which he had not dreamed, and the introduction then of the local liberties which he was ready to grant now. Moreover, Lord Salisbury had made a commencement of his resolute policy while he was yet Prime Minister, in the framing of a Bill for the suppression of the National League. It is satisfactory to know now that he did not mean what he seemed to say. When, however, a man talks of twenty years of resolute policy, he almost deprives himself of title to rank among

statements. If Lord Salisbury were infallible, a policy chosen once for all might be usefully persisted in; Lord Salisbury being fallible, he is just as likely at the very beginning to be wrong as he is to be right, and the resolute policy would in this case be blind obstinacy. The faculty of adapting methods of government to constantly changing circumstances, of varying the means because the end is the same, is the mark of capable statesmanship; while persistence in the maxims and rules of government once for all adopted is a stupid pedantry. The issue, however, is not simply between the policy of coercion and the policy of allowing Ireland to manage her own affairs. If a majority is given to Mr. Gladstone at the elections, it will, in spite of vague disclaimers, be understood as sanctioning the particular scheme which he has already devised for enabling Ireland to manage her own affairs. That scheme, as I endeavoured to point out in this Review, tends not only to the complete Parliamentary independence of Ireland, but to its ultimate severance from the Crown of England. Mr. Gladstone properly claims for all parties and sections of parties in Great Britain, that they are Unionists in intention. The word Unionists, however, has its own defined meaning in Anglo-Irish politics. It means supporters of the Act of Union, those whom Mr. Gladstone calls paper Unionists. He contrasts with them the promoters of real union of heart and affection. Does this necessarily mean more than such a bond of cordial regard as now exists between the United Kingdom and the United States, and between the severed kingdoms of Holland and Belgium? Such a union is obviously compatible with complete political separation. It is a phrase of sentiment and not of politics.

The people of England and Scotland are animated by two convictions and determinations in this matter. The first and most vital of them is that the Imperial Parliament shall remain the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, that the three countries shall be represented in it fairly in proportion to their numbers, and that representation shall be continuous for all of them. The mere turning, from time to time, of the representatives of Ireland, or some of them, into a Parliament in its ordinary condition consisting exclusively of the members for England and Scotland, would simply confuse public business and would probably make its transaction impossible. The Imperial politics, domestic and foreign, in which Irish members are to bear their part, cannot be shoved off into particular weeks and months, of which formal notice shall be given. The essence of Parliamentary vigilance and control is that they shall be always attentive and active. From day to day, and from hour to hour, almost, events occur which suggest questions and which call for Ministerial explanations. Members who are not continuously following the course of events and discussions, and taking part in the Parliamentary business which rises incidentally out of them, cannot

be tumbled into the House of Commons at stated periods with any good effect: they will have lost the thread of the transactions. While, however, this arrangement would make the participation of Irish members in Imperial business nugatory, it would enable them to interfere with purely English and Scotch affairs, by improperly protracting Imperial discussions, so as to thrust other business aside. They would be able, upon some Imperial question, to defeat with the aid of Conservative or Liberal allies, as the case might be, a ministry bent on English or Scotch legislation which they did not approve. They might thus displace through intrusive Irish votes a British Government possessing the confidence of the majority of British members, because its legislation on some purely British subject was distasteful, let us say, to English Conservatives and Irish Catholics residing in England. By Mr. Gladstone's Bill, as it stands, excluding Irish members from St. Stephen's, the Parliamentary union between Great Britain and Ireland is abolished. The occasional admission of Irish members on stated occasions would, I repeat, destroy its efficiency both as the Imperial Parliament and as the insular Parliament of Great Britain. The only way in which Home Rule can be reconciled with the maintenance of the Parliamentary union between Great Britain and Ireland is by the fair and continuous representation of Ireland in the United Parliament, and the banishment of purely English, Welsh, and Scotch business to legislative bodies dealing with it, and with it alone. In this way a place may be found for Home Rule under the shelter of the United Parliament. If this arrangement is not yet practicable, we must wait until it becomes so, and be content in the meantime to remain as we are. But if Mr. Gladstone chose to adopt it, it would become practicable. By placing Ireland, on all matters which affect the internal unity as well as the external safety of the United Kingdom, on all matters except those reserved as specially Irish, under the authority of the Imperial Parliament and Executive, the Land Purchase Bill would become superfluous and the Ulster difficulty would disappear. The Irish Protestants of the North would not be transferred to a rule distasteful to them; they would still be represented directly in the United Parliament, and be under its direct protection. At the same time they would be brought, on purely Irish business, into direct relations with their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects of the south and west. They would be forced to find a means of living on peaceful and friendly terms with them. It is the great evil of the system which has hitherto prevailed that it has made the Protestants of Ulster consider themselves the fellow-countrymen rather of the English and Scotch across the sea than of the men with whom geographically and territorially they are associated, and with whom indeed they are inextricably intermingled. The light phrase about the two Irelands conveys an historic reproach. The tendency of Home Rule, duly



guaranteed by the authority of the Imperial Parliament and Executive, which need no more conflict with the Irish Legislature and Executive than the organisation of the Federal Government at Washington does with the State Governments of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, would be to merge the English garrison into the surrounding people. If Mr. Gladstone sees his way to the modification of his scheme in the sense indicated, he would probably bring back to his ranks three-fourths of the Liberal dissentients whom he calls seceders. He would avert the painful conflict and the not less painful alliances now impending, and would restore the union of the Liberal party, otherwise shattered as a potent instrument of usefulness for many years. All that is legitimate in Home Rule is compatible with the maintenance of the Parliamentary Union. The Parliamentary Union would be stronger for the common purposes of the United Kingdom if Home Rule were granted to its several parts. The divided sections of the Liberal party are looking at different sides of the shield. The aims of each are consistent with the aims of the other, and indeed are mutually dependent for their effective realisation. There cannot be a real, as opposed to a mere paper, union without Home Rule; there cannot be orderly Home Rule except under the safeguard of the Parliamentary Union. It is for Mr. Gladstone now to make overtures to the followers who have reluctantly quitted his standard. If, the opportunity presenting itself, he fails to make use of it—and the opportunity is present to him whenever he may choose to seize it—the responsibility will rest mainly with him of increasing the chances of Lord Salisbury's resolute policy, and of disabling by its divisions the Liberal party, which alone can effectually resist that policy.

It is possible that in the interval between these pages quitting the hands of the writer and reaching those of the public, unequivocal declarations may clear the controversy of its ambiguities. At present, all that can be said is that Mr. Gladstone's language does not close the door to the chances of a settlement. He is a great deal less peremptory than Mr. John Morley, or Lord Rosebery, or Mr. Childers. Mr. Gladstone is content to say that the two Bills which he introduced are dead, and that there is not a clause or a detail in them which those who support the principle that Ireland in matters purely Irish shall govern herself may not dispute. Mr. John Morley, speaking at Newcastle on Monday, the 21st of June, said practically that the Home Rule Bill is not dead, but only sleeping; that it will revive not merely in principle, but in the main consequences, the main methods, and the main applications of that principle. He emphatically repudiated the idea of making Home Rule subordinate to the full and continuous representation of Ireland in the United Kingdom. Mr. Childers has spoken to the same purport. Ireland is to have the *entrée* of the Imperial Parliament when Imperial and revenue topics are under discussion, an arrangement

more impracticable, and more mischievous if it were practicable, than statesmanship of the Abbé Stélys order has ever devised. Lord Rosebery, while asserting that this country will vote not for or against the Government measure, but on the simple proposition that a separate Irish legislature is desirable, yet says that 'wherever, in whatsoever place, before whatsoever assembly, the project for the government of Ireland may be proposed, our scheme—the scheme of Mr. Gladstone—will loom up as much of a landmark as the great pyramid itself.' That is to say, that Mr. Gladstone's scheme will loom up in the new House of Commons when it meets. In other words, it would seem that Mr. Gladstone's Bills are dead for the purposes of the general election, but are not dead for legislative purposes if the new Parliament shows a Ministerial majority. The real question, however, is not what Mr. John Morley, Lord Rosebery, or Mr. Childers says, but what Mr. Gladstone means, and their language may have very little relation to his intentions. The passages which we have quoted may be unauthorised glosses on the sacred text. Mr. Gladstone is his own interpreter, and it is to be hoped he will make it plain. He does not, like Mr. Morley, venture to ask the country to approve the Home Rule principle in the consequences, methods, and applications which were given to it in the Bill which the House of Commons rejected. He disowns the Bill because he knows the country, like the late Parliament, is not prepared to accept it. But if Mr. Gladstone made a faulty application last spring of a principle sound in itself, who can feel sure that he will make a wiser application of it next autumn? In fact the principle of Home Rule is sound or unsound as it is applied; and before the confidence of the country can properly be given to any Minister, as advocating a principle, the use which he is going to make of that principle should be explicitly stated.

It will not be enough for Mr. Gladstone, in conjunction with Mr. Parnell, to have a majority in the next House of Commons. He refused to propose Home Rule until Ireland had declared with what he considered practical unanimity for it, until five-sixths of its Parliamentary representatives were pledged in its favour. But the rule which holds good on one side of the Channel, holds good on the other too; and if Ireland ought to be practically unanimous, so ought Great Britain. To repeal the Parliamentary Union—for this is what Mr. Gladstone's defunct Bill practically proposed to do—against the will of a majority of the English and Scotch representatives, or even against the will of a large minority of them, would be monstrous. It would be against Mr. Gladstone's own principle. It would, moreover, be impossible. The questions of a second Chamber, and the fitness of the House of Lords to discharge the functions of a second Chamber, are open. But so long as the House of Lords exists, it would be bound, by every acknowledged principle, and by a usage almost adopted into the constitution, not to give effect to a measure of the character suggested and in the circumstances supposed. Mr. Gladstone cannot

obtain a majority morally adequate for his purposes—he may not be able to obtain a majority at all—unless by assenting to the principle of maintaining the full and continuous representation of Ireland in the United Parliament he heals the breach between himself and the dissentient Liberals. If the Home Rule Liberals become Unionists, the Unionist Liberals may become Home Rulers; and another union—the union between the different sections of the Liberal party—may be restored. Nor is this all. Looking less at Lord Salisbury's recent declarations than at his earlier action and language, there is some reason to hope that he might be brought into this combination. If the concordant action of Mr. Parnell's followers and of the Conservative party up to the general election, including Lord Salisbury's Newport and Guildhall speeches, was not concerted, it was pursued in obedience to a mysteriously pre-established harmony. Lord Carnarvon's appointment to the viceroyalty of Ireland was as significant of a disposition on the part of Lord Salisbury to come to an understanding with Mr. Parnell as Mr. John Morley's appointment to the Chief Secretaryship was of Mr. Gladstone's. Lord Salisbury has not yet denied that he was cognisant beforehand and approved of Lord Carnarvon's interview with Mr. Parnell—that he was told afterwards what passed between them; and if this be so, he will not allege that the interview was of a purely speculative kind and did not mean business. The Cabinet, it is said—and this is the main point of the denial—never considered the subject. But cabinets are kept a good deal in the dark by prime ministers nowadays. Mr. Chamberlain has his grounds of complaint on this head. They are ignorant of the knowledge till they approve the deed. If the Conservative and Parnellite parties had been in a sufficient majority of the whole House, probably the Cabinet would have heard of the matter. The result possibly would have been seen in a scheme of Home Rule better than that which Mr. Gladstone has proposed, because maintaining the continuous representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. This is, however, speculation on the might have been, though it comes closely to the would have been. One thing is certain, that if the practical unanimity of Ireland is the condition on which alone Home Rule can properly be proposed, the practical unanimity of Great Britain is the condition on which alone Home Rule can legitimately be accepted. If Mr. Gladstone is to carry a measure giving Ireland control over affairs exclusively Irish, he must reunite the Liberal party under his leadership. If Mr. John Morley speaks for the Government, this hope must be abandoned.

FRANK H. HILL.

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*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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CENTURY.

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No. CXIV.—AUGUST 1886.

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*PASTEUR AND HYDROPHOBIA.*

THE public has very naturally and very rightly shown deep interest in the investigations into the nature and possible cure of hydrophobia now being conducted by the great French naturalist, Louis Pasteur. Those investigations not only have a special value on account of the terrible nature of the malady which there is good reason to believe will be brought within the range of curative treatment as a consequence of their prosecution, but also are of extreme interest to those engaged in the task of ascertaining the laws of natural phenomena, and to all who wish to understand the methods by which a great discoverer in science arrives at his results.

M. Pasteur is no ordinary man; he is one of the rare individuals who must be described by the term 'genius.' Having commenced his scientific career and attained great distinction as a chemist, M. Pasteur was led by his study of the chemical process of fermentations to give his attention to the phenomena of disease in living bodies resembling fermentations. Owing to a singular and fortunate mental characteristic he has been able not simply to pursue a rigid path of investigation dictated by the logical or natural connection of the phenomena investigated, but deliberately to select for inquiry matters of the most profound importance to the community, and to bring his inquiries to a successful practical issue in a large number of instances. Thus he has saved the silk-worm industry of France and Italy from destruction, he has taught the French wine-makers to quickly mature their wine, he has effected an enormous improvement and economy in the manufacture of beer, he has rescued

the sheep and cattle of Europe from the fatal disease 'anthrax,' and it is probable—he would not himself assert that it is at present more than probable—that he has rendered hydrophobia a thing of the past. The discoveries made by this remarkable man would have rendered him, had he patented their application and disposed of them according to commercial principles, the richest man in the world. They represent a gain of some millions sterling annually to the community. It is right for those who desire that increased support for scientific investigation should be afforded by the Governments of civilised States to point with emphasis to the definite utility and pecuniary value of M. Pasteur's work, because it is only in rare instances that the discovery of new knowledge and the practical application of that knowledge go hand in hand. M. Pasteur has afforded several of these rare instances. They should enable the public and our statesmen to believe in the value of scientific investigation even when it is not immediately followed by practical commercial results. These discoveries should excite in the minds of all those devoted to scientific research the profoundest gratitude towards M. Pasteur, since, by the direct practical application which his genius has enabled him to give to the results of his inquiries, he has done more than any living man to enable the unlearned to arrive at a conception of the possible value of the vast mass of scientific results—items of new knowledge—which must be continually gathered by less gifted individuals and stored for the future use of inventors and of those doubly-gifted men who, like M. Pasteur, are at once discoverers and inventors—discoverers of a scientific principle and inventors of its application to human requirements.

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M. Pasteur's first experiment in relation to hydrophobia was made in December 1880, when he inoculated two rabbits with the mucus from the mouth of a child which had died of that disease. As his inquiries extended he found that it was necessary to establish by means of experiment even the most elementary facts with regard to the disease, for the existing knowledge on the subject was extremely small, and much of what passed for knowledge was only ill-founded tradition.

So little was hydrophobia understood, and to so small an extent had it been studied, previously to M. Pasteur's investigations, that it was regarded by a certain number of highly competent physicians and physiologists (although this was not the general view) as a condition of the nervous system brought about by the infliction of a punctured inflammatory wound in which the action of a specific virus or poison took no part; it was, in fact, by some physicians regarded as a variety of lock-jaw or *tetanus*.

The number of cases of hydrophobia reported in England, France,

Germany, and Austria has valued a good deal each year since the time when statistics of disease were instituted by the Governments of these several countries; but its occurrence is sufficiently frequent at certain periods to excite the greatest anxiety and alarm. In England as many as thirty-six persons died from the disease in 1866; in France 288 persons were its victims in 1858, and in Prussia and Austria it is more frequent than in England.

The general belief, both among medical men and veterinary surgeons, as well as the public, has been that the condition known as hydrophobia in man does not follow from any ordinary bite or injury, but that in order to produce it the human subject must be bitten by a dog, wolf, pig, or other animal which is suffering from a well-marked disease known as 'rabies.' What it is which starts 'rabies' amongst dogs is not known, and has not even been guessed at, but the condition so named is communicated by 'rabid' or 'mad' dogs to other dogs, to pigs, to cattle, and to horses, and to all warm-blooded animals—even birds. Any animal so infected is capable by its bite of communicating the disease to other healthy animals. Rabies in a dog is recognised without difficulty by the skilled veterinarian. The disease has two varieties, known as 'dumb madness' and 'raving madness;' and it is held by veterinarians to have two modes of origin—viz. spontaneous, and as the result of infection from another rabid animal. It is quite permissible to doubt the spontaneous generation of rabies in any given case, although it must be admitted that the disease had a beginning, and that it is not improbable that whatever conditions favoured its first origin are still in operation, and likely to result in a renewed creation of the disease from time to time. The disease was well known in classical antiquity, and is of world-wide distribution, occurring both in the tropics and in the arctic regions, though much commoner in temperate regions than in either of the extremes of climate. There are some striking cases of certain well-peopled regions of the earth's surface in which it is at present unknown: no case appears to be on record of its occurrence in Australia, Tasmania, or New Zealand. It is a mistake to suppose that the disease is commoner in very hot weather than in cooler weather, or that great cold favours it. Climate, in fact, appears to have nothing to do with it, or rather, it should be said, is not shown to have anything to do with it.

Professor Fleming, in his admirable treatise on Rabies and Hydrophobia (London, 1872), says:

It is a great and dangerous error to suppose that the disease (in the dog) commences with signs of raging madness, and that the earliest phase of the malady is ushered in with fury and destruction. The first perceptible or initial symptoms of rabies in the dog are related to its habits. A change is observed in the animal's aspect, behaviour, and external characteristics. The habits of the creature are anomalous and strange. It becomes dull, gloomy, and taciturn; seeks to isolate itself, and shuns solitude and obscurity—hiding in out-of-the-way places, or tucking below chairs and other pieces of furniture; whereas in health it may have

black livid, good-natured, and sociable. But in its retirement it cannot rest; it is uneasy and fidgety, and betrays an uncomfortable state of mind; no sooner has it lain down and gathered itself together in the usual fashion of a dog resting than all at once it jumps up in an agitated manner, sniffs higher and farther several times, again lies down, and assumes a sleeping attitude, but has only maintained it for a few minutes when it is once more moving about, seeking rest but finding none. Then it retires to its obscure corner—to the deepest recess it can find—and huddles itself up in a heap, with its head concealed beneath its chest and its fore-paws. This state of continual agitation and inquietude is in striking contrast with its ordinary habit, and should, therefore, attract the attention of mindful people. Not unfrequently there are a few moments when the creature appears more lively than usual, and displays an extraordinary amount of affection. Sometimes in pet dogs there is evinced a disposition to gather up small objects, such as straws, threads, bits of wood, &c., which are industriously picked up and carried away. A tendency to lick anything cold, as iron, stones, &c., is also observed in many instances. At this period no propensity to bite is observed; the animal is docile with its master, and obeys his voice, though not so readily as before, nor with the same pleased countenance. If it shakes its tail the act is more slowly performed than usual, and there is something strange in the expression of the face; the voice of its master can scarcely change it for a few seconds from a sullen gloominess to its ordinary animated aspect; and when no longer influenced by the familiar talk or presence it returns to its sad thoughts, for—as has been well and truthfully said by Bouley—‘the dog thinks and has its own ideas, which for dogs’ ideas are, from its point of view, very good ideas when it is well.’

The animal's movements, attitudes, and gestures now seem to indicate that it is haunted by and sees phantoms; it snaps at nothing and barks as if attacked by real enemies. Its appearance is altered; it has a gloomy and somewhat ferocious aspect.

In this condition, however, it is not aggressive so far as mankind is concerned, but is as docile and obedient to its master as before. It may even appear to be more affectionate towards those it knows, and this it manifests by the greater desire to lick their hands and faces.

This affection, which is always so marked and so enduring in the dog, dominates it so strongly in rabies that it will not injure those it loves, not even in a paroxysm of madness; and even when its ferocious instincts are beginning to be manifested, and to gain the supremacy over it, it will yet yield obedience to those to whom it has been accustomed.

The mad dog has not a dread of water, but, on the contrary, will greedily swallow it. As long as it can drink it will satisfy its ever-ardent thirst; even when the spasms in its throat prevent it swallowing, it will nevertheless plunge its face deeply into the water and appear to gulp at it. The dog is, therefore, not hydrophobic, and hydrophobia is not a sign of madness in this animal.

It does not generally refuse food in the early period of the disease, but sometimes eats with more voracity than usual.

When the desire to bite, which is one of the essential characters of rabies at a certain stage, begins to manifest itself, the animal at first attacks inert bodies—gnawing wood, leather, its chain, carpets, straw, hair, coals, earth, the extremities of other animals or even its own, and accumulates in the stomach the remains of all the substances it has been tearing with its teeth.

An abundance of saliva is not a constant symptom in rabies in the dog. Sometimes its mouth is humid, and sometimes it is dry. Before a fit of madness the secretion of saliva is normal; during this period it may be increased, but towards the end of the malady it is usually decreased.

The animal often expresses a sensation of inconvenience or pain during the spasm in its throat by using its paws on the side of its mouth, like a dog which has a bone lodged there.

In 'dumb madness' the lower jaw is paralysed and drops, leaving the mouth open and dry, and the living movements exhibiting a rabid ferocity; the tongue is frequently brown or blue-colored, one or both eyes agaze, and the creature is ordinarily helpless and not aggressive.

In some instances the rabid dog vomits a chocolate or blood-colored fluid.

The voice is always changed in tone, and the animal howls or barks in quite a different fashion to what it did in health. The sound is husky and jerking. In 'dumb madness' this very important symptom is absent.

The sensibility of the rabid dog is greatly blunted when it is struck, burned, or wounded; it emits no cry of pain or sign as when it suffers or is afraid in health. It will even sometimes wound itself severely with its teeth, and without attempting to hurt any person it knows.

The mad dog is always very much enraged at the sight of an animal of its own species. Even when the malady might be considered as yet in a latent condition, as soon as it sees another dog it shows this strange antipathy and appears desirous of attacking it. This is a most important indication.

It often flees from home when the ferocious instincts commence to gain an ascendancy, and after one, or two, or three days' wanderings, during which it has tried to gratify its mad fancies on all the living creatures it has encountered, it often returns to its master to die. At other times it escapes in the night, and after doing as much damage as its violence prompts it to, it will return again towards morning. The distances a mad dog will travel, even in a short period, are sometimes very great.

The furious period of rabies is characterised by an expression of ferocity in the animal's physiognomy, and by the desire to bite whenever an opportunity offers. It always prefers to attack another dog, though other animals are also victims.

The paroxysms of fury are succeeded by periods of comparative calm, during which the appearance of the creature is liable to mislead the uninitiated as to the nature of the malady.

The mad dog usually attacks other creatures rather than man when at liberty. When exhausted by the paroxysms and contentions it has experienced, it runs in an unsteady manner, its tail pendant and head inclined towards the ground, its eyes wandering and frequently squinting, and its mouth open, with the bluish-colored tongue, soiled with dust, protruding.

In this condition it has no longer the violent aggressive tendencies of the previous stage, though it will yet bite every one—man or beast—that it can reach with its teeth, especially if irritated.

The mad dog that is not killed perishes from paralysis and asphyxia. To the last moment the terrible desire to bite is predominant, even when the poor creature is so prostrated as to appear to be transformed into an inert mass.

Such is the pathetic account of the features of this terrible malady as seen in man's faithful companion. Let us now for a moment look at the symptoms and course of the disease as exhibited in man—where it produces a condition so terrible and heart-rending to the on-looker that it becomes a matter of astonishment that mankind has ever ventured to incur the risk of acquiring this disease by voluntarily associating with the dog, and a matter of the most urgent desire that some great deliverer should arise and show us how to remove this awful thing from our midst.

In both the dog and man the disease is traced to the infliction of a bite or scratch at a more or less distant period by an animal already suffering from rabies. The length of time which may elapse



between the bite and the first symptoms of 'rabies' in the dog or of 'hydrophobia,' as it is termed, when developed in man, varies. Briefly, it may be stated that the interval in the dog varies from seven to one hundred and fifty days, and is as often a longer as a shorter period. In man, on the other hand, two-thirds of the cases observed develop within five weeks of the infliction of the infecting bite; hydrophobia may show itself as early as the eighth day after the infection; it is very rare indeed, though not unknown, that this period of incubation is extended to a whole year. The reputed cases of an 'incubation period' of two, five, or even ten years may be dismissed as altogether improbable and unsupported by evidence. The uncertainty which this well-known variation in the incubation period produces is one of the many distressing features of the disease in relation to man, for often the greatest mental torture is experienced during this delay in persons who after all have not been actually infected.

In many respects (says Professor Fleming) there is a striking similarity in the symptoms manifested in the hydrophobic patient and the rabid dog, while in others there is a wide dissimilarity. These resemblances and differences we will note as we proceed to briefly sketch the phenomena of the disease in our own species.

The period of incubation or latency has been already alluded to, and it has also been mentioned that not unfrequently in man and the dog the earliest indication of approaching indisposition is a sense of pain in or near the seat of the wound, extending towards the body, should the injury have been inflicted on the limbs. If not acute pain there is some unusual sensation, such as aching, tingling, burning, coldness, numbness, or stiffness in the cicatrix; which usually, in these circumstances, becomes of a red or lurid colour, sometimes opens up, and if yet unhealed assumes an unhealthy appearance, discharging a thin ichorous fluid instead of pus. In the dog, as we have observed, the peculiar sensation in the seat of the inoculation has at times caused the animal to gnaw the part most severely.

With these local symptoms some general nervous disturbance is generally experienced. The patient becomes dejected, morose, irritable, and restless; he either does not suspect his complaint, or, if he remembers having been bitten, carefully avoids mentioning the circumstance, and searches for amusement away from home, or prefers solitude; bright and sudden light is disagreeable to him; his sleep is troubled, and he often starts up; pains are experienced in various parts of the body; and signs of digestive disorder are not unfrequent. After the continuance of one or more of these preliminary, or rather premonitory, symptoms for a period varying from a few hours to five or six days, and, though very rarely, without all or even many of them being observed, the patient becomes sensible of a stiffness or tightness about the throat, rigors supervene, and in attempting to swallow he experiences some difficulty, especially with liquids. This may be considered as really the commencement of the attack in man.

The difficulty in swallowing rapidly increases, and it is not long before the act becomes impossible, unless it is attempted with determination; though even then it excites the most painful spasms in the back of the throat, with other indescribable sensations, all of which appeal to the patient, and cause him to dread the very thought of liquids. Singular nervous paroxysms or tremblings become manifest, and sensations of stricture or oppression are felt about the throat and chest. The breathing is painful and embarrassed, and interrupted with frequent sighs or a peculiar kind of sobbing movement; and there is a sense of impending suffocation and of necessity for fresh air. Indeed, the most marked symptoms consist in a horribly violent convulsion or spasm of the muscles of the larynx and gullet, by

which swallowing is generated, and at the same time the entrance of air to the windpipe is greatly retarded. Shuddering tremors, sometimes almost amounting to general convulsions, run through the whole frame; and a fearful expression of anxiety, terror, or despair is depicted on the countenance.

The paroxysms are brought on by the slightest touch, and are frequently associated with an attempt to swallow liquids, or with the recollection of the sufferings experienced in former attempts. Hence anything which suggests the idea of drinking to the patient will throw him into the most painful agitation and convulsive spasms. . . . This is particularly observed when the patient carries water to his lips; then he is seized with the terrors characteristic of the disease, and with those convulsions of the face and the whole of the body which make so deep an impression on the bystanders. He is perfectly rational, feels thirsty, tries to drink, but the liquid has no sooner touched his lips than he draws back in terror, and sometimes exclaims that he cannot drink; his face expresses pain, his eyes are fixed, and his features contracted; his limbs shake and body trembles. The paroxysm lasts a few seconds, and then he gradually becomes tranquil; but the least touch, nay, mere vibration of the air, is enough to bring on a fresh attack—so acute is the sensibility of the skin in some instances. . . . A special difference between rabies and hydrophobia is the frequent dread of water in the latter, as well as the hyperæsthesia of the skin and exaltation of the other senses. . . . Another characteristic feature of the disease in man is a copious secretion of viscid, tenacious mucus in the fauces, the 'hydrophobic slaver;' this the patient spits out with a sort of vehemence and rapidity upon everything around him, as if the idea of swallowing occasioned by the liquid induced this eager expulsion of it, lest a drop might pass down the throat. This to a bystander is sometimes one of the most striking phenomena of the case. . . . The mind is sometimes calm and collected in the intervals between the paroxysms, and consciousness is generally retained; but in most cases there is more or less irregularity, incessant talking, excitement, and occasionally fits approaching to insanity come on. The mental aberration is often exhibited in groundless suspicion or apprehension of something extraneous, which is expressed on the face and in the manner of the patient. In comparatively rare instances he gives way to a wild fury, like that of a dog in one of its fits of rabies; he roars, howls, curses, strikes at persons near him, rends or breaks everything within his reach, bites others or himself, till, at length exhausted, he sinks into a gloomy, listless dejection, from which another paroxysm rouses him. . . . Paralytic symptoms manifest themselves before death in a few instances, as in the dog. . . . Remissions of the symptoms sometimes occur in the course of the complaint, during which the patient can drink, though with some difficulty, and take food. Towards the close such a remission is not uncommon, with an almost complete absence of the painful symptoms; so that the patient and the physician begin to entertain some hope. But if the pulse is now felt it is found to be extremely feeble, and sometimes almost, if not quite, imperceptible. During this apparent relaxation of the disease the patient occasionally falls into a sleep, from which he only awakes to die.

Death results from spasm of the respiratory muscles, the patient dying asphyxiated. The desire to bite is rare. The disease invariably, as in the dog and other animals, terminates fatally, and usually between the second and fifth day after the symptoms have been first observed, though it sometimes runs on to the ninth day.

It is held by veterinaries that 'rabies' in a dog is invariably fatal, and one test of the presence of the disease is a fatal termination to the symptoms. Inasmuch as it is very usual to kill dogs suspected of rabies without waiting to actually prove that they suffer from this

Shrewd, and further, inasmuch as dogs not suffering from rabies are sometimes frequently savage or mischievous and bite human beings, thus leading to the assumption that the person bitten has incurred the risk of developing hydrophobia, there is necessarily a complete absence of trustworthy statistical information as to (1) the actual number of dogs annually affected with rabies in any given country, and (2) as to the number of persons effectively bitten by really rabid dogs, who acquire hydrophobia as a consequence. The dogs are killed before it is proved that they suffer from rabies, and the human beings bitten are treated by caustics and excision of injured surfaces before it is proved that they really are in danger of developing hydrophobia, and it is not known in case of escape whether the danger was ever really incurred. The extreme anxiety to avoid the awful consequences not unfrequently following the bite of a rabid dog has produced a course of action which, whilst it is undoubtedly accompanied by the destruction of many innocent dogs, and by the infliction of acute pain and mental anguish upon human beings, who, could they know the truth, have no cause for alarm, has also at the same time necessarily prevented the acquisition of accurate knowledge with regard to the disease in important respects, especially as to the conditions of its communication from dog to man. Accordingly, we find great uncertainty as to the conclusions which are to be drawn from statistics in regard to the effect on human beings of the bites of dogs suffering from rabies. According to the lowest estimate where care has been taken to exclude cases in which there is insufficient reason for supposing the offending dog to have suffered from rabies, of every *six* persons bitten, *one* dies—that is to say, *one* develops hydrophobia; for recovery after the development of the hitherto recognised symptoms of hydrophobia is unknown. This is a mortality of 16·66 per cent.; other estimates range from 15 to 25 per cent. The large proportion of escapes as compared with deaths is attributed to the wounds inflicted not having been sufficiently deep to introduce the poison into the system, also to timely surgical treatment having the same effect, and to the fact that the dog, in spite of probabilities to the contrary, may in a certain proportion of cases have been wrongly suspected of suffering from ‘rabies.’

At the same time there is no doubt that animals (and hence presumably man) are sometimes endowed with an immunity from rabies. This has been proved experimentally by repeatedly inoculating a dog with the saliva of rabid dogs which proved fatal to other individuals which were experimented upon at the same time, whilst the particular dog in question always proved refractory or non-labile to the disease. No estimate has been at present formed of the proportion of dogs which are thus free from liability to the disease, but it must be very small, perhaps not 1 per cent. On the other hand, it is undeniable that there is a high probability that such

immunity exists among human beings, and it is possible that the proportion of individuals liable to the infection as compared with those 'immune,' 'refractory,' or 'non-labile' is less amongst human beings than among dogs. Such a constitutional immunity may, therefore, possibly explain to a certain extent the fact that out of 100 cases of dog-bite, the dog being supposed, but not demonstrated, to be rabid, only 16 acquire hydrophobia.

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The result of M. Pasteur's experimental study of rabies and hydrophobia has been so far to place several matters of practical importance, which were previously liable to be dealt with by vague guesses and general impression, in the position of facts capable of accurate experimental determination; and secondly, to introduce a method of treating animals and men infected with the poison of rabies in a way which, there is strong evidence to show, will arrest or altogether prevent the development of the disease.

Owing to the eagerness of newspaper correspondents, and the peculiar circumstances of the investigation which is still actually in progress, M. Pasteur's work has been not quite fairly represented to the public, and various astonishing criticisms and expressions of individual opinion have been indulged in, with regard to what M. Pasteur is doing, by persons who, however gifted, have no adequate comprehension of the task which the great experimenter has set before himself.

It must be distinctly remembered, on the one hand, that the results which M. Pasteur has himself published, and for which he has made himself responsible, have been obtained by accurate and demonstrative experiments upon animals; they are results which can be repeated and verified. On the other hand, M. Pasteur has now advanced into a much more difficult field—namely, the application of his experimentally ascertained results to the treatment of human beings. He is actually in course of carrying out his inquiries in regard to the efficacy of his treatment, and it is probable that at no distant date he will himself give us a detailed account of the conclusions to which these inquiries lead. But he has not yet formulated any such conclusion.

We cannot and have not the remotest desire to experiment upon human beings, as in the more enlightened parts of Europe we are permitted, for good purposes, to experiment upon dogs. It is not possible to exactly arrange experimentally the conditions of a human being who is to be the subject of inquiry in regard to hydrophobia. You cannot make sure by the inoculation in the most effective way of a downy healthy man that they have started on the path leading to hydrophobia, and then treat six by a remedial process, and leave six without such treatment, in order to see whether the remedial process has an

effect, or not. This is the kind of difficulty which is met with in all attempts to take a step forward in medical treatment. Nevertheless, although such definite experimental arrangement of the subject of inquiry is not possible where human beings are concerned, there is another method—extremely laborious, and less decisive in the results which it affords—by which a more or less probable conclusion may be arrived at in regard to the effect of treatment of diseased human beings. This method consists in bringing together for experimental treatment a very large number—some thousands—of cases in which the disease under investigation has, independently of the experimenter, been acquired, or is supposed to have been acquired, and then to compare the proportion of cases of recovery obtained under the new treatment with the proportion of recoveries in cases not subjected to this treatment.

Hydrophobia presents peculiar difficulties in the application of this method, and the treatment which M. Pasteur is now testing is also one which in its essence renders the statistical method difficult of application. M. Pasteur's treatment has to be applied *before* the definite symptoms of hydrophobia have developed in the patient. Accordingly, there is no certain indication in the patient himself that he has really been infected by the virus of rabies; the inference that he has been so infected is based on the knowledge of the condition of the dog that bit the patient, and on the extent of the injury inflicted; but the knowledge of the actual state of the dog which inflicted the bite upon a person who, therefore, has reason to fear an attack of hydrophobia is often wanting. It is often merely 'feared' or 'supposed' that the dog was rabid, and has not been actually proved that such was the case. In many cases the only proof that the dog really was rabid would be found in the development of hydrophobia in the man bitten by the dog, the dog itself having been destroyed. This, too, would be the only definite proof possible that the patient had received a sufficiently profound wound to carry the poison into the system, or, again, that the patient is not naturally 'immune' or 'refractory' to the poison. Accordingly, it has been necessary for M. Pasteur to test his treatment upon a very large number of cases, so as to obtain a statistical result which may be compared with the general statistics of the effects following the bite of reputed rabid dogs. Also, it is possible out of a large number of cases for M. Pasteur to select, without any other determining motive, those cases in which the dog which inflicted the bite was actually proved to be suffering from rabies, either by the result of its bite on other individuals, or by experiment made by inoculating other animals from it after its death. Such a selection of his cases has, it is stated, already been made by M. Pasteur. We have yet to await from M. Pasteur's own hand a critical account of the results obtained in the wholesale treatment of patients by him in Paris. Until he has himself

published that account, we ought to be very careful about coming to an absolute conclusion either for or against the efficacy of his treatment in regard to men.

On the other hand, the fundamental results of his study of rabies and hydrophobia stand in no such position, but are sharp, experimental demonstrations, which he has publicly announced before the scientific world, and has verified in the most important instance before a commission appointed by the Government.

Let us note some of these results.<sup>1</sup> They have been obtained by experimentally inoculating dogs, rabbits, guinea-pigs, and monkeys. The experiments have been performed by M. Pasteur himself and his experienced and highly skilled assistants, MM. Chamberland and Roux. Precautions which a thorough knowledge of the subject suggested have been taken. Thus, for instance, in his very first experiments, M. Pasteur cleared the ground considerably by distinguishing a kind of blood-poisoning, due to the presence of a certain bacterium in human saliva, which is liable to be introduced with the saliva of a hydrophobic patient when this is made use of for the purpose of setting up rabies experimentally in a rabbit, and is also present in normal saliva. Not feeling sure that some rabbits thus treated had really died from rabies, and suspecting that they might have died from a blood-poisoning due to other virus present in the hydrophobic saliva, M. Pasteur tested his rabbits by inoculating dogs with the saliva and blood of the rabbits. The dogs did not develop rabies, and thus M. Pasteur was able to establish the conclusion confirmed by other observations—that the disease produced in this instance by the inoculation of the rabbits with saliva was not rabies. This is merely an example of the careful method in which it is M. Pasteur's habit to correct and solidly build up his conclusions.

The first result of great practical moment established by M. Pasteur is that not only, as shown by previous experimenters, can rabies be communicated from animal to animal by the introduction of the saliva of a rabid animal into the loose tissue beneath the skin of a healthy animal, or by injection of the same into the veins of a healthy animal, but that the 'virus,' or poison, which carries the disease resides in its most active form in the nervous tissue of a rabid animal, and that the most certain method of communicating rabies from one animal to another is to introduce a piece of the spinal cord or of a large nerve of a rabid animal on to the surface of the brain of a healthy animal, the operation of exposing the brain being performed with the most careful antiseptic methods, so as to prevent blood-poisoning.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to an excellent report by my friend Dr. Vignal, of the Collège de France, published in the *British Medical Journal*, for the chief facts relative to M. Pasteur's published results.

In this way Pasteur found that he could avoid the complications which sometimes result from the presence of undesired poisonous matters—not related to rabies—in the saliva of rabid animals.

This discovery is the starting-point of all Pasteur's further work. It enabled him to experiment with sufficient certainty as to results. It has rendered it possible for him to determine whether a dog is really affected with rabies or not, by killing it and inoculating the brain of a second dog with the spinal cord of the dead dog, and similarly to determine whether a human being has really died of hydrophobia (*rabies hominis*) or not. It has also enabled him to propagate with certainty the disease from rabbit to rabbit through ninety successive individuals—extending over a period of three years—and to experiment on the result of varying the quantity of virus introduced as well as on the result of passing the virus from one species of animal to another, and back again to the first species (e.g. rabbit as the first and monkey as the second species). Before Pasteur's time Rossi, confirmed by Hertwig, had used nerve-tissue for inoculation with less definite results. Pasteur has the merit of establishing this method as the really efficient one in experimenting on the transmission of rabies.

Using the nerve tissue, Pasteur has determined by several experiments that when a large quantity of virus (that is to say, of the medulla oblongata of a rabid rabbit pounded up in a perfectly neutral or sterilised broth) is injected into the veins of a dog, the incubation period is seven or eight days; by using a smaller quantity he obtained an incubation period of twenty days, and by using a yet smaller quantity one of thirty-eight days. It is very important to note that by using a still smaller dose Pasteur found that the dog so treated escaped the effect of the poison altogether.

A very interesting and important result is that in the cases in which the largest amount of poison was used, and the quickest development of the disease followed, the form which the disease took was that of paralytic or 'dumb rabies,' in which the animal neither barks nor bites; whilst with the smaller dose of poison and longer incubation period 'furious rabies' was developed. Moreover, by directly inoculating on the surface of the brain and spinal cord, Pasteur has been led to the conclusion that the nature of the attack can be varied by the part of the central nervous system which is selected as the seat of inoculation.

Certain theories which have been held as to the mode in which inoculation with the attenuated virus of such diseases as small-pox and anthrax acts, so as to protect an animal from the effect of subsequent exposure to the full strength of the poison, might lead us to expect that the dogs which were inoculated by M. Pasteur with a quantity of rabid virus just small enough to fail in producing the symptoms of rabies would be 'protected' by that treatment from

the infectious effects of subsequent inoculation with a full dose. This, however, Pasteur found was not the case. Such dogs, when subsequently inoculated with a full dose, developed rabies in the usual way.

When the virus of rabies is introduced from a dog into a rabbit, and is cultivated through a series of rabbits by inoculating the brain with a piece of the spinal cord of a rabid animal, Pasteur has found that the virulence of the poison is increased. The incubation period becomes shorter, being at first about fifteen days. After being transmitted from rabbit to rabbit through a series of twenty-five individuals, the period of incubation becomes reduced to eight days, and the virulence of the poison is proportionately increased. After a further transmission through twenty-five individuals, the incubation period is reduced to seven days, and after forty more transmissions Pasteur finds an indication of a further shortening of the incubation period, and a proportionate increase of virulence in the spinal cord of the rabbit extracted after death and used for inoculating other animals. Thus Pasteur found it possible to have at his disposal simultaneously rabid virus of different degrees of activity.

It is curious that Pasteur found, on the other hand, that the virus from a rabid dog, when transmitted from individual to individual through a series of monkeys, gradually lost its activity, so that after passing through twenty (?) monkeys it became incapable of producing rabies in dogs. Thus a portion of the spinal cord of such a monkey, itself dead of rabies, when pounded in broth and injected beneath the skin of a dog, failed to produce rabies, and even when applied to the dog's brain after trephining failed to produce rabies.

Pasteur makes the very important statement that the dogs thus treated with the virus which had been weakened by cultivation in monkeys, although they did not develop any symptoms of rabies, *were rendered refractory* to subsequent inoculations with strong virus—that is, were ‘protected.’

Thus we note a contrast between the effect obtained by inoculating an animal with a virus weakened by cultivation and those resulting from using a minute quantity of the virus. The latter proceeding does not result in protection, but the former does.

The fresh spinal cord of an animal that has died of rabies is apparently full of the rabid virus, and it will, if kept so as to prohibit putrefaction, retain for some days its rabies-producing property. Nevertheless it gradually, without any putrefactive change, loses, according to Pasteur's observations, its virulence, which finally disappears altogether. So that it is possible to obtain cord of a very low degree of virulence, and all intermediate stages leading up to the most active, by the simple process of suspending a series of cords at definite intervals of time in glass jars containing dry air.

There are thus two ways of bringing the virus of rabies to a



bring it into a condition of diminished activity—the one by cultivation in monkeys or some other animal, the other by exposing the spinal cord to dry air whilst preventing it from putrefying.

It was found by Pasteur that dogs inoculated with the virus weakened by cultivation in monkeys were protected from the effects of subsequent inoculation with strong virus. Hence he proceeded to experiment in the direction so indicated. He inoculated dogs with a very weak virus taken from a rabbit—that is, a virus having a long incubation period—and at the same time he inoculated also a rabbit. When the second rabbit went mad and died, the dogs were again inoculated from it, and a third rabbit was also inoculated from it. When this rabbit died the process was repeated with the dogs and with a fourth rabbit, and so on until the virus had become (as above stated to be the case) greatly increased in activity, its incubation period being reduced to eight days. The dogs were not rendered rabid by the first inoculations; they certainly would have been by the last, had they not undergone the earlier. The harmless virus rendered the dogs insusceptible to the rabies-producing quality of the second dose introduced, the second did the same for the third, the third for the fourth, and so on until the dogs were able to withstand the strongest virus.

It would seem that this method of using a graduated series of poisons was not intentional on Pasteur's part at first, but merely arose from the convenience of the arrangement, since the effect of the previous inoculation could be tested and a new inoculation to act as a preventive could be made at one and the same time. Nevertheless, Pasteur has retained for reasons, which it is possible to imagine but have not been given as yet by him, this method of repeated doses of graduated increasing strength in his subsequent treatment.

In 1884 a Commission was appointed at M. Pasteur's request by the Minister of Public Instruction to examine the results so far obtained by him in regard to a treatment by which dogs could be rendered refractory to rabies. The Commission comprised some of the ablest physiologists in France; it consisted of MM. Bédard, Paul Bert, Bouley (the celebrated veterinarian), Tisserand, Villemin, and Vulpian. Their report contained the following statement:—

The results observed by the Commission may be thus summarised. Nineteen control dogs (i.e. ordinary dogs not treated by Pasteur) were experimented on. Among six of these bitten by mad dogs, three were seized with rabies. There were six cases of rabies among eight of them subjected to venous inoculations, and five cases of rabies among five which were inoculated by traphining on the brain. The twenty-three dogs treated (by Pasteur) and then tested all escaped rabies.\*

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\* I have ascertained that of these twenty-three dogs some had been already treated by Pasteur before the appointment of the Commission, and a minority were treated by him for the first time in the presence of the Commission. Ten of these

Subsequently to the experiments witnessed by the Commission M. Pasteur carried out experiments in which, instead of using virus of increasing strength taken from living rabbits, he made use of the fact discovered by him that the spinal cord of a rabid animal when preserved in dry air retains its virulent property for several days, whilst the intensity of the virulence gradually diminishes. Pasteur used for this purpose cords of rabbits affected with rabies of great virulence, determined by a long series of transmissions, and having only an eight days' incubation period. He injected a dog on the first day with a cord which, when fresh, was highly virulent, but had been kept for ten days, and hence was incapable of starting rabies in the dog; on the second day he used a cord kept for nine days, on the third day a cord kept for eight days, and so on until on the tenth day a cord kept for only one day was used. This was found to cause rabies in a dog not previously treated, and yet had no such effect on the dog subjected to the previous series of inoculations. The dog had been rendered refractory to rabies. In this way M. Pasteur states that he rendered fifty dogs of all ages and races refractory to (or 'protected against') rabies *without one failure*. Virus was inoculated under the skin and even on the surface of the brain after trephining, and rabies was not contracted in a single case.

Why M. Pasteur makes use of a gradually increasing strength of virus, or how he supposes this treatment to act so as to give the remarkable result of protection, he has not explained. The experimenter very probably has his own theory on the subject, which guides him in his work; but whilst he is still experimenting and observing he does not commit himself to an explanation of the results obtained. We may look in the future for a full consideration of the subject and a definite statement of the evidence at his hands. Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the notes published by M. Pasteur are, as it were, bulletins from the field of battle, briefly announcing failures and successes, and are not to be regarded as a history of the campaign or a statement of its scheme and final result.

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Having arrived at this point in his experimental results, M. Pasteur was prepared to venture on to the far more delicate ground of treatment of human beings who had incurred the risk of hydrophobia.

The period of incubation of hydrophobia being usually four or five weeks, it seemed to M. Pasteur not impossible that he might succeed by the method which he had carried out in dogs in rapidly producing in human subjects a state of refractoriness to the poison of rabies by using a virus of rapid activity, and so, as it were, overtake dogs are still in M. Pasteur's hands, and have been inoculated three times on the surface of the brain with rabid virus: not one has developed rabies

the more slowly acting virus injected into the system by the bite of a mad dog.

Whatever may have been his theoretical conceptions, M. Pasteur determined to have recourse to the one great and fertile source of new knowledge—experiment.

It is known that inoculation with vaccine virus during the latent period of small-pox has an effect in modifying the disease in a favourable direction, and so in any case it was to be expected that the inoculation of individuals during the latent period of hydrophobia might produce favourable results. M. Pasteur had every reason to believe that, at any rate, the inoculation which he proposed would not have injurious results. He could proceed to the trial with a clear conscience, feeling sure that he was in any case giving the bitten person a better chance of recovery than he would have if left untreated.

The first human being treated by Pasteur was the child Joseph Meister, who was sent from Alsace by Dr. Weber and arrived in M. Pasteur's laboratory on the 6th of July, 1885. This child had been bitten a few days previously, in fourteen different places, by a mad dog, on the hands, legs, and thighs. MM. Vulpian and Grancher, two eminent physicians, considered Meister to be almost certain to die of hydrophobia. M. Pasteur determined to treat the child by the method of daily injection of the virus of a series of rabbits' spinal cords, beginning with one kept so long as to be ineffective in the production of rabies even in rabbits, and ending with one so virulent as to produce rabies in a large dog in eight days.

On the 6th of July, 1885, M. Pasteur inoculated Joseph Meister, under the skin, with a Pravaz's syringe half full of sterilised broth (this is used merely as a diluent), mixed with a fragment of rabid spinal cord taken from a rabbit which had died on the 21st of June. The cord had since that date been kept in a jar containing dry air—that is, fifteen days. On the following days, Meister was inoculated with spinal cord from rabid rabbits kept for a less period. On the 7th of July, in the morning with cord of fourteen days; in the evening with cord of twelve days; on the 8th of July, in the morning with cord of eleven days, in the evening with cord of nine days; on the 9th of July, with cord of eight days; on the 10th of July, with cord of seven days; on the 11th of July, with cord of six days; on the 12th of July, with cord of five days; on the 13th of July, with cord of four days; on the 14th of July, with cord of three days; on the 15th of July, with cord of two days; on the 16th of July, with cord of one day. The fluid used for the last inoculation was of a very virulent character. It was tested and found to produce rabies in rabbits with an incubation period of seven days; and in a normal healthy dog it produced rabies with an incubation period of ten days.

It is now twelve months since Joseph Meister was bitten by the

mad dog, and he is in perfect health. Even if we set aside the original infection from the mad dog, we have the immensely important fact that he has been subjected to the inoculation of strong rabid virus by M. Pasteur and has proved entirely insusceptible to any injurious effects, such as it could and did produce in a powerful dog.

M. Pasteur now proceeded, immediately after Meister's case, to apply his method to as many persons as possible who had reason to believe that they had been infected by the virus of a mad dog or other rabid animal. It must be remembered that Pasteur does not attempt to treat a case in which hydrophobia has actually made its appearance, and that he would desire to begin his treatment as soon after the infection or bite as possible; the later the date to which the treatment is deferred, the less is the chance—naturally enough—of its proving effective. He now omits the first three inoculations of weakest quality used in the case of Joseph Meister, and makes only ten inoculations (beneath the skin on the abdomen), one every day for ten days, the strength of the virus being increased as above explained. Probably, Pasteur is varying and improving his method in regard to certain details. He himself has made no statement of a conclusive nature during the year. He is observing and collecting his facts. But Dr. Grancher, who is at present Pasteur's chief assistant in carrying on the inoculations of human patients, has recently published a rough analysis of the cases treated.

It appears that between the 6th of July, 1885, and the 10th of June, 1886, the number of patients treated by Pasteur's method was 1,335. In order to eliminate cases of which the final issue is uncertain, Dr. Grancher omits those treated subsequently to the 22nd of April, 1886. Of the cases treated within the period thus defined, there were ninety-six in which the patients had been bitten by dogs which were absolutely demonstrated to be suffering from rabies. This demonstration was afforded either by the fact that other animals bitten by them became rabid or by an experiment in which a portion of the dog's brain being placed in contact with the brain of a living rabbit was found to cause the death of that rabbit with indisputable symptoms of rabies. A second class of cases were those of persons who were bitten by dogs certified to be rabid by the veterinary practitioners of the locality in which the bite took place. Of these there were 644. Lastly, there were 232 cases in which the dog which had inflicted the bite had run off and not been seen again, leaving it entirely doubtful as to whether the dog had really been rabid or not.

For the purpose of judging of the efficacy of Pasteur's method the last group of cases should be put aside altogether. In the first two classes there are 740 cases. These we can compare with the most carefully formed conclusions as to the result of bites of rabid dogs when Pasteur's treatment has not been adopted. In the first part of this article it was stated that the inquiries of the most

unplanned veterinarians lead to the conclusion that 16 per cent. of human beings who are bitten by dogs which are certified to be rabid by veterinary surgeons skilled in that disease, develop hydrophobia and die. This estimate is a low one; by some authorities 24 per cent. has been regarded as nearer the true average. Taking the lower estimate, there should have died amongst Pasteur's 740 patients no less than 118.

What, then, is the difference resulting (so far as we can judge at present) from the application to these persons of Pasteur's method of treatment?

Instead of 118 deaths, there have been only 4, or a death-rate of one-half per cent. instead of 16 per cent. In less than one year, it seems, Pasteur has directly saved 114 lives. When we remember what a death it is from which apparently he has saved these hundred and more men, women, and children, who can measure the gratitude which is due to him or the value of the studies which have led him to this result?

Nevertheless, let us be cautious. It is very natural that we should hasten to estimate the benefit which has been conferred on mankind by this discovery; on the other hand, the method of testing its value by comparative statistics is admittedly liable to error. Whilst the figures so far before us justify us in entertaining the most sanguine view, a longer series of cases will be needful, and *minute examination of each case*, before a final judgment can be pronounced. We have not before us at present the data for a more minute consideration of the separate cases. But one of the most hopeful features in M. Grancher's statement is that he records only one death out of the ninety-six persons who were bitten by dogs experimentally proved to be rabid—proved, that is, by the communication of rabies by the dogs to other animals.

Another extremely important series of cases is afforded by the forty-eight cases of wolf bites treated by Pasteur's method. Owing to the fact that the rabid wolf attacks the throat and face of the man upon whom it rushes, the virus is not cleared from its teeth by their passage through clothing, as undoubtedly occurs in many cases of rabid dogs' bite. It is probable that this, together with the greater depth and extent of the wounds inflicted by wolves, accounts for the fact that whilst only 16 per cent. of the persons bitten by rabid dogs die, as many as 66·5 per cent. of the persons bitten by rabid wolves have hitherto succumbed. Pasteur has reduced this percentage in the forty-eight cases of wolf bites treated by him to 14; seven of his cases died. But it is important to remember that some of these cases were treated a long while (three weeks or more) after the bite; and also that the bites themselves, apart from the virus introduced into them, were of a very dangerous nature in some cases. On the other hand, it is equally true that we do not

have, until now, very much more complete record is placed before us than we have at present, how many cases of very slight injury, mere abrasions or scratches, may have been included among the forty-eight cases of wolf bite.

Pasteur is still observing: he himself has not pronounced his method to be final, nor that its efficacy is actually so great as the figures above given would seem to indicate. Time will show; meanwhile it is clear that the treatment is in itself harmless, and gives such reasonable hope of benefit that the great experimenter is abundantly justified in allowing its fame to be spread through all lands, in order that it may be tried on as large a number of unfortunate victims of dog bite as possible. It is also clear that there is not the slightest warrant for those who would pronounce an adverse judgment on Pasteur's treatment and compare him to the quacks who deal in 'faith-healing' and such-like methods.

What is above all things desirable at the present moment is, that thorough and extended researches should be made by independent scientific experts in this country on the lines travelled over by M. Pasteur. This, alas! is impossible. Our laws place such impediments in the way of experiments upon animals, that even a rich man, were he capable, could not obtain the licenses necessary for the inquiry; and secondly, the men who are most likely to be capable of inquiring into the matter are not in a position to give up the whole of their time to it, and to pay competent assistants. No one in this country is given a salary by the State, and provided with laboratory and assistants, for the purpose of making such new knowledge as that by which Pasteur has brought the highest honour to France and inestimable blessing to mankind at large. On the other hand, it is in consequence and as the direct result of such a position that Pasteur has been able to develop his genius.

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Pasteur himself has not explained what theory he has formed as to the actual nature of the virus of rabies, and as to the way in which his inoculations act, so as to protect an animal from the effects of the virus, even *after* the virus has been introduced into the system. Possibly he has no precise theory on the subject, but has arrived at his results by an unreasoned exploring method of experimentation. Such a method is not permissible to the ordinary man; but in the hands of a great thinker and experimentalist it sometimes leads to great results. Charles Darwin once spoke to the present writer of experiments, not dictated by any precise anticipation of a special result, but merely undertaken 'to see in a general way what will happen'—as 'fool's experiments,' and added that he was very fond of such 'fool's experiments,' and often made them. When the individual who occupies the place of the 'fool' is a man saturated with

adequate knowledge of the subject on which the experiment is to be tried, it is likely enough that, unconsciously, he frames hypotheses here and there without taking note of what is going on in his own mind, and so is unable to state clearly how he came to make trial of this or that experimental condition.

Whether Pasteur has worked in this way, trusting to the instinct due to his vast experience, or whether he has reasoned step by step, we do not know. It is nevertheless possible for the bystander to consider the various theories which may be regarded as tending to explain the results obtained by Pasteur in the cure of hydrophobia.

The general fact that the ill-effects of some diseases due to specific virus or poisons can be averted by inoculating a patient with the virus in a *modified condition*—as, for instance, when vaccination is used as a preventive of small-pox in man—may be explained more or less satisfactorily by three different suppositions. The first supposition is that the virus is a living matter which grows and feeds when introduced into the body of the inoculated animal, and that it *exhausts the soil*—that is to say, uses up something in the blood necessary for the growth of the virus; accordingly, when the soil has been exhausted by a modified and mild variety of the virus, there is no opportunity for the more deadly virus, when it gains access, to feed and multiply. A second supposition is that the virus does not exhaust the soil, but as it grows in the animal body produces substances which are poisonous to itself, and these substances, remaining in the body after they have been formed there by a modified virus, act poisonously upon the more deadly virus when that gains access, and either stop its development altogether or greatly hinder it. An analogy in favour of this supposition is seen in the yeast plant, which produces alcohol in saccharine solutions until a limited percentage of alcohol is present, then the alcohol acts as a poison to the yeast plant, and neither it nor any other yeast plant of the kind can grow further in that solution. A third supposition is that, whether the virus be a living thing or not, the protective result obtained by introducing the modified virus into the body of an animal is due to the education of the living protoplasmic cells of which the animal consists. If you plunge a mussel from the sea into fresh water, making sure that its shell is kept a little open, the animal will be killed by the fresh water. But if you treat the mussel first with 'modified' fresh water—that is, with brackish water—and then after a bit introduce it to fresh water, the fresh water will have no injurious effect, and the mussel may be made to permanently tolerate fresh water. So too by commencing with small doses, gradually increased, the human body may be made to tolerate an amount of arsenic and of other poisons which are deadly to the uneducated.

Any one of these three suppositions would at first sight seem to

offer a possible explanation of the protective inoculation against rabies and hydrophobia. It is not known that the virus of rabies is a separate parasitic organism; at the same time it is possible that it is. If it is not, the last of the three above-named hypotheses would seem to meet the case, and, whether the virus is a living thing or not, has an appearance of plausibility.

But how are we to suppose that the inoculation of modified rabbit's virus acts upon a man so as to cut short the career of a dog's virus which has already been implanted in the man's system by a bite?

To form any plausible conception on this matter we ought to have some idea as to the real significance of 'the incubation period,' and this we are not yet able to form satisfactorily. Most diseases which are propagated by a virus—as, for instance, small-pox, scarlet fever, typhoid, syphilis—have a fixed and definite 'incubation period.' What is going on in the victimised animal or man during that incubation period? On the supposition that the virus is a living thing, we may imagine that the virus is slowly multiplying during this period, until it is sufficiently abundant to cause poisonous effects in the animal attacked. It is difficult to suggest an explanation of the incubation period if we do not assume that the virus is a living thing which can grow.

The poisonous effects are, at any rate, deferred during this incubation period. If you could introduce a modified and mild form of the same virus with a shorter incubation period into the animal which has been infected with a stronger virus with a long incubation period, you might get the protoplasm of the infected animal accustomed first to mild and then gradually to stronger doses of the poison before the critical period of the long and strong virus arrived; and so, when the assumed hour of deadly maturity of the latter was reached, the animal tissues would exhibit complete indifference, having in the meantime learnt to tolerate without the slightest tremor of disorganisation the poison (or it may be the vibration!) which, previous to their education, would have been rapidly fatal. Almost equally well we may figure to ourselves the state of preparation brought about if we choose to employ the terms of the first or of the second supposition above given. The point of importance to ascertain, if such a conception is to be applied to Pasteur's treatment of hydrophobia, is whether the dog's and wolf's virus is *longer* in incubation and stronger in poisonous quality than that of the rabbit's cords as modified by hanging up in dry air. A general principle appears to be—according to M. Pasteur—that, in regard to rabies, the *longer* the incubation period the *less* the virulence of the virus, and the *shorter* the incubation period the *greater* the virulence. The virus in the cord of the rabbits used by M. Pasteur for preventive inoculation is stated by him to be, when fresh, much more intense than



that taken from a mad dog: it produces rabies in a dog, when injected into its veins, in eight or ten days. By hanging in dry air for a fortnight this cord loses its virulence. But it has not yet been stated by Pasteur what are the indications that this virulence is lost, and whether the loss of 'virulence' is in this case measured by an increase of incubation period. We have no information from Pasteur on this point. It would certainly seem that the virus of the dried rabbits' cords ought not to lose its short incubation period if it is to get beforehand with the dog-bite virus, which has a period of five or six weeks.\* And presumably, therefore, there must be two distinct qualities in which the virus can vary: one, its incubation period, and the other its intensity of action, apart from time, but in reference to its actual capability or incapability of causing disease in this or that species of animal.

It is useless to speculate further on the subject at present. The secret is for the moment locked in Pasteur's brain. Had we in this country a State Laboratory or any public institution whatsoever in which research of the kind was provided for, the fundamental statements of Pasteur as to his results with dogs would ere this have been strictly tested with absolute independence and impartiality by English physiologists retained by the State to carry on continuously such inquiries. Similarly, we should have independent knowledge on the points above raised as to the modification of the virus in rabbits, and the public anxiety on the whole matter would be in a fair way towards being allayed. At the same time, in all probability similar treatment in regard to other diseases would ere this have been devised by 'practical' English experimenters. As it is, owing to our repressive laws and the State neglect of scientific research, we have to remain entirely at the mercy of the distinguished men who are nurtured and equipped by the State agencies of our continental neighbours. All that we are in a position to say with regard to Pasteur's treatment of hydrophobia is, that unless the accounts which have been published in his name and by his assistants are not merely erroneous but wilful frauds of incredible wickedness, that treatment is likely to prove a success so extraordinary and so beneficent as to place its author in the first rank of men of genius of all ages. That is the position, and there is no reason why the former alternative should even for a moment be entertained.

\* The incubation period of five weeks ordinarily observed in the case of men bitten by rabid dogs may be due to the *smallness* of the dose, since Pasteur has shown that small doses of rabid virus give longer incubation periods than large doses. How far a dose of weakened virus can be made to attain the rapid action of strong virus, by increasing the quantity of the weaker virus injected, has not been stated by Pasteur.

## NEW ZEALAND AND MR. FROUDE.

THERE are probably no people in the world so sensitive to what is written about them as British colonists. This is not mere vanity or thinness of skin. There are good reasons for it, and they are rather honourable to colonists than otherwise. The people of these wonderful young countries, where the process of civilisation which occupied twelve centuries in England has been completely achieved in fifty years, are self-conscious, just as boys and girls are in whom the mental and physical powers are prematurely and exceptionally developed. They feel themselves 'the heirs of all the ages,' in a sense and in a degree which can scarcely be realised at all by the inhabitants of old, slow-growing lands. Themselves discerning and astonished by the almost miraculous success of colonisation, they imagine the nations of the earth are watching them with an interest and astonishment equal to their own.

Hence it is that when any famous writer undertakes to give the world an account of the Colonies from his own observation, all good colonists await the publication of his book with feverish impatience, and when it appears, each of them takes praise or blame as personal to himself, and is elated or depressed in proportion as his Colony is represented in a favourable or an unfavourable light. Mr. Bryce, a New Zealand colonist, has recently taken a voyage to England, and recovered 5,000*l.* damages from the author of a foolish and ponderous work called *The History of New Zealand* for an attack on him which he would never have noticed if the whole book had not been an attack on the Colony. Mr. Bryce has just returned, and the people are hastening everywhere to receive him with demonstrations of joy and gratitude, as one who has rendered a great public service.

Macaulay declared that the contemptuous manner in which the Americans were written about in England did more than wars or tariffs to alienate them; and we Australasians are now at the same sensitive stage that they were at a hundred years ago; but we are beginning to get over it, for the reason that we are beginning to discover that famous writers often write great nonsense, and that it really does not matter two straws whether they think well or ill of us. Anthony Trollope was the first to awaken us to these two facts. We were terribly nervous about what he was going to put in

his book, but when it came out we only got a little angry at first, then laughed at the silly parts, yawned over the dull parts, and soon forgot all about it. Since then we had been made to see ourselves through the eyes of famous writers of all sorts and sizes, and we had come to be very callous to the opinions of any of them. But a greater than these was at hand.

When it became known the year before last that James Anthony Froude was about to pay a visit to Australia and New Zealand for the express purpose of writing a book about them, we were more agitated than we should have been, I believe, by the advent of any other man. Froude—he is always called Froude here, just as we never speak of Mr. Carlyle or Mr. Shakespeare—is as well known and as highly honoured in the Colonies as he is at home. We are familiar with his histories, we admire his inimitable *Cæsar*, we marvelled at and deplored his Carlyle with as much interest as if we dwelt at the West End of London instead of in a village in Cook Strait. And when we heard he was coming, we said: ‘Ah, this is a very different sort of man from the others. Now at last we shall have a work on the Colonies which will be neither a dismal Blue-book nor a mass of slip-slop. Now at last a place in history will be given to the Colonies by one who has the ordering of those things.’ He came, and he was treated like the sovereign prince of literature we had imagined him. The deference and hospitality, both public and private, which he met with everywhere fairly bewildered him.

If the Delphic oracle in person had made a tour of the Greek Colonies in the Mediterranean, the honours that were paid to Froude in Australasia could hardly have been exceeded. He spent just two months here, during which time he visited South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and New Zealand. He then returned to England by the American route, and wrote *Oceana*. Before the book reached the Colonies we had received a note of warning that it contained some rather startling statements, and certain extracts from it which were soon afterwards published gave the impression that it was simply a hoax—a bad joke compared with which the Carlyle business was a trifle. We have now received the book, read it, re-read it, puzzled over it, discussed it, argued over it, sworn at it, and the only conclusion we can come to regarding it, is that how such a man as Mr. Froude can ever have written such a book as *Oceana* is one of those unfathomable mysteries which are destined never to be solved. It is certainly the worst book which has ever been written on these Colonies; which is the severest thing I can think of to say against it.

No man ever had such opportunities as Mr. Froude had to write a book about Australasia which would have been a valuable addition to history and an important acquisition to mankind. He came here at a most interesting time, at the very moment when the strength

of the union of the Colonies to the Empire was put to the most convincing test. I happened to be travelling in Australia when he was there, and I had the privilege of spending some days in his charming and instructive society, as a guest of Sir Henry Loch, the Governor of Victoria. I believe I am the 'New Zealand Member of Council' mentioned at page 143 of *Oceana*. There is no such title as Member of Council known in these Colonies, by-the-bye; but that is nothing, except as a trifling instance of Mr. Froude's almost incredible inaccuracy. What I wished to say is, that I myself saw with great satisfaction how all the avenues of information were opened to the Oracle, and opened in such a way that any man of his capacity who had brought the right spirit to the work might have found through them with ease the materials for a book which would have gained for him the respectful gratitude of three millions of colonists, and exercised an influence for good on generations to come. The strangest thing is that Mr. Froude himself seems to have fully discerned all this. In the preface and the opening pages of *Oceana* he treats the task he had set himself as one of the gravest significance. It was his high and holy mission to solve the problem of Imperial Federation, to bring about the realisation of Sir James Harrington's dream of *Oceana*. Thousands of colonists have read his first chapter, so wise and true, so learned, so liberal, so splendidly eloquent, with breathless emotion, with a beating heart. Here is the greatest historian and the noblest prose writer of our age, deliberately applying himself to the beneficent object of interpreting the Colonies to the Mother Country in the language of eternal truth and in words of fire. But it never goes any further. The first chapter is an essay, a monograph. But the rest of the book—except the chapter on the Cape—bears no adequate relation to it whatsoever. It seems to have been written by another hand, at another time, for another purpose. It is like a wooden shanty, run up anyhow on foundations that had been laid for a mighty temple.

Mr. Froude takes not even one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. He places nothing but a leaf of paper between them. On one side, in Chapter I., we soar with him over continents and oceans, and through ages of time, in contemplation of the growth of empires and the mysterious destiny of nations. On the other side, in Chapter II., we are sickened by the twaddle of the cuddly of the a.a. 'Australasian.' Mr. Froude absolutely has no mercy on us. If there is a bore on this earth, it is a man who will talk about the details of life on board ship. In these Colonies, where pretty nearly every one has made several sea voyages, that subject is strictly tabooed in all rational society. To dilate upon it is to betray a 'new chum'—what they call in Australia a 'lime juice.' Yet, will it be believed, about one-fourth of *Oceana* is occupied by the most trivial narrative of every-day occurrences on steamers, the sort of

and that a hobbledehoy who has never been abroad before would take home to his little sisters. Mr. Froude tells us about his own state of health and his son's, about the advertisements of the packets, the passenger-accommodation, the doctor and his pretty newly-married wife, the cook, the breakfasts, dinners, luncheons, the bread, the porridge, the captain's 'blue, merry eyes,' the construction of the engines, 'the wild cry of the sailors hauling ropes or delivering orders,' and so on and so on, page after page, till we feel inclined to throw him overboard or jump overboard ourselves. Sudden death should be his portion who talks such rubbish in this enlightened and vivacious age; but what should be done to him who solemnly writes it, prints it, publishes it! 'But,' it may be asked, 'is it not very interesting to get the reflections of such a man as Mr. Froude on the wonders of the deep?' I reply that he seems never to have noticed any of the wonders of the deep, but to have given his attention wholly to the most commonplace human incidents. Whenever he does mention natural objects, his remarks upon them are absurd. For instance, he says the Mother Carey's chicken is a kind of gull. I thought every child knew it is a kind of petrel, the stormy petrel.

But let us get Mr. Froude ashore, and see how he fares there. I pass over his chapters on the Cape Colony, for these reasons. They have nothing to do with the main subject of the book, consisting as they do of an examination of the affairs of an inland country and foreign peoples. They are manifestly written with knowledge and from materials gained many years before this book was projected. Finally, my criticisms on the book generally have no application to them, which are written as the rest of the book ought to have been written—that is to say, with care and thought and a due sense of responsibility. They contain the most lucid and serviceable discussion of the South African question that I have met with, and published separately would form a valuable text-book or State paper. But they are quite out of place in *Oceana*, though I admit they are the best thing in it.

Mr. Froude knows all about the Cape. He never took the smallest trouble to learn anything about Australasia. He arrived at Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, on the 18th of January, 1885, and stayed there one day; and as his description of it is typical of his whole book, I will examine it somewhat in detail. His chapter on South Australia only occupies ten pages. Yet he contrives to compress so many inaccuracies and even gross misstatements into that space, that it is difficult to believe he ever really went there at all. He says, 'the broad Murray falls into the sea at no great distance to the westward.' The Murray reaches the sea sixty miles to the eastward of Adelaide, and when Mr. Froude was there its mouth had been blocked by sand for two months. Describing Port Adelaide, he says 'the harbour was full of ships: great steamers,

great fleets, consisting sometimes, ships of all sorts. Port Adelaide is not accessible by large vessels. The ocean steamers lie many miles off. He says he saw in the port 'a frigate newly painted,' and a port official growled out 'there is our hair-brain defence ship, which the English Government insists on our maintaining; it is worth nothing and never will be. Our naval defences cost us 25,000*l.* a year. We should pay the 25,000*l.* a year to the Admiralty and let them do the defence for us. They can manage such things better than we can.'

Now, either Mr. Froude dreamt all this, or else he was blind and the port official was poking fun at him. There is not and never was a frigate at Port Adelaide. At the Semaphore, in the outer harbour, there is a gun-vessel called the 'Protector,' which the South Australian Government maintain entirely of their own free will, at a cost, not of 25,000*l.* a year, but of about 10,000*l.*, the latter amount being the whole charge for naval defence.

Of Adelaide itself he says:—

We rose slightly from the sea, and at the end of the seven miles we saw below us in a basin, with a river winding through it, a city of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, not one of whom has ever known, or will know, a moment's anxiety as to the recurring regularity of his three meals a day.

Adelaide is not in a basin, but on the highest land in the neighbourhood. There is no river winding through it, for the little Torrens has long since been dammed up and converted into a lake in the park lands. The population of Adelaide with all its suburbs never exceeded seventy-five thousand, and when Mr. Froude was there great numbers of them were leaving daily, starved out by the failure of the harvest, the drought, and the commercial depression. I also was there in January 1885, and I saw more poverty and worse poverty than I ever saw before in twenty-five years' life in the Colonies. I purposely attended a sitting of the Benevolent Relief Committee, and learnt something about the anxiety of some of the inhabitants of Adelaide as to the recurring regularity of their three meals a day. Since then Government House has been mobbed by multitudes of people clamouring for the means of subsistence. Mr. Froude had a grand chance when he was at Adelaide to study a wealthy colony in a state of profound, if temporary, distress; and that is the use he made of it.

He cannot be reasonably accurate even about the most striking peculiarities of the country. He says, 'The laughing jackass is the size of a crow, with the shape of a jay.' The laughing jackass is no more like a jay than it is like an owl. It is neither more nor less than a gigantic kingfisher. He says, 'In the woods its chief amusement is to seize hold of snakes and bite their heads off.' This is a habit which the most vigilant naturalist has not yet observed. There is a popular tradition in Australia that the laughing jackass kills snakes by carrying them up in the air and letting them drop; but I

never saw it done, and I never met anybody who had. The bird is no match for a snake 'in the woods' or anywhere else.

But I need not dwell longer on Mr. Froude's inaccuracy. He admits that he has a bad memory, and that he does not hear very well, and he says the flies affected his eyes. To these causes I am quite willing to attribute his having recorded, on every other page of his book, sights or sayings which nobody else ever saw or heard in Australasia. But if he is lacking in memory and in some of the external senses, he has a vigour of imagination which more than compensates those defects. Amongst other things he imagined that the public mind throughout the Colonies, and even the private and personal mind of individual colonists, is mainly occupied and powerfully excited by the problems of Federation; and accordingly he gives us whole chapters on that subject, from which it might be supposed that the colonists are in a breeding state of melancholy, bordering on despair, and that it is touch and go whether they may not separate from the Empire any day. On that point I can only say that I was in Australia during the whole time of Mr. Froude's visit, and two months longer; that I went there as a public man and a public writer to meet public men and study public questions; and that I never met anybody, except two or three politicians at Melbourne, who took more than a languid, theoretical interest in the subject of Federation.

As for Mr. Froude's notion that the colonists—'our poor kindred' as he arrogantly and absurdly calls us—are suffering under a deep and burning sense of wrong on account of the slights of the Imperial Government, it is such utter moonshine that colonists are positively at a loss to know what he is driving at. For example, he will have it that the colonists are not allowed to fly the British flag, but are compelled to use some rag of their own, and he declares that they feel this as 'a bar sinister over their scutcheon, as if they were bastards, and not legitimate,' and he goes on to talk about 'treacherous designs to break the Empire into fragments.' He even affirms that Mr. Dalley, the able Attorney-General and acting Premier of New South Wales, spoke strongly to him about this, and exclaimed, 'We must have the English flag again!' Now, I am a born colonist. From my boyhood I have been either in the public service or in Parliament. Yet I never knew that we colonists were forbidden to fly the British flag until I read *Oceana*. I do not believe it yet. I have abundant evidence to the contrary, for I see the British flag flying all round me every day.

I remember some years ago, fifteen or twenty perhaps, an order was made that Colonial Government vessels should not fly the white ensign or the blue ensign without a 'difference,' for the obvious reason that it might cause confusion through their being mistaken for men-of-war or ships of the Naval Reserve. Each Colony, I fancy, was allowed to select its own 'difference,' and we in New Zealand

chase a suggestive and tasty design, the four stars of the Southern Cross in white on the fly of the blue ensign. As I write our yacht, the 'Himene,' is coming up the harbour with our star-spangled banner floating astern, and an enormous Union Jack at the mast-head. We have hitherto been rather proud of our Southern Cross than otherwise, when we thought anything about it; and it was reserved for Mr. Froude to tell us it was a grievance and a brand of bastardy. It is the old story of the needy knife-grinder over again. When I was at Sydney last year, just about the time when Mr. Froude was there, I went to Manly with my friend Mr. Reid, formerly Minister of Education in the Stuart-Dalley Government, and he pointed out to me Mr. Dalley's castellated mansion—which Mr. Froude describes—surmounted by a wonderful sort of white ensign with a blue cross. I said, 'What is that extraordinary flag he has flying from his tower?' 'That,' replied Mr. Reid, laughing, 'is the Australian standard.' It was the first time I had ever seen it or heard of it; and I supposed it was a whim of Mr. Dalley's, knowing him to be the most intensely patriotic of born Australians. I was indeed surprised to learn from *Oceana* that Mr. Dalley is yearning to 'get the English flag back.' There is nothing to prevent him from hoisting three English flags, one above the other, if he chooses.

Apart from these depressing discourses on the prospects or possibilities of Federation, and on the imaginary wrongs or sentimental grievances of the colonists—speculations which are wholly based on misconception—Mr. Froude's narrative of his travels and experiences in Victoria and New South Wales is very pleasant reading, though curiously superficial, and unquestionably calculated to mislead readers not acquainted with the Colonies. He everywhere mistakes the individual for the general, and often enough adopts as types what are but rare exceptions. Mr. Froude seems altogether to have forgotten, or not to have understood, that he was a very distinguished visitor, who naturally found himself sought after, and perhaps a little bit flattered, by the leading personages in the Colonies. He goes into superlatives over every Governor or Lieutenant-Governor or Premier or high official or wealthy settler who showed him any attention. Each one in turn is described as 'a most remarkable man,' a statesman of the first order, an Admirable Crichton, an incomparable genius, quite equal to the leading European statesmen or literati. Yet, singularly enough, Mr. Froude thinks very poorly of the political system which has produced so many great men in so short a time, and has the gravest misgivings as to the future of a society whose particular members he so much admires. The plain truth is, he saw nothing of the Colonies or the colonists, but was contented to spend the five weeks of his visit exclusively among the chosen few, the *crème de la crème*, who had the gratification of entertaining him. These, of course, did their



would to make themselves agreeable to him; but they were at least less anxious that he should obtain correct impressions of the Colonies than that he should retain pleasant impressions of themselves. What should we think of a writer who should spend a week with the Queen at Osborne, a week with the Prince of Wales at Buckingham, a fortnight among the Dukeries, and a week in being flattered by two or three Mayors and Corporations, and should then go away, and from the experience and information thus gained write a pretentious and professedly authoritative book about England, her people, her institutions, her characteristics, her aspirations, her destiny? Could anything be more laughable? Yet that is, by analogy, precisely what Mr. Froude did with respect to Australia.

But if he has treated the continental Colonies lightly, he has treated New Zealand positively scurvily. Of all the Colonies New Zealand takes the longest to see, and is the hardest to understand; for the reasons that, stretching from north to south a thousand miles, it displays an unique variety of climate and formation; and that it is divided into two totally different islands and into nine separate settlements having little more in common with one another than the states of the Union have. It is a country nearly as large as Great Britain and Ireland, with a population of 600,000 souls, about one-seventh of the population of London, scattered about it pretty evenly in little cities, towns, villages, and sparse rural communities. The people of the north scarcely know the people of the south, while the inhabitants of Westland, half Irish, half Cornish, half Catholic, half Protestant, have actually a closer connection with Victoria, 1,200 miles over sea to the westward, than with their fellow-colonists only a hundred miles to the eastward of them, across the Southern Alps. It will readily be understood that this is a country which demands a good deal of studying, if any knowledge is to be gained of it at all. Let us see how Mr. Froude studied it. In his preface he says: 'The object of my voyage was not only to see the Colonies themselves, but to hear the views of all classes of people there. Very well. How did he set about attaining that object in New Zealand? He arrived at Auckland on the 4th of March, 1886. He made himself comfortable at the Northern Club for two days, during which time, as he says, he 'did Auckland,' a town of fifty thousand people and one of the most beautiful and curious in the world. He then made the regular humdrum, cut-and-dried tour of the hot lakes, in the regular humdrum, cut-and-dried way, just as more than two thousand other tourists did last summer; and noted down the most shallow remarks, probably of what he saw or did not see, of any that were made by those two thousand casual sightseers. That took a week. He then went to Kawau, a secluded island off the coast of Auckland, where Sir George Grey lives in solitary state, and he stayed a week there, speaking to nobody except Sir George Grey, his visitors and servants, and a family in a farmhouse on the

mainland, whither he was blown whilst on a boating excursion. He then returned to Auckland, slept at the club, caught the steamer for Honolulu and San Francisco—and so ended his visit to and his study of New Zealand.

If he had candidly admitted that he saw nothing and learnt nothing of New Zealand, that he was tired and bored when he got there, and instead of making himself acquainted with the Colony, went for a holiday at the lakes with Lord Elphinstone and enjoyed an intellectual lounge with Sir George Grey, and then was glad to get home, it would have been easy to enter into his feelings, and to respect his straightforwardness. But he does nothing of the sort. Having deliberately shirked the duty of seeing the Colony and meeting its people, he, nevertheless, presumes to give an elaborate account of it, and to pass a critical judgment upon them. He not only draws a picture of New Zealand which is equally offensive and preposterous, but he publishes statements about its inhabitants, so injurious that it was seriously considered whether some public means of refuting them should not be taken. Where did he get his information from? Did he 'see the Colony and hear the views of all classes of people there?' No, he saw the Northern Club and Kawanu, and he heard the views of Sir George Grey and his servants, a Mr. Aldis, and some man whose name he did not catch, or forgot, in the smoking-room at the club. But mainly, and for all practical purposes solely, he heard and adopted the views of Sir George Grey. Mr. Froude lost his head completely about Sir George Grey, and the things he says of him, while they make all sensible colonists chuckle with satiric glee, or burn with prosaic indignation, must even have made Sir George himself blush, if he have not lost the faculty of blushing by long disuse. Mr. Froude, on the strength of a week's acquaintance, pronounces Sir George Grey the greatest, ablest, noblest, wisest, most pious, and beneficent man who ever deigned to waste his God-given qualities on a wretched colony.

Now, Sir George Grey is a perfectly well-known personage. Mr. Froude did not discover him. When I first saw Sir George Grey I was eight years old, and I have known him ever since, quite intimately enough to form as good a judgment as anybody of his public character, at all events; and of his private character I am quite sure Mr. Froude can know absolutely nothing, for he is the most inscrutable of men. He is an exceedingly polished man and is an incomparable host in his paradise of an island home, especially when he has his own reasons for wishing to make himself agreeable to a guest. His venerable bearing, the prestige of his early career, his grace and dignity of manner, his impressiveness of silence when he is silent, his golden-mouthed eloquence when he speaks, his haughty seclusion contrasted by his affability when he appears in public, have given him a great measure of personal popularity. He is acknowledged

to be the most distinguished public man who ever took part in the public affairs of a colony. But to make him out to be only a very little lower than the angels, as Mr. Froude does, is sheer nonsense.

Sir George Grey was a troublesome Governor, clever at taking advantage of other's mistakes, but always in hot water with his ministers, with the military, and with the Colonial Office. It ended by his being summarily removed from the Government in 1867, because the Colonial Office saw no other way of terminating the chronic and futile feud which had so long caused an ill feeling between the Colony and the Mother Country. He went home and tried to get into Parliament, but only succeeded in keeping Sir Henry Storks out; and, having offended Whigs and Tories in turn, got the cold shoulder from both. He returned to the Colony thoroughly soured, and shut himself up in gloomy solitude in his lovely island of Kawau. In 1875 he determined to enter colonial politics, and easily got a seat in the House of Representatives and the leadership of a considerable party. In 1877 he became Prime Minister, and he ruled the Colony with almost absolute power for two years. It was the darkest period in the political history of New Zealand.

Immediately on the assembling of Parliament in 1879 a resolution affirming that Sir George Grey's Ministry 'had so mismanaged and maladministered the affairs of the country that they no longer possessed the confidence of this House' was carried in the House of Representatives by the largest vote ever recorded on a Ministerial question. Sir George Grey appealed to the country, but the constituencies endorsed the decision of the House, and he was compelled to relinquish the power he had used so ill. His successors found the Treasury without a shilling in it, and deficiency bills for 200,000*l.* were voted *nem. con.* for paying salaries and meeting other pressing demands of administration. The payment in London of the interest on the public debt and other engagements of the utmost importance to the public credit had been left unprovided for, and the Government had to telegraph to the Agent-General to raise a loan of five millions on any terms whatsoever. The public expenditure was reduced by an enormous sum, and a heavy property tax was imposed in addition to an increase of 50 per cent. of the *ad valorem* customs duties. The state of native affairs was such that a serious disturbance was only averted by the most stringent measures on the part of the native minister, Mr. Bryce, and by the most active efforts of the Commissioners, Sir William Fox and Sir Dillon Bell. The Colony was saved; but from that day to this Sir George Grey has never exercised any share of political influence.

At the next general election he only saved his own seat by fourteen votes; his nephew, whom Mr. Froude mentions, was defeated; and

his party were annihilated. His personal popularity, as a patron of literature and art, as the shadow of a great name, is undiminished; but in politics he stands alone, without a single follower. He is in chronic opposition to every ministry, and usually moves two or three motions of want of confidence every session, without being able to get anybody to go into the lobby with him. Sometimes, as was the case last session, he leaves the House himself, and lets his motion go on the voices. He is the *âme damnée* of New Zealand politics. Yet this is the man on whose sole, unsupported word Mr. Froude deliberately formed his judgment of the public men and the public life of this Colony; and even on less responsible authority than his, if it were possible, he calmly promulgated the astounding invention that we intend to repudiate the public debt.

It was Sir George Grey again whose jaundiced and distorted views on every topic of public interest he deliberately accepted as the views of the great body of intelligent and unprejudiced people throughout the Colony. He swallowed everything he was told *holus bolus*, and probably invented or imagined as much as he was told.

For instance, he makes the astounding statement that the colonial debt is thirty-two millions and the municipal debts are 'at least as much more.' The municipal debts, including harbour loans, some of which are at 25 per cent. premium, do not exceed four and a half millions. But twenty or thirty millions more or less are neither here nor there to Mr. Froude. Neither are such statements as that representative institutions have failed in New Zealand, whereas there is no country in the world where they work more smoothly; or that nobody can buy less than twenty acres of Crown land—this on the authority of one of Sir George Grey's servants—whereas every facility is afforded for buying the smallest areas, or acquiring them without payment on terms of occupancy and improvement; or, finally, that New Zealand politicians are a set of needy, self-seeking adventurers, whereas the Colony glories in such public men as Sir Frederick Weld, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Frederick Whitaker, Sir Dillon Bell, Sir William Fox, Sir John Hall, Major Atkinson, Mr. Rolleston, Mr. Bryce, and last but not least Mr. Stout, the present learned Premier, who is as capable and high-minded a public man as any one of those over whom Mr. Froude went into such raptures in Australia.

But it is futile to go on picking holes in a book which, like the Irishman's coat, is more holes than stuff. Suffice it to say that a perusal of *Oceana* gives us a totally new conception of how history is written. If this is the sort of work Mr. Froude produces from the utmost abundance of exact, recent, and thoroughly trustworthy information, from facts patent to his own knowledge, from persons in contact with him, from events progressing under his own eyes, what are we to think of those monumental productions of his which have

have compiled on dubious surmises and vague conclusions, drawn from ancient and abstruse documents, or from second-hand sources, corrupted or obscured by a thousand errors or misconstructions? If Oceana is his story of the Australasian Colonies in our own day, beware of his books on old countries in old times.

EDWARD WAKEFIELD

*(Member of the House of Representatives of New Zealand).*

## *WANTED—A LEADER.*

SOME fifteen years ago I was an undergraduate at Oxford, member of a college which was held to be full of intelligence, and which was certainly full of zeal for political and social reforms. With two or three of my best friends, who were no less keen than I, I used to discuss the good time coming. I will not set down here the larger visions which we loved. To us it seemed as if a fairer day was close at hand; even the bitter war in France might be no more than a thunderstorm to clear the air; and beyond the tramp of armies and cries of battle we heard the promise of mutual help between nations, of a brotherhood of European States. But I will not write of these larger visions. Even then, though in our more sanguine moods we saw the skies already rosy with the dawn, we confessed to each other that a new Europe with a new international morality might be the work of years. We felt exceedingly prudent; we told each other (I remember well our boyish solemnity) that we were in the midst of a great peaceful revolution; we looked (how pathetic seems our innocence!) to the practical politicians of the day to lead us as fast as might be on the desired path of reform.

Fifteen years have gone, and what has been accomplished? I say nothing of the Europe of our dreams, for which even we were prepared to wait; but there were little obvious reforms, which the next session of Parliament was to see—and where are they? They did not excite us much; we preferred the grander schemes, the larger pictures; we merely mentioned the little absurdities which were to be put right; we told each other that all intelligent persons had been agreed about them for years, and that even the most obstructive politicians would not fight seriously in their defence. It was as absurd, for instance, that land should be hampered by the remnants of a dead feudalism as that the worthy citizen who had bought an estate in Hampshire should do homage therefor to his liege lord, and come bumping up to court with a helmet on his good bald head, and his stable retainers behind him on the jobbed carriage horses. We did believe that the time had gone by when the poor landowner, ironically so called, would be content to stand with hands in empty pockets, gazing ruefully at the squalling tenant in tail male, and telling himself that more than twenty years must yet go by before,

with the acquiescence of this mottled infant, after due examination of his title for the last sixty years, and by means of an indenture made mysteriously impressive by polysyllabic mediævalisms, he could obtain some sorely needed money for a few superfluous acres. We did believe the custom of entail was to be made at once and for ever illegal, and that land duly registered would be bought and sold by honest buyers and sellers (not vendors and purchasers any more) as easily as cabbages, and without the intervention of at least two lawyers.

This abolition of entail seemed to us a small matter, but one from which much good might come. The impoverished landlord, we said, is forced to extract the utmost possible rent from his tenant farmers; the farmers, that they may pay the rent, are forced to pay the lowest possible wages to their labourers; while neither landlord nor tenant farmer has a penny to spare for the improvement of the crumbling cottages in which the labourers live.

Entail, we said, will be abolished at once; landlords, who cannot afford to be generous about rent in bad years, and who cannot afford (and this was our keenest interest) to build decent cottages for the labourers on their estates, will sell to richer men, who will have no excuse if the labourers are not decently housed, as their tenant farmers, themselves generously treated when times are bad, will have no excuse if the labourers are not fairly paid. We were not afraid to say 'fairly paid;' we had freed ourselves in part, even at that early age, from the terrors of the old-fashioned economists.

Moreover, we thought that, when the buying and selling of land had become a plain matter, which any bucolic intelligence could understand, and as cheap as it was plain, a labourer here and there might become the owner of the patch before his cottage door. It did not seem a great thing to give him a chance of working for himself, when his day's work was done; but it brings hope into hopeless lives, and that seemed to us no small thing. The patch might grow, when the possession of land was no longer a mystery; and we looked forward to seeing the difficult question of the prosperity of peasant proprietors answered for us by the slow natural accumulations of the most thrifty of the wage-earning labourers.

There were other obvious reforms which seemed to us as good as accomplished. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, not yet a judge, was offering to codify the English law, and we supposed that his offer would be accepted. Even we allowed a few years for this great work of simplification, which would make law clearer and cheaper for all, and enable us to deny at last that justice is the luxury of the rich. A scheme, too, crept into an obscure corner of some paper for dealing with the slums of cities, and a rumour came with it that it was approved by Lord Salisbury, and some of us said that we would become Tories on the instant, if we could see prompt and resolute

dealing with these hideous evils. We thought that these evils had only to be shown to the generous Briton and he would demand their removal; we thought that a Government, to whom such a demand was made, would deal more strongly with this, which was the shame of us all, than the trustees of Mr. Peabody could deal, or the agents of Sir Sydney Waterlow. And there were other dreams, not the great visions of a purer world in which our souls delighted, but pleasant dreams which were so soon to be realities; and among these there was none so cool and pleasant as the vision of abundant water. Clean and abundant water was to be poured into our filthy London; the annual cleaning of the family filter would be no longer necessary; sound and wholesome water-butts in poor men's yards would be filled with pleasant refreshment, the true stream of life. And our well-loved river, too, in which we swam, on which we rowed, the silver Thames of Spenser—was it too much to hope that it might be made pure again and cease to meet the salt tide of the sea degraded and ashamed, a creeping sewer of all defilements?

Fifteen years have gone, and what have we gained? Something has been done to make it easier for a tenant for life to sell the family real estate; but the transfer of land still remains a mysterious business, involving solicitors' examinations, opinions of conveyancers, general legal expenses. Some progress has been made, I believe, in a new arrangement of statutes, but we hoped that by this time the huge formless chaos of conflicting precedents, which is the boasted law of England, would have been shaped anew into an orderly and intelligible code. To-day, as fifteen years ago, behind our highly respectable street there is a piece of ground which belongs to a millionaire, and which is covered with rotting and poisonous houses, while in the picturesque village where we go sketching in the summer an open sewer runs gaily by the cottage door to bear its tribute of dishonour to our polluted Thames. As for the London water, the old system prevails; but, if we are discontented therewith, shall we not remember that it has done a much greater thing than get itself reformed? It has turned out a Government. What is the health and cleanliness of our city in comparison with a party victory?

After all, then, are we not forgetting the chief good which politicians have afforded us in these fifteen years? Each year of the fifteen we have been spectators, as it were, of an exciting contest. Each year the champions of the two great political parties have appeared at Westminster and engaged in a series of contests, thrilling as the combats in 'Ivanhoe' or the fight between Sayers and Hosman. Indeed, since the decay of prize-fighting there has been no show which has had such permanent power of attraction. Fights of Sayers, they may indeed be called by the unduly frivolous; and we are never tired of comparing these rhetorical champions, sily



meeting their tactical dodges and appealing to the echo their stuporuous exhibitions of staying power. The veteran, who has spoken for three hours without drawing breath, has moved our admiration as it was moved by the first pedestrian who walked a thousand miles in a thousand hours; and the rising young man of the political arena, who has neatly cleared an argumentative impediment, has gained as great applause as if he had jumped six feet high in the University sports. Each London season has brought some lighter novelties to please us for a day; but each recurring season has brought back to us the old parliamentary game, of which we are never tired. For the players it is as absorbing as cricket; and the accounts of its best nights are almost as interesting to the reader as the detailed reports of an Anglo-Australian match at Lord's. 'If I were not a Grace,' some lover of Dickens might say, 'I would be a Gladstone; if I were not a Spofforth, I would be a Churchill.' We love to watch the struggles of oratorical gladiators, to see the old parliamentary retiarius curl the net, and to mark the neat evasions of the light lordly secutor. Perhaps it is unreasonable of us not to be content though the result of the tremendous battles be but small. Perhaps we should acknowledge that the game is an end in itself, and that this is the chief good which we have a right to expect from the existence of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

Indeed such small matters as cleansing of slums or arranging of laws are not the subjects suitable for the big debates in which we all take interest. Egypt, Afghanistan, Ireland, these are the matter for abundant oratory. These furnish the war-cries, with which party warrior tilts against party warrior under the eyes of the imprisoned fair and the quick pencils of the reporting troubadours. Fragments of ancient Hansards hurtle in the air, recriminations, misrepresentations, howls and groans. What did the right honourable gentleman say in 1860? And if it comes to that, what did the member for Tooting himself say in 1870? With the permission of the House I will now quote the words which were spoken by the Prime Minister no later than Tuesday last. And I in reply will quote the *ipseissima* words of the noble Lord at last week's majestic celebration on Primrose Hill. It was your fault. No; it was you who began it. So the combat roars in our ears; the gentle passage of arms lasts some fourteen nights or so; great are the deeds of heroes; and who are we that we should dare complain of muddled law and mouldy water-butt?

There is, then, much to be said from a sporting point of view for the existence of the grand old parties; and yet to some of us, who were full of zeal some fifteen years ago, it seems a pity that so little effect has come from these exciting contests, little effect on our lives and on those of our poorer friends and neighbours. Effects of a kind there have been indeed—the bullying and coaxing of the Afghan, the coaxing and the bullying of the Boer, the bombardment of Alexandria,

the defeat of Egyptian reformers, the annual shooting-parties from Suakin, the death of Gordon, and the Stewarts, and Harle, the death of thousands of brave men of every complexion which the sun has seen. Negroes, Zulus, Afghans, Arabs, Dutch Boers, and English soldiers have been sacrificed to the demands of party wire-pullers or the reputation of right honourable gentlemen. 'For Brutus is an honourable man. So are they all right honourable men.'

Grim effects have followed debates in Parliament; bloody fights have parodied the glib combats of Westminster. But we are not content with such effects as these—nor even, so hard to please are we, with the state of Ireland, after all the cooling and heating experiments which have been made on that unhappy country. Our old zeal, our old hopefulness has gone; we have been driven to a cheerless cynicism. Nor do we hold it a sufficient explanation of our unhappy state that, as Mr. Herbert Gladstone has suggested, we have been cultivated to too high a pitch. On the contrary, it is as plain men, who looked for some plain result from the incessant speaking of politicians, that we are discontented. And who are you, it may be asked, and what does it matter if you are discontented? Well, I, who write, am moved to write because I believe myself to be one of many men who have taken from boyhood a keen interest in politics, and who to-day find it hard to take any part with any zeal in any political struggle.

Whither shall we go, and where is faith possible?

Shall we join the Conservative party? Shall we find among them the plain dealers and plain speakers, devisers of simple remedies for obvious evils? The Conservative party is not reactionary; it is not even stagnant. Its late leader extended the franchise; its present chief helped in the making of the last Redistribution Bill. Lord Salisbury has shown interest in the dwellings of the poor; Lord Beaconsfield suggested the cry of sanitary reform—'Sanitas, omnia sanitas,' said Lord Beaconsfield, feeling in himself for a moment the union of the Hebrew and the Greek: *ὑγιαίνω μεν μέγιστον*. The health of the people, if it were no more, were at least a thrilling party cry. How much might be done by a straightforward Conservative leader, with a single eye to the health of the people, and not afraid of the necessary interference with the rights of property, where these rights have been proved the causes of filth and of disease! But here is the reason why we do not find rest for our perturbed spirits in the bosom of the Conservative party. We hold it to be still a party of reformers in spite of themselves. And we hold it to be still too great an extent a party of landlords. Its able and experienced leader is never so incisive and effective as when he is pointing out the difficulties of some much-needed change. He is a pessimist, and full of scorn. We seem to hear him say to his followers, 'Let us throw them things which is as little as possible, lest more should be wrung from them.'

And again, 'Reforms in England mean something to be got from the landlord.'

And yet is it not clear—would it not be clear to a young Disraeli of to-day—that a policy of simple and sensible reforms, founded on a study of history, growing naturally and adapting itself to the changing state of things, with no rude severance of historical continuity, should be the policy of the modern Conservative party? To love of this they should educate the new buccolic voter, and contrast it in his honest eyes with brand-new experiments, of which no man can predict the effect. The cautious Briton as a rule would rather see his ancient homestead adapted to his new wants than a new edifice run up by an architect full of fads; but, on the other hand, he prefers plain remedies for plain evils to enactments full of exceptions and sub-clauses and made mysterious by all the subtleties of all the lawyers. The Conservative party is full of ability and full of merit. Its foreign policy at least has been less spasmodic, less playful, less bloody than that of its rival; but we do not think that it will do our business for us so long as it can find anything else for our amusement. Big bow-wow debates, however they end, are not unsatisfactory to the most Conservative members of the Conservative party. Most of us have 'panem' of some sort; and the big bow-wow debates are our 'Circenses.'

If it were well that Conservative leaders should look less grudgingly on moderate reforms, were it not well too that they should begin to guard themselves most carefully from looking at proposed changes with landlords' eyes alone? It has been said a thousand times that Conservatism is not confined to a class, but is to be found in all classes; and yet we feel that, when a practical matter is under consideration, the interest of the Conservative working-man, who pays a ruinous rent for an inadequate lodging, is of small weight in comparison with the fear of interference with the Conservative peer, who owns the court in which that lodging is situated. But landlords should have learned a lesson by this time. The doctrine that property in land differs from other property was discussed fifteen years ago (in the days of our enthusiasm) by economists in libraries: to-day by Mr. George and others it has been brought into the market-place. Plain folk, who have a wholesome respect for property, begin to say to each other that land has always been treated, and always must be treated, as different from other kinds of property, and that they may advocate State-interference with landlords and yet not incur the charge, so fearful to the average Briton, of Socialism.

It is time for the Conservative party, as guardian of the interests of the landlords, to make the transfer of land easy and cheap, lest more be required of them. It is time for the landowner who cannot do justice to his land to sell, lest some fine day he be deprived of it

with inadequate compensation. Are not the sands running in the glass for him also? Is Ireland so very far away? Already our eternal Ucalegon is in flames, and the breeze sets this way across the narrow sea.

The landlords of England have done great work for England in the past, and to-day too they are, most of them, honest and able and as generous as their means will allow them to be. But it is time that they, who ought to understand the matter best, become land-reformers, lest men more ignorant and more violent than they take the task from their hands, and reform be lost in revolution. Let them free the land and encourage the growth of a free peasantry. There will still be room for parks and pleasure-grounds and covert for the pheasant and the fox.

If in these fifteen years the Conservative party has given us no great cause for hope, what shall we say of the Liberal party, in whom we trusted?

It gave us the ballot, but that is no matter for cheering. Secret voting at the best is no more than a necessary evil. It gave us board schools, and, in spite of the occasional overworking of the underfed, we are grateful for the spread of education. It is well that those who vote should be able to read, though we may well hope that their reading will not be confined to party speeches. Reading is only a means to an end; and small wisdom will the rustics gain by reading, as they now hear, the denunciations of the ins by the outs, and the denunciations of the outs by the ins. Of the experiments of the Liberal party in foreign parts no more need be said. And Ireland? It is with Ireland that the great Liberal party has been mainly occupied; and after years of judicious mixtures, after floods of rhetoric, now for coercion, now for conciliation, after three big measures, three messages of peace sent with appropriate perorations on the goodwill which was to follow, the great Liberal policy has come at last to this: We can't govern Ireland. Let us see if she can govern herself. If she make a mess of it, as is only too likely, we can walk in and smash her.

All that we can hope of the old Liberal party, in which we placed the innocent trust of youth, is that it is dead. It was a fraud. Economist before all, it has taxed us like a wringing-machine. Loud-voiced friend of the working-man, it has thrust down his hungry throat fragments of that old political economy which to suit a party need was sent packing with a shout and a scoff to the problematical population of Saturn. Dove-eyed prophet of peace, it has been fighting like a wild cat in every corner of the world. With mouth full of the finest morality and the purest motives, it has given high office because coal or iron was low, and has been not a whit behind the most cynical of Tories in appropriating secret service money to assist the election of its candidates. Nay, though

given here and inventors clamoured for inquiry, it has not even returned the Ordinance Department.

The Liberal party has answered us with many voices. We wanted one thing done: the official Liberal has regretted that it was contrary to the traditions of the party. We wanted another thing, and the *Leisures-faire* Liberal has pointed out that the duty of Government was confined to protecting a man from his neighbours. We asked yet a third boon; and we were crushed by the Economical Liberal, who referred us to a manual of that Political Economy which had returned for our confusion from its short absence in another planet.

The Liberal party for years past has included all sorts of men; from the most truly conservative of all active politicians to the most vehemently radical. There were the born Liberals, who were liberal because their great-grandfathers were not worth buying; and the historical Liberals, who had read Macaulay. There were the jealous guardians of Liberty, who had absorbed the simple doctrine of Mill's Essay; and the passionate suppliants for constant promotion of popular well-being by the State. There were many faces and conflicting voices, many policies inconsistent as their authors; till the union, already reduced to an umbrella, has been rent asunder to the satisfaction of mankind. Whom are we to follow? For whom are we to vote? The attitude of cynical abstention from politics is not pleasing to us. We are eager for a leader whom we can trust. Is he in Downing Street, or at Devonshire House, or in any division of Birmingham? Or will he appear a new man from a new quarter? At least we feel the pleasure of a revival of hope.

Let our leader, whencesoever he come, be a plain man! Let his look on life be simple and true; let his words be simple and clear! We are sick to death of ingenious ambiguities and the explanations of explanations. Let the good of his countrymen be dearer to his heart than even the triumphs of his party or the salary of his office. Let him give the best powers of his mind to study of the real wants of all classes of the people, and reserve for his lighter hours the examination of the party machine.

Let him be more eager to teach the people than to flatter them, to show them the objects most worthy of their pursuit than to make his competitors for office hideous and ludicrous in their eyes.

Is such a man impossible in political life? He is visible enough here and there in other professions; and if he is impossible among successful politicians, then politics, as certain cynics have said, are at least a dirty business.

But we hope that such a leader is not only possible but existent somewhere for our good—how widely different from that Minister so firmly drawn by Mr. John Morley in his preministerial days, a Minister who waits to make up his mind whether a given measure is

in itself and on the merits of the case, until the official who runs diligently up and down the backstairs of the party tells him that the measure is justifiable and required in the interests of the land !'

Surely there must be many people in England who would prefer our leader, if they could find him, to this typical minister of Mr. John Morley; and surely an honest and able Briton with a sound political faith, whose actions are reasonably consistent and whose words are easily understood—surely this good plain man is not so hard to find.

Of such a leader we shall know where he was yesterday, where he is to-day, and where he will be to-morrow. We shall no longer sit trembling with our eyes on the weathercock, or crouching at the mouth of Æolus' cave wondering which wind will next be loosed upon us. Our leader, happily free from the impulsive enthusiasm of age, will move on the way which he has pointed out to the completion of much-needed reforms—to the freeing of the land, the cleansing of the slums, the helping of the labouring poor.

Our leader will be sure of himself, and will not have forgotten his self of the week before last. He will know what he wants and what the people want. He will have freed his mind from cant of all kinds; he will not quote to-day the old political economy, and to-morrow whistle it down the wind; he will not busy himself to-day with social reforms, and to-morrow denounce his opponents for the crime of Socialism. To him we may hope that it will be clear that the laws of the old political economy are not rules of conduct, and that you cannot break them as you may break the ten commandments. The laws of political economy are statements of cause and effect like the laws of Nature. They are not true of human nature, but only of a single motive. They are the laws of the desire to be rich—a very strong motive, but happily no more the only motive of man than the stomach is his only organ. Among the complicated motives of humanity there is one which in the average Briton at least is not much weaker than self-interest itself—the love of fair play.

Let our leader appeal to the love of fair play which is found in every class of Englishmen. Let him show that it is neither a moral duty nor a physical necessity to pay the lowest possible wages, nor to extract the greatest possible rent; and let him ask if it is fair that an honest, hard-working man should have no chance of anything between the cradle and the grave but life in a pigsty and death in the workhouse. The fair-minded well-to-do Briton will answer that he would like to help his poor neighbour to a chance, even if it cost him a trifle. So of the foul courts of our cities it is fair to deal strongly with them, and fair, too, to compensate ground landlords for your strong dealing with their property. Love of fair play will uphold our leader in dealing with such evils as are a disgrace to the

country, and he will smile superior to the accusation of Socialism. It is a government of Socialists which carries our letters for us and which limits the work of infants in our factories. It is not to be confounded with Communism, which preaches an impossible community of goods, and in pursuit of phantoms has realised battle and murder, the blood of women and children, and the greatest tyranny which the modern world has seen. We abhor revolution; we want a few obvious reforms. If the State can do the work best, in Heaven's name let the State do it. Here, surely, is the proper limit of State-interference.

But, it will be said, nobody cares for your little reforms now, for politicians are exclusively concerned with Ireland. The elections will turn on Ireland. Poor Ireland, food for elections, subject of big bow-wow debates, lever for the turning out of parties—that has been her fate, for 'how many years? And now, once again, she has been made the victim of Mr. John Morley's backstairs official, who announced this time that a Home Rule Bill was 'practicable, and required in the interests of the band.' Ireland more than England or Scotland, perhaps more than any place in the world, needs such a leader as we have asked for—a man of a consistent and intelligible policy, who may be trusted to stand and fall with his policy, and who will try to act fairly to Catholic and Protestant alike.

It may be that when these two last fantastic measures for the glory and comfort of Ireland are finally dead—dead, beyond all re-modelling and reconstruction, dead, with all their lines, their main lines and their main outlines—it may be that then the question of Irish management of Irish business will be merged in the wider question of local government for England, Scotland, and Ireland. It certainly seems that the Imperial Parliament, even if a stop could be put to organised obstruction—even if a limit could be put to superfluous oratory—would still be unable to get through all its work. After all it is no small Empire which demands the attention of the Imperial Parliament; and it might well be relieved from the consideration of the precise hour at which the thirsty traveller in Rutland may procure beer on a Sunday. But let us not suppose that any change of machinery will give us wise and good government. In small council-chambers, as in great, it is the quality of the men that is important. Though the scheme of local governments be the most symmetrical in the world, of what worth will it be if in every local government the interest of the public be still of no importance in comparison with a party victory—if the men who lead have still no time to study the wants of the people, so busy are they with the calculations of the strength of sections and the duty of cutting their policy to fit the last report of Mr. John Morley's backstairs official?

'The education of chiefs by followers,' wrote Mr. Morley, 'and of followers by chiefs, into the abandonment in a month of the traditions of centuries, or the principles of a lifetime, may conduce to the rapid

and easy working of the machines. It certainly marks a triumph of the political spirit which the author of *The Prince* might have admired. It is assuredly mortal to habits of intellectual self-respect in the society which allows itself to be amused by the cajolery and legerdemain and self-sophistication of its rulers.'

We, at least, are amused no more. We hail with renewed hope the spectacle of a hundred Liberal members refusing to be educated by their followers. We have had enough of legerdemain, enough of self-sophistication. Give us, we pray, a plain man to lead us, with a plain policy and a plain speech. So shall we be saved—and thousands of Mr. Herbert Gladstone's over-cultivated persons will be saved with us—from sitting with the shade of Machiavelli, and admiring with a cynical sneer the ingenious dodges of party politicians.

JULIAN STURGER.



## IN AN INDIAN JUNGLE:

## A LEAF FROM MY DIARY.

We were at Hyderabad. It was the night of January 27, 1888; the most remarkable day of my journey in India was approaching, but my sleep was disturbed by disagreeable dreams and nasty mosquitos, the latter penetrating the delusive net.

As early as half-past four o'clock in the morning, however, we are seated in our carriages, on the road to the residence of Salar Jung, the Premier, who had preceded us, evidently to perform the ride more at ease than it would have been possible in our company, he being far from a 'light weight.' It is still night, but a bright, cheerful moon is lighting our way to the rendezvous of the sportsmen. As soon as we are divided into the light carriages in waiting the start is made. The streets are silent and deserted, only through some half-opened balcony door a faint flickering light straggles into the street, the reflection of some nocturnal orgie within, whence the notes of a guitar or banjo, accompanied by the light tread of the nautch-girls, issue in the dead silence of night. Shortly the violent bumpings of the carriages indicate that we have quitted the precincts of the town; and as we proceed the road becomes worse and worse, great boulders and deep holes threatening every moment to upset the vehicles or cause the slender springs to snap.

The scenery, however, is here, as everywhere around the city, very striking, the undulating ground being strewn with huge blocks of stone, as if they had been tossed hither and thither by nature in some capricious mood. Some of the blocks are piled upon each other in such a manner as to cause a lively imagination to fancy them giants and trolls barring the way. According to Indian folk-lore, these blocks were brought hither, some 4,000 years ago, in this manner. The monkeys, which in the earliest of times in great numbers inhabited the lands beyond the Himalayas, seized on the remarkable idea of building a bridge between the mainland and Ceylon, and, headed by their leaders, they left their settlements in great numbers for the south, carrying with them from their mountains materials for their gigantic bridge. But the road became too long for them, and they were obliged, on reaching the spot where Hyderabad now stands,

to throw their loads away, and here they lie to-day. Such is the Hindoo tradition.

However that may be, these gigantic blocks, illuminated by the pale moon, were weirdly effective, and imparted to the landscape a grand and striking appearance.

As the moon becomes paler and paler the scenery around becomes more and more awe-inspiring. But in a few moments its light dies away as a gorgeous purple in the eastern sky heralds the coming of another morn. Suddenly a crimson tint spreads over the land—a light which involuntarily recalls to my mind the Valpurgis night in *Faust*. It is a rapid transformation scene I witness. A little lake on my left looks as if 'on fire, and every moment one expects to see *Mephistopheles'* spirits of the deep ascend, to tread their weird whirl-dance on the rocky shore.

The nocturnal scene was grand in the extreme, and in harmonious accord with the opening of a tiger-hunt in an Indian jungle.

Dawn, as well as twilight, in India, are as short as they are brilliant, so that when we reached the spot where we were to mount our horses it was already broad daylight. In a few moments Ali Beg has distributed a number of fiery Arab steeds among us, and the cavalcade is in motion. We proceed at a gallop, headed by the stately Ali Beg, who reminds us that the day is short, and time is precious to a tiger-hunter. We soon overtook Salar Yung and his Hindoo retinue, the great Minister's horse evidently feeling the weight of its precious burden in no small degree.

At a gallop we penetrate further and further into the desolate jungle, until the road is but a stony path distinguished by white-painted alabs. He who does not follow must take care of himself, with the far from pleasant prospect before him of losing his way in the wilderness, a prospect which causes us not to lose sight of Ali Beg and his guides, though the ride seemed to afford those unaccustomed little pleasure. However, to most of us it was delicious to gallop in the fresh morning air, and not least to me. There was no question of halt or trot; at a gallop one mile was covered after the other. What a delicious sensation to gallop thus across limitless tracts on horses unable to make a false step, and whose spirited bounds bespoke inexhaustible strength!

After a ten-mile ride there was a change of horses, but some of us, among whom myself, had to use the same until the next station. When this was reached my horse had covered twenty English miles in less than one hour and three-quarters. I had never had an idea of horses possessing such stamina. Indeed when I now think of this ride it seems almost incredible to me. Fancy what services a regiment of cavalry mounted on such horses could render a general at the present day!

During the five minutes' halt here, whilst fresh horses were

saddled, we inspected a camp of *santal* natives close by. These people have no fixed residences, but lead, like our Lapps, a roaming life, supported by the great herds of cattle accompanying them.

During the ten miles remaining the road became so bad that we had to slacken our headlong speed, though on descending the rocky bridle-path leading down to our camp the horses proved to be as clever climbers as they previously had been racers.

From this height we have an opportunity of admiring the grand solitude of an Indian jungle: on all sides, as far as the eye can reach, but an immense ocean of thickets and long grass. There is something remarkably imposing in the sight: magnificent in all its sombre desolateness.

In the meantime some of our party, among whom was my brother Oscar, being somewhat behind, had lost their way on our left, our shouts failing to meet with any response; but on approaching the camp they reappeared, and Oscar, who had lost his way, said that he had seen the trail of a tiger, which was confirmed by a 'shikarie' who came up and brought us the welcome tidings of a 'tiger-kill' the very same night only a mile and a half from the camp.<sup>1</sup> At a quick gallop we rode up to the splendid white tents visible between the tall shrubs.

No time was to be lost; in an hour we were to be ready to mount the elephants—such was the order. The unusual opportunity of catching the tiger so to speak 'in bed,' after its nocturnal marauding expedition, should not be lost for one moment; and already at 10.30 a troop of twelve elephants left the camp, in whose 'howdas' we were seated thus: First came Salar Yung, followed by Captain Sundström and Oscar, on a very great elephant; then Count Adelborg and myself on one nearly as big; behind which came Lieutenant Ribbing with Colonel Dobbs; and, last, Dr. Holmer, accompanied by a Hindoo, terrible to behold, whose function was 'to bring us luck,' as we were told that when he was present no sportsman ever missed fire.

In silence and solemnity the procession moved towards the jungle, in order not to awake the sleeping tiger. In spite of it being the 'cold season,' I suffered tremendously from the heat under my broad-brimmed Indian hat. But who could have time to complain of the heat then, though one could hardly breathe and was bathed in perspiration?

After a while a flock of soaring vultures indicates that we are approaching the spot where the tiger consumed its nocturnal meal, and behind a ridge, strewn with blocks of stone, and which seemed only 500 yards off, the slain bullock had been tied up. The native

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps I ought to explain that by a 'tiger-kill' is meant the slaying by a tiger of some animal tied up in the jungle to attract its attention preparatory to a hunting party being arranged.

hunters maintained that the tiger must be near, as the birds continued to soar restlessly over the spot, without daring to descend to their prey, in all probability from fear of the tiger slanting close by. Shortly after, we have reached the northern slope of the ridge referred to, where the elephants are ranged in a semicircle, at a distance of some 250 yards from the top, the position for each elephant being indicated to the 'mahout' by an old grey-haired shikarie, who evidently is quite at home in the jungle. Adelborg and myself are stationed on a little mound in the jungle, whence we have a fairly good view all around. Low shrubs, in some places forming to the eye impenetrable thickets, surround the spot in which our elephant stands hidden behind a couple of great blocks of stone, and a similar jungle covers the slope in the direction whence we expect the beaters. A ravine runs on our right, along the bottom of which we are told the tiger should come. On the other side of the ravine Oscar and Sundström are posted; next to them, an elephant with some of the suite of the Minister; then Salar Yung himself with Ali Beg; whilst farthest on the left wing Holmer is stationed, and to our left Ribbing and the Colonel.

After a while's anxious waiting, yells and loud sounds of drums and cymbals are heard in the distance, and in a few moments one dusky figure after another appears on the brow of the hill. We now rise in the howda and, cocking our express rifles, scan every shrub in front of us. It is becoming exciting. But still no tiger is visible, and the beaters begin to separate and break the line. Adelborg and myself have just agreed that there is no tiger within the line, when suddenly the report of a gun is heard from Salar Yung's elephant, indicating there is something up. It is Ali Beg who has shot at a tiger, which is attempting to break through at the side of his elephant. This is immediately followed by a shot from the elephant carrying the attendants of the Minister, and in the next few seconds the retreating tiger is subjected to a veritable peppering from that quarter. We double our attention, but fail to see anything except the smoke of the guns. The beaters again collect, but a number of frightened coolies run terrified in all directions, and even the elephants show signs of fright, stamping and swinging their trunks to and fro. What an animated scene indeed! And the moments of the greatest excitement, whilst prepared to encounter the attack of the wounded tiger every second, will hardly ever fade from my recollection.

In the meantime, however, Ali Beg seems to call us by waving his hat, and we beckoned to our mahout to urge the elephant forward, delighted at the thought that there might still be something for us to do; and in a few moments we are alongside Ali Beg, who instantly jumps from his own elephant into our howda. The usually calm and dignified man trembled in every limb with excitement. He

informs us in a brief sentence that the tiger is wounded, and orders a pursuit. But having advanced a few steps our elephant absolutely refused to go further, when Ali Beg pointed to a thicket right in front of us, urging me to fire; but in spite of the greatest efforts I could not discover the tiger, which the experienced eye of the native had detected at once. Adolborg saw the animal sneak away just as the elephant suddenly turned round and retreated. However, a few well-directed poods with the pike of the mahout soon brought the terrified animal round again, and now I detected the black-barked tawny skin of a tiger, lying under a low bush close by, ready to spring. I pulled the trigger just as the animal was on the point of springing, at all events so it seemed to me. It was followed by a shot from Adolborg's gun, and supplemented by one from my left barrel, both of which hit the animal. In the meantime the other elephants had advanced concentrically towards the spot where the tiger was supposed to lie hidden, and in a moment shot followed upon shot from all sides. The tiger attempted once more to rise, but fell immediately backwards. The King of the Jungle lay dead at our feet!

When we shortly afterwards gathered round the fallen monarch, everybody had fired, and everybody tried, with more or less success, to trace his deadly bullet. Our booty was a fine male tiger, measuring nine and a half feet in length.

Shortly afterwards we were told that a female tiger with two cubs had succeeded in breaking through the line, in a south-westerly direction, and although the chances seemed against us, it was decided to attempt a drive a little distance from where we were, around a cave, whither it was assumed that they had escaped. But the attempt proving fruitless, we returned to our camp. Thus ended my first tiger hunt. I had not indeed succeeded in beholding the King of the Jungle move freely, and in full view, but the excitement of expecting every moment an attack from the infuriated animal was in itself a keen delight to a sportsman.

We were splendidly accommodated in the magnificent tents. On one side we Swedes were quartered, opposite our Hindoo friends, and midway between us stood the enormous assembly and dining tents. Although we were nearly forty miles from any human habitation, in fact, in a wilderness, we enjoyed every luxury as, for instance, beds with mosquito nets, carpets, dressing tables, chairs, baths, and every other requisite in abundance. Oscar and myself inhabited a tent which would have furnished ample accommodation for a regiment of soldiers. At least a thousand men must have been engaged in transporting our camp to this spot, partly on their backs and partly on carts, the long way through the jungle, a striking illustration of how little these Oriental magnates value labour and money when bent upon gratifying a cherished pursuit.

A little after our return to the camp the air was rent with deafening cries—wild shouts of joy mingled with the sound of drums and cymbals. And in a few minutes the slain tiger is seen approaching, stretched on the back of an elephant and surrounded by all the shikaris swinging a trophy over its head. Our royal victim enjoyed all the honours of a triumphal entry into the camp.

Dinner was, as may be imagined, consumed in the best of spirits, and the champagne bottle circulated freely among us Europeans, but the law of the Prophet inhibited our Hindoo friends from partaking of the forbidden juice, especially before infidels. I have, however, a strong suspicion that our hospitable entertainers made up for their abstinence after dinner, and enjoyed the fluid, in privacy, like good Christians.

During the night some thirty bullocks were exposed as 'kills,' and when we awoke the next morning the returning shikari reported that three of them had been killed by panthers. Of these, however, it was only possible to pursue one, as the trail of the rest led to unapproachable mountain fastnesses. It was, therefore, decided to attempt driving this panther out of the narrow ravine in which it was supposed to lie hidden.

Shortly afterwards we are again seated on our elephants, in the order of the previous day, and as the hiding-place of the animal is only a little distance from the camp, the attack may be made at once. We had, however, been seated a long while before discovering anything unusual. But suddenly the long black line of beaters comes to a halt, breaks, and sways backwards, the shouts of the men being redoubled. As quick as lightning Ali Beg throws himself on his horse and gallops to the spot, and we soon learn that the enraged panther had attacked the beaters several times, who, therefore, refused to move forward. One man, we were told, had been killed, but whether this was really so we never could ascertain.

However, the elephants are quickly moved forward, and we are soon collected on both sides of the ravine in which the beast lies hidden. As the ravine was only thirty yards wide and about five yards deep we were close upon the panther, though we could not see it. Now the question arose, what were we to do next? The beaters were too frightened to be of any further use, and the animal showed no sign of willingly leaving its hiding-place. Salar Yung as well as Colonel Dobbs urged us most earnestly not to move the elephants into the thicket, as the panther would without doubt attack the first who dared to approach it. As the panther is more active it is more dangerous than the tiger, and when enraged it takes the offensive, sometimes jumping at one bound into the howda, whereas the tiger cannot reach higher than the elephant's neck or shoulder. Under such circumstances, however, the game is equal, the result depending upon the coolness of the sportsman and his practice in handling his

gun. But if the elephant, which is often the case, rushes to either side, in order to escape the attack, the sportsman is almost lost. The elephant is then of no use, and if there be a tree in its path, the rider will be swept off its back, and perhaps trampled to death by the terrified animal mistaking him for the pursuing panther. Then there is no longer any sport, for one has no more the least control over one's fate.

This was the reason why we naturally listened to the advice of our experienced friends, and waited outside whilst Ali Beg cautiously approaches the hiding-place of our terrible foe. It is a moment of breathless suspense. Every second we expect that the panther will rush out and attack us, when suddenly the report of a gun is heard, and Ali Beg's unerring bullet has disabled the panther at the very moment it is about springing upon him. Oscar and I gave the tenacious beast its *coup de grâce*.

The next day there was no hunt, as the ground round the 'panther kill' reported in the morning was too unfavourable to permit of any hunting. We, therefore, had some target practice in the morning, and it was arranged that later on we should have some beats through the jungle for the shooting of 'small game,' such as jungle-sheep, peacocks, partridges, hares, &c. But this was not to be, as we soon got something else to think of; for about two o'clock a shout arose that the cholera had broken out in the camp! A man had just died, and lay under a tree close to the tents. It was decided at once to break up the camp and return to Hyderabad without delay. Quite a panic reigned within it, and when I shortly afterwards looked out of my tent I beheld Salar Yung with his retinue depart in hot haste.

Three-quarters of an hour later we too were in the saddle, galloping in the direction of the city, with a little more calmness than our Hindoo host, but nevertheless fast enough to cover, under a scorching sun and suffocating dust, the thirty miles of jungle in three hours, when we reached the spot where the carriages were awaiting us.

At eight o'clock we were again seated at the hospitable dinner-table of the English Resident at Hyderabad.

CARL.

## ENGLISH AND FOREIGN SPAS.

AN English minister at a foreign court once remarked to a young English physician who had been introduced to him: 'There are two things you English doctors do not understand: you do not understand waters, and you do not understand wines!' This reproach was perhaps not altogether unmerited. The habit of resorting to mineral springs for the relief of chronic ailments is certainly not so widely diffused in this country as it is in Germany and France; while the ability to judge of wines presumes a familiarity with the different varieties, and in these days of temperance, and total abstinence, such a familiarity is not likely to be widely spread, nor need we wish that it should be.

But the study and understanding of mineral waters have made considerable progress of late years amongst English physicians, and a visit to one or more of the principal foreign spas often forms an indispensable part of their summer holiday; while the diffusion of what may be called 'bath literature' has attained proportions which are truly embarrassing. A feeling has, however, arisen of late years, and has been freely expressed, that in recommending English invalids to resort to one or other of the various Continental spas, English physicians have been unduly and unjustly neglecting the precious resources in the way of 'healing springs' which their own country affords.

It may, therefore, be both interesting and useful, especially at this season of the year, to make a brief inquiry into the respective merits of English and foreign spas, and to compare and examine their claims to be regarded as efficient remedial agents.

In the first place, I would desire it to be understood that I by no means admit the justice of the accusation, that we have greatly neglected or unjustly despised our own resources. These are, it must be honestly admitted, extremely limited compared with those of such countries as Germany and France. The universal presence on our dinner tables of such waters as St. Galmier, Giesshubler, and Apollinaris is a sufficient acknowledgment of our own poverty in mineral springs. No amount of patriotic advocacy can alter the fact, that we have no sparkling gaseous chalybeate springs like those of Schwalbach, Spa, and St. Moritz; no hot sulphur springs like those



of Aix, Luchon, or Eaux Bonnes; no mineral alkaline springs like those of Vichy or Vals; no gaseous salt waters like those of Homburg and Kissingen; no hot alkaline aperient springs like those of Carlsbad; and even the common, non-gaseous, aperient, so-called 'litter' waters we are obliged to import from abroad, as is witnessed by the large consumption in this country of Friedrichshall, Hunyadi, Pálina, and Esculap waters.

Of natural hot springs which abound in certain parts of Europe we have but two, Bath and Buxton, and the springs at the latter place have a temperature of only 82° F.

All the springs at Harrogate, which are probably the most important in this country, are cold. If to these three—Bath, Buxton, and Harrogate, the only considerable spas we possess—we add Dedditch, Woodhall Spa, Cheltenham, Leamington, Tunbridge Wells, Mandrindod, Matlock, Moffat, Strathpeffer, and Dinsdale, we have very nearly exhausted our available spas.

In some of these the supply of water is so insignificant in quantity as to render a large bathing establishment impossible; while in others, as in Tunbridge Wells for example, the quality of the water is so decidedly inferior to that of analogous foreign springs as to render it practically useless. At Harrogate one of the milder chalybeate springs is artificially impregnated with carbonic acid gas in order to make it approach in quality some of the Continental iron springs; but this is then no longer a natural water, though it may possibly be found, in some instances, to answer the same purpose.

Then, again, the great number and variety of the Continental spas and the immense richness of their supply of water have led to a specialisation of many of them, which undoubtedly increases their popularity and renders selection easy.

I will only name from among many other instances the following: the treatment of biliary obstructions and the plethoric forms of gout at Carlsbad; of atonic gout at Royat; the treatment of calculous disorders at Vichy and Contrexéville; the treatment of chronic articular rheumatism and gout at Aix-les-Bains; the treatment of diabetes at Neuenahr and Carlsbad; the treatment of obesity at Marienbad; the treatment of gouty and catarrhal dyspepsia at Homburg and Kissingen; the treatment of anaemia at Schwalbach and St. Moritz; the treatment of asthma at Mont Dore; the treatment of throat affections at Caunterets and Eaux Bonnes; of scrofulous glandular affections at Kremsnach; of the great variety of chronic skin affections at Aix-la-Chapelle, Cannstadt, La Bourboule, and Uriage.

Further, a glance at the classification of the various mineral waters into groups according to their composition will also serve to show the very limited range of choice afforded us by our own spas.

1. In the first place there are the simple thermal waters—the simple hot springs which are so numerous on the Continent. They

are distinguished by their high temperature, ranging from 80° to 150° Fahrenheit, or even higher; by the very small amount of mineral substances contained in them—in some instances, as at Pilsners, which may be taken as a type of this class, there are but 2½ grains of solid constituents in 7,680 grains of water; and by their softness.

These are often termed 'indifferent springs' on account of the absence in them of any special mineral substances. The Germans also call them '*Wild-bäder*' because they often rise in wild, romantic, wooded districts, and one of the most renowned spas of this class is that known as *Wildbad*, situated in the Würtemberg portion of the Black Forest. Gastein, Teplitz, Schlangenbad, and Plombières are also examples of this class, as are also Bath and Buxton in our own country. The waters of this class are chiefly used as baths, and when administered internally they are simply given with a view of exercising the same purifying solvent influence that might be obtained from drinking pure hot water—a subject I propose to return to by-and-by.

As baths they are considered to produce their curative effects, first, by cleansing and softening the skin and so promoting perspiration; secondly (according to the temperature at which they are employed), by equalising or diminishing the loss of heat from the body, or preventing it altogether, or even giving heat to it; thirdly, by promoting the circulation in the peripheral vessels and so improving the nutrition and tone of the skin; fourthly, by gently stimulating the organic functions and so promoting tissue change; fifthly, by allaying muscular and nervous irritability through the exercise of a soothing influence on the peripheral nerves; and lastly, by promoting the absorption of inflammatory, rheumatic, and gouty exudations.

It is usual to employ these waters as local douches to affected parts, and to associate with them the curative effects of frictions and *massage*. All these processes have long been introduced into practice at Bath and also at Buxton, and the good effects derivable from this class of waters, apart from considerations of climate, can be obtained at either of these British spas.

The maladies in which these 'indifferent' thermal springs have been found to be of the greatest efficacy are cases of chronic rheumatism, articular and muscular; chronic gouty inflammation of joints; sciatica, and other forms of neuralgia; hysterical and hyperæsthetic states of the nervous system; old painful wounds and ulcers; and cases of loss of muscular power (paralysis) when not dependent on disease of the nervous centres.

This mode of treatment is essentially soothing and gentle, and can usually be tolerated by the most sensitive and delicate constitutions. It has been found by experience advantageous to combine with this mode of treatment the tonic influence of forest air or a walk

Alpine climate, such as that of Willbad, Gastein, or Bagnères de Luchon in the case of highly nervous and hyperæsthetic sufferers; and, as a rule, the more bracing the climate the higher the temperature at which the baths can be borne with impunity.

2. Some of the most popular springs fall under the head of 'common salt waters.' Common salt (chloride of sodium) is one of the ingredients of most frequent occurrence in mineral springs, but it is only when it occurs in a spring in altogether preponderating proportions that it belongs to this class. The strength of these common salt springs varies greatly; that at Reichenhall, which is one of the strongest, contains twenty-four per cent. of chloride of sodium, that at Wiesbaden only six per cent. In some spas of this class it is customary to fortify the weaker natural springs by the addition of concentrated *mutter lye* (bittern), as at Kreuznach; while at others the stronger springs, too strong and exciting for most purposes, are diluted with pure water, as at Reichenhall.

Some of these springs contain also a considerable amount of free carbonic acid, and this greatly increases their stimulating effect on the skin when used as baths (Nauheim and Rehme), and modifies the action of the chloride of sodium when taken internally (Homburg, Kissingen). The carbonic acid acts as a sedative on the nerves of the stomach, promotes secretion and absorption, and augments peristaltic action. It distinctly increases the activity of the water, besides making it more palatable.

Used as baths, these springs stimulate the peripheral vessels and nerves, and promote capillary circulation. They improve the tone and nutrition of the skin, and indirectly stimulate *tissue change*, that 'pulling down' and 'building up,' upon the due regulation and activity of which the maintenance and perfection of healthy life depend.

Internally these waters act as stimulants and indirectly as tonics to the organs of digestion and assimilation. They increase the secretions of the alimentary canal and promote its muscular activity, and improve the abdominal and the general circulation. By their stimulating action on the circulation and on the change of tissue they lead to the absorption and removal of morbid deposits.

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that in persons with highly sensitive mucous membranes they may cause irritation and discomfort, especially if given in too large doses. It is important also to remember that the warmer they are drunk the more rapidly they are absorbed, so that their local effect is diminished and their constitutional effect increased.

The cases in which these common salt waters are found beneficial are very various; amongst others they are employed as baths with advantage in cases of hypersensitiveness of the skin ('weakness of skin'), giving rise to a tendency to 'catch cold,' and therefore to

attacks of bronchial catarrh and acute and chronic rheumatism; in some forms of retarded convalescence from acute disease; in scrofulous and other inflammatory enlargement of joints; and the stronger kinds locally in chronic glandular enlargements of scrofulous origin, in the chronic hypertrophies of certain organs. In some parts of the Continent these baths take the place of hot and cold sea baths, with which they have much in common.

Internally the milder kinds of common salt springs, when charged also abundantly with carbonic acid (Homburg and Kissingen), are especially beneficial in cases of atonic dyspepsia and chronic gastric catarrh, conditions frequently associated with hæmorrhoids and 'torpid liver,' and what is termed in Germany *abdominal plethora*. They are valuable also in those 'cachexias,' or low states of health, contracted often by prolonged residence in tropical climates.

In certain forms of anæmia, where regulation of the bowels is a primary consideration, they often do more good than pure, non-aperient iron waters, for many of these springs contain an appreciable amount of iron which gives to them a tonic property (Harrogate).

As examples of this class, the stronger ones are represented abroad by Kreuznach, Nauheim, Reichenhall, Ischl, and Rehme; the milder ones by Homburg, Kissingen, and Wiesbaden; in this country *Droitwich* has very strong salt springs, and can furnish brine baths as strong as any of those to be obtained on the Continent, and they are applicable to the same cases. The water of the *Droitwich* springs is conveyed in tanks by rail to Great Malvern, where brine baths can also be obtained.

*Woodhall Spa*, near Horncastle in Lincolnshire, possesses a spring which may be regarded as a moderately strong common salt water, containing also an unusually large proportion of bromides and iodides, and is suitable to the treatment of the same class of cases as are sent to Kreuznach. *Harrogate* possesses not only sulphur springs, which contain a large proportion of common salt, but also chalybeate waters containing common salt in proportions which liken them in some respects to the springs of Homburg and Kissingen. They are, however, more unpleasant to drink, owing in part to the absence of carbonic acid, which renders them more difficult of digestion to some persons.

3. The next is also an important class of waters—the *alkaline waters*—of which we have no representative in this country. The chief constituent of these waters is carbonate of soda; they also contain free carbonic acid in varying amount.

The water of the various springs at Vichy may be taken as a type of this class.

Some of these alkaline springs also contain an appreciable quantity of chloride of sodium, and this circumstance has led to the subdivision of this class into—

a. *Simple alkaline waters*, and b. *Muriated alkaline waters* (i.e. alkaline waters containing common salt).

Of the simple alkaline division some are hot springs, as those of Vichy and Neuenahr; and some are cold, as those of Vals, Apollinaris, and Elinz; the same is the case with the muriated alkaline division, the springs of Ems and Royat being hot and those of Salts and Roshach cold. Most of the common so-called 'table waters' are examples of cold, weak, muriated alkaline springs, the most gaseous being the most popular.

Many of the springs of this class are found to be most valuable curative agents. They are all taken internally. They are also used as baths, but not very largely, although, in some spas, they are greatly employed in the form of local douches (Royat, La Bourboule).

They are applicable to the treatment of a great number of chronic maladies. In moderate doses they exercise an important solvent and purifying influence, correct acidity, promote tissue change, and possess active diuretic properties. If taken in too large quantity they depress the heart's action, and cause emaciation through excessive solvent action. They are given in cases of acid dyspepsia, especially in the gouty and rheumatic; in constitutions showing a tendency to the formation of uric acid (gouty); in cases of renal calculous disorders and gravel, in which they often prove of very great service; in diabetes; in cases of torpid liver, with tendency to gall-stones, in constitutions which would not bear the stronger alkaline aperient waters like those of Carlsbad.

These waters are also found of very great service in the treatment of chronic catarrh of the bronchial and other mucous membranes.

Those containing common salt are more tonic and stimulating than the simple alkaline ones. As we have no waters of this class in this country we are obliged to have recourse to foreign spas for the treatment of the very large number of chronic ailments in which they prove beneficial.

4. Scarcely less important are the waters of the fourth class, the *sulphated waters*. This group includes all the best known aperient waters, which owe their aperient qualities to the presence of the sulphate of soda and magnesia, singly or combined. Some of these springs contain also considerable quantities of carbonate of soda and chloride of sodium, which add greatly to their remedial value, and this fact has led to the subdivision of the class into two groups:—

a. *Simple sulphated waters*—the so-called 'bitter waters,' such as Friedrichshall, Pullna, and Hunyadi. These are rarely drunk at their source, but are largely imported for home consumption.

And b. *alkaline sulphated waters*—a group comprising such world-renowned spas as Carlsbad, Marienbad, Franzensbad, and Theres. I have dwelt fully elsewhere on the important services rendered

to suffering humanity by this last group of waters. The cases to which they are appropriate are often of so serious a character that it would serve no good purpose to attempt to indicate them in a summary like this.

Strictly speaking we have no spa in this country representative of this latter group. The Cheltenham waters contain sulphates of magnesia and soda as well as common salt, and resemble, therefore, the waters of the *simple sulphated group*; but they are acid, and have no claim to be classed with the important second group of this class. The same remark applies to the Leamington springs, which contain sulphate of soda and chlorides of sodium, calcium, and magnesium, a valuable combination it may be, but not applicable to the same cases as the Carlsbad group.

5. We next come to the large and interesting group of *iron or chalybeate* waters. These are tonic waters *par excellence*. They are valuable in proportion to their purity—that is, in proportion to the absence of other solid ingredients—and in proportion, usually, to the amount of carbonic acid, in a free state, they contain. The presence of free carbonic acid promotes the digestion and assimilation of the iron, and renders the water more palatable. The carbonic acid is also a very important agent in the baths that are given in connection with most chalybeate courses. These iron and carbonic acid baths are found in great perfection at Schwalbach. I have entered very fully into the action of iron water and carbonic acid baths in the chapter on St. Moritz in the work already referred to.

The purest iron waters are those of Spa, Schwalbach, Alexisbad, and Tunbridge Wells, but the absence of any appreciable quantity of free carbonic acid in the Tunbridge spring really puts it out of competition with such celebrated iron waters as those of Spa, Schwalbach, and St. Moritz.

In many iron springs salts of lime are found in rather large proportions, as in the St. Moritz spring, and the spring at Santa Caterina. The same is the case with the Orezza (Corsica) spring, perhaps the strongest iron spring in Europe.

The iron water at Pyrmont is stronger than that at St. Moritz or Spa, but it is not so agreeable to drink, as it contains a small quantity of the bitter sulphate of magnesia. There is a valuable iron spring at Bocklet, near Kissingen, but that also is not a pure iron spring, as it contains aperient sulphates and chlorides of soda and magnesia; and the chalybeate waters of Rippoldsau contain sulphate of soda. Harrogate possesses useful composite chalybeate springs, but no pure gaseous iron springs like those of Spa or Schwalbach, so that, in this class again, when we require a comparatively pure, natural, gaseous, iron spring, we are compelled to seek for it on the Continent.

6. The sixth class comprises the numerous and well-known

sulphur springs. Some of these are hot springs, some of them are cold.

Of the hot sulphur waters, perhaps the best known to our countrymen are those of Aix-les-Bains and Aix-la-Chapelle. The celebrated Pyrenean spas also are nearly all of them hot sulphur springs—as Luchon, Les Eaux Bonnes, Canterets, &c. Besides these Baden in Switzerland, Baden near Vienna, Allevard, Uriage, Schinznach, and Helnan, near Cairo, are all hot sulphur waters. Examples of cold sulphur springs are found at Enghein, Challes, Gurnigel, Rilsen, Neundorf, Weilbach, and in our own country at Harrogate, Dinsdale, and Strathpeffer.

Some of these sulphur springs contain a considerable amount of common salt; this is the case at Uriage, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Harrogate.

Here again it will be seen that while hot sulphur springs abound on the Continent, we have not a single natural hot sulphur water in this country.

Luchon is perhaps the most remarkable of European sulphur spas. Apart from the natural beauty of its situation, which is very great, it is pre-eminent for the abundance and variety of its springs, the vast quantity of water they afford, their composition, and range of temperature. The hottest have a temperature of 154° F., and most of them have to be cooled or mixed with springs of lower temperature before they can be used as baths. In consequence of the possession of this immense quantity of hot sulphur water, the most extensive and elaborate arrangements have been established at Luchon for their administration in all possible forms, including large and small swimming baths, vapour baths, douches of all kinds, inhalations, *pulvérisations*, &c.

*Aix-les-Bains* has also the command of a very abundant supply of water, the temperature of which ranges from 113° to 115° F., and very elaborate and complete arrangements prevail there for the utilisation in all possible ways of their natural resources.

*Harrogate* is the chief sulphur spa in this country. *Dinsdale-on-Tees*, with much more limited resources, has acquired a considerable local reputation. At *Harrogate* the waters have of course to be heated before they can be employed as baths; the arrangements for their application are fairly good, and where the tonic effect of a bracing upland country, 430 feet above the sea, is required, no doubt a course of sulphur waters can be obtained at Harrogate which is likely to be as efficacious in many cases requiring this form of treatment as that at more distant spas. The great variety of ailments—rheumatic, gouty, cutaneous, catarrhal, and constitutional—remediable by treatment at the various sulphur spas I have fully considered elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Climate and Health Resorts.*

7. Finally, there is the class of *earthy and sulphurous waters*, so named on account of the preponderance in their composition of the earthy salts of lime and magnesia. As examples of this class, Leuk, Wildungen, Lippespringe, and Contrexéville may be mentioned.

When employed as baths their mode of action is much the same as that of the first class of springs, the simple thermal waters; in some places, as at Leuk in Switzerland, they are applied as very prolonged baths in certain inveterate forms of skin disease, where long-continued soaking the skin is thought advantageous.

At Contrexéville, where the waters are largely employed internally, a great deal is claimed for them, and great benefit is undoubtedly derived from them in many cases; especially in cases of irritative, acid, or gouty dyspepsia, and in particular in calculous and vesical complaints. It must, however, be admitted that the precise mode of action of these earthy waters is not well understood; probably much of their efficacy is due to the large quantity of an active solvent, such as hot water, which the patient is induced to consume. In this country the Bath waters offer the nearest approach to an example of this group of spas, and they would possibly prove as efficacious, when judiciously administered, as those of Contrexéville, in some of the cases that are sent thither.

This brief summary and review of the several *classes* of natural mineral springs will, as I have already said, show clearly how limited are our own resources, and that, in availing ourselves of the help of a great number of foreign spas, we are only doing what we are compelled to do from the absence of any examples of the waters we require in England. Sometimes, indeed, there are other reasons besides the mere composition of the mineral spring for selecting a foreign rather than an English spa. It is often advantageous and desirable to associate change of climate, of *entourage*, and of mode of life with a course of mineral waters. It may be altogether preferable to follow a course of baths in a drier and more bracing climate than our own. The influence of forest or mountain air is certainly a not unimportant adjunct to some cures.

Some of the most successful applications of the simple thermal springs are found to occur at such a sub-Alpine spa as Gastein, or in the forest air of Wildbad. And this leads me to remark how impossible it is to determine all the appropriate uses of a mineral spring from too exclusive a consideration of its mineral ingredients. Chemical analysis certainly fails to reveal, in all cases, even the physical peculiarities of a mineral spring; and to maintain the opinion that all mineral waters of analogous composition must have the same curative action can only be the outcome of haste and inexperience. One of the springs at Vichy (*L'Hôpital*) is found practically to be more suitable to the treatment of irritative dyspepsia than the



others, although of apparently similar composition; it is found to be more soothing to the stomach. The only noticeable difference in this spring is that it deposits around its basin a considerable amount of a greenish organic substance termed *barégina*, so named from its presence having been noted long ago in the waters of Barège.

There is nothing in the chemical analysis of the water of Schlagenbad (of the same class as our own spa, Buxton) to account for the peculiarly luxurious effect of this bath, which the author of *Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau* describes justly as 'the most harmless and delicious luxury of the sort' he had ever enjoyed, and he quotes the opinion of a Frenchman that '*dans ces bains on devient absolument amoureux de soi-même!*' Describing elsewhere my own impressions of this bath, I have said, 'Reclining in one of these luxurious baths, the water with its delicious softness and pleasant temperature seems to envelop the whole body with a sort of diffused caress; while, from some peculiar property in the water, it gives a singular lustrous beauty to the skin, which seems to be suddenly endowed with a remarkable softness and brilliancy.'

Then, again, some special modes and processes of employing a mineral water doubtless have more influence in determining the range of its usefulness than its mere chemical composition. The peculiar vapour chambers and other modes of applying the waters practised at Mont Dore have much to do with their efficacy in the relief of cases of asthma and other forms of chest affections. The production of very profuse perspiration is often the consequence of the application of these processes, and seems to be not very remotely connected with the beneficial results obtained.<sup>1</sup>

At Aix-les-Bains the combination of the douche with shampooing and massage has been carried to great perfection, and may be credited with much of the benefit derived from treatment there. The physicians at Kreuznach believe that much of the success attending their treatment of scrofulous and other tumours depends greatly on the system and processes they adopt in the application of their fortified salt springs.

So also the very strict *régime* enforced at some of the Continental spas, where the *tables d'hôte* are under the direct control of the physicians—as, for instance, at Carlsbad—contributes greatly to the attainment of the results aimed at.

It has been said, and with much truth, that there is a fashion in waters, and that various spas come into and go out of fashion like many other things.

Au temps de François I<sup>er</sup> (says M. Taine<sup>2</sup>), les Eaux-Bonnes guérissaient les bleues: elles s'appelaient *eaux d'argousier*; on y envoyait les soldats blessés à Pavie. Aujourd'hui elles guérissent les maladies de gorge et de poitrine. Dans

<sup>1</sup> *Etude sur les Eaux qui se produisent sous l'influence du Traitement Thermal au Mont Dore.* By Dr. Camille.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage aux Pyrénées.*

cent ans, elles guérissent peut-être autre chose : chaque siècle, la médecine fait un progrès. Un médecin célèbre disait un jour à ses élèves : 'Employez vite ce remède pendant qu'il guérit encore.' Les médicaments ont des modes comme les chapeaux.

A few years ago a fierce controversy arose between some of the physicians of the Pyrenean spas and some of those practising at Mont Dore, as to the relative value, in certain cases, of sulphur and arsenic. Arsenic was coming into fashion, and it was seen that sulphur, for a time, was in danger of going out of fashion. The managers of numerous spas, then, began to magnify the amount of arsenic contained in their sources, while the curious in these matters might have noted that in many others, as at Vichy for example, where they had other potent ingredients to trust to, they took little account of the arsenic in their springs, although it existed in them in greater quantity than in some that boasted largely of its presence. Arsenic still holds its ground, and is long likely to do so, especially in such a spa, for instance, as that of La Bourboule in Auvergne, five or six miles from its more ancient neighbour Mont Dore. This water, containing as it does a very notable quantity of arsenic, is, for that and other reasons, perhaps one of the most valuable additions that have been made of late years to our available mineral springs.

But far and away the most fashionable constituent in mineral waters at the present time is *lithium*, and the authorities in various foreign spas appear to be competing with one another in the discovery of this popular ingredient. Who shall produce an analysis with the greatest quantity of lithium in it? That seems to be the burning question at this moment with bath managers all over Europe.

A striking testimony to this fashion is afforded by the recently circulated analysis of the springs at St. Moritz. Formerly the presence of a notable quantity of iron in these springs was regarded as the point of paramount importance, now the list of constituents is headed by 'Lithium Chloride'!

Why this exalted estimation of lithium? Because lithium is a remedy for gout, and the desire to acquire the esteem of the many sufferers from this ubiquitous malady is foremost in the wishes of spa physicians. A cure for the various kinds of goutiness is, in the language of commerce, an 'article greatly in demand,' hence the eagerness to possess one, or rather to possess the reputation of possessing one.

It was Royat who led the way and started this vogue for lithium. The Royat springs are hot, weak alkaline springs, all containing lithium in certain proportions, and it used, on account of the similarity in the composition of its springs, to be called the French Ems. The Royat springs also contain a minute quantity of arsenic.

The success which has attended the efforts to establish Royat as a resort for certain forms of goutiness has led to considerable competition on the part of other spas for a like reputation, and as the

prosperity of Royat is considered to be based on the possession of lithium in its waters, no effort has been spared to discover lithium in other springs.

Remarkable claims have recently been advanced in favour of the Contrexéville waters in the treatment of atonic forms of gout, and it is not difficult to foresee that this spa also is about to enter on a period of popularity. Its waters are very feebly mineralised, and some of the benefit they produce might possibly with justice be assigned to the amount of pure water that is consumed in drinking them. But not only do they cure gout and diabetes at Contrexéville, but they claim to have turned diabetes into gout;<sup>4</sup> they do not, however, appear to have as yet turned gout back again into diabetes—the patient would probably object!

In speaking of the spa treatment of these supposed related disorders, gout and diabetes, it would be most unwise to forget or overlook the claims of Neuenahr and the brilliant success which has attended the treatment of diabetes there. Dr. R. Schmitz has published an analysis of 310 cases of diabetes treated at Neuenahr, from which it appears that 135 got rid of all symptoms of the disease, 134 were greatly benefited, and only in 41 was the result of the course unsatisfactory, and for very obvious reasons.<sup>5</sup> Exceedingly good results have also been obtained at Neuenahr in the treatment of chronic articular gout.

When we find a number of Continental spas, which possess waters of very various composition, publishing evidences of their efficacy in the cure of the same chronic maladies, we are naturally induced to ask, Is there any *common* agency operative in all of them? There is this common to nearly all of them, that they require the daily introduction into the body of a considerable quantity of an important solvent agent—water! and this brings me to the consideration of a subject with which I must conclude this article, viz. the use of ‘hot water as a remedy,’ a subject, I venture to think, by no means remotely connected with the spa treatment of certain maladies, especially of gout and corpulence.

A very eminent *confrère* once asked me to define gout. I had often thought over this difficulty, and I was, therefore, prepared with an answer; so I defined gout as *disturbed retrograde metamorphosis*! This seems a very pedantic phrase, but it is capable of explanation, and when examined it will, I think, be found to be nearly, if not altogether, coextensive with the meaning of gout. For the perfection of healthy life it is requisite that certain changes (*metamorphoses*), constructive and destructive (*retrograde*), should

[Footnote] <sup>4</sup> *On the Common Origin of Diabetes and the Uric Acid Diathesis.* By Dr. Debout d'Estrees, of Contrexéville. *Lancet*, May 23, 1886.

<sup>5</sup> *Results of Medical Treatment of 310 Diabetic Patients.* By R. Schmitz, M.D., Neuenahr.

take place in the body with perfect regularity and uniformity. Constructive metamorphosis (after growth is completed) is concerned in maintaining the fabric of the animal frame in its due integrity; destructive (retrograde) metamorphosis is concerned in carrying away, completely and quietly, the results of the incessant use and wear of the fabric. This is what is meant by the words 'tissue change' of so frequent occurrence in every attempted explanation of the action of baths and waters. If there is a disturbance in the constructive changes, the perfection of the fabric suffers, and loss of strength must follow; if there is disturbance in the destructive changes, the injury to the health of the body may not be so immediately apparent, but they will be felt, sooner or later, and in proportion to the gravity of the disturbance. Mere excess of food may be the cause of some of these disturbances, or an improper method of feeding. Thus it is easy to understand how corpulence arises. Something is regularly taken into the system which is not needed for construction or maintenance; if in the 'retrograde metamorphosis' this excess were got rid of in a regular and normal manner nothing remarkable would arise. But in some organisations there is a tendency not to turn this excess into substances which can readily be discharged from the body, but to throw it on one side, as it were, within the body in the form of fat, probably a provision of nature for storing up excess of food in a readily convertible form in anticipation of a season when food may be difficult to procure, for fat disappears rapidly enough when persons are deprived of food, and those who profess that they get fat 'on nothing' would soon be undeceived if they were seriously to try this painful experiment.

But a tendency to disturbance of 'retrograde metamorphosis' may be independent of excess or error in the matter of feeding, and depend on an inherited peculiarity, although aggravated undoubtedly and called into activity frequently by excesses and errors of diet. The tendency both to gout and corpulency are very commonly inherited and often coexist in the same person.

Now it is to get rid of the results of these disturbances and to prevent their recurrence that most mineral water cures are undertaken. One reason why certain substances resulting from these abnormal changes are so injurious, and linger so long in the system, is because of their very slight solubility, and it has recently been maintained that the regular consumption of such an active solvent as pure hot water would serve the purpose of getting rid of these troubles as efficaciously as a course of mineral waters. I do not doubt there is much truth in this, but I do not doubt also that the presence of certain constituents in many mineral springs increases considerably the solvent action of the water in certain cases and in certain persons.

\* Exception might be taken to the word 'destructive,' and 'retrograde' is more strictly accurate.

Those who believe they can get all they require by the consumption daily of a certain quantity of hot water have only themselves to blame if they do not carry into effect such an easy, cheap, and harmless mode of treatment.

I do not propose to pursue this discussion further, at present; the whole question of the rôle played by water in the processes of nutrition and its influence on corpulence has been largely debated recently in France, Germany, and America, and experimental investigations are still being pursued for the purpose of throwing light on this important practical subject.\*

To treat this question fully and satisfactorily would require an article to itself, and it seems wiser to postpone such an undertaking until the investigations which are now in progress shall have attained greater completeness.

I should like, in conclusion, to quote some remarks I published fifteen years ago on this head, when considering the action of mineral waters: 'It is not unimportant to consider what the effect may be of drinking daily a large quantity of water, apart from the mineral substances which it holds in solution, especially in the cases of persons unaccustomed to the use of pure water as an ordinary beverage. This is a part of the inquiry very commonly omitted, yet it cannot be doubted for a moment that the admission of from one to two pints of an influential physical agent like water into the alimentary canal, every day, in opposition to ordinary habit, must have a very decided influence on the health of the body.'†

J. BURNET YEO.

\* An excellent account of these investigations so far as they have at present gone in to be found in the *Archives d'Hydrologie* for March, April, and May 1886.

† *Notes of a Season at St. Moritz and a Visit to the Baths of Tarasp.*

## LETTERS AND LETTER-WRITERS.

*'Virgibus parisque.'*

DURING the year ending the 31st of March, 1885, the sum of 7,898,000*l.* was received for the transmission of letters through Her Majesty's Post Office. This means that during the year the number of letters, circulars, newspapers, and postal cards counted by hundreds of millions. We cannot, try as we may, realise what is meant by these prodigious numbers; they baffle the imagination; they stagger us as much as the conception of thousands, or even hundreds, staggers those savages of rudimentary brain who, we are told, cannot yet bring themselves to count above four consecutive units. But this we can understand, that the mere sum of intellectual effort involved in the composition of all the vast assemblage of written and printed matter transmitted through the Post Office in a single year must be and is enormous.

We most of us think that there must be something wrong somewhere if the postman does not bring us something to read and something to answer by the time we present ourselves at the breakfast table in the morning, and very few of us of the middle class who have got out of our teens know what it is to pass a week without having to write a letter. Yet I often hear it said that the penny post and the halfpenny cards and the sixpenny telegrams are rapidly lessening the old habit of writing letters that are worth reading, and, in fact, that letter-writing is an art that is dying out.

I am one of those who do not believe in such a dreary prospect as the pessimists hold out to us; and if it be true that the machinery now employed in distributing our daily budgets is being largely utilised in sending huge numbers of circulars and advertisements all over the land, I can see no fear of any very great catastrophe ensuing. The rubbish basket is also an institution of our times, and its mission is not quite contemptible, in that it is the great eliminator which rids us of the druff and chaff and dross of our correspondence.

The gift of speech—articulate speech—is one of the greatest of the gifts which differentiate us from the lower animals. Language is the prerogative of man, and the art of writing down his thoughts so that others may read them is the art which more than any other

differentiates the civilised man from the savage. Nevertheless, it is only when a people has attained a high level of civilisation and culture that men and women begin to write familiar letters to one another. Literature begins in verse, for verse is the earliest of all composition, and only when men have passed out of the stage of mystical utterances and thence to the severer forms of prosaic narrative or formal legislative enactments, and the social fabric has attained to a certain condition of stability, and education has become diffused among the many and has ceased to be the privilege of the few—only then do people begin to address one another on matters of everyday life, and, being interested in the concerns of the present, find a pleasure in commenting upon the things *in being* and the things *in doing* that present themselves to their eyes.

The hankering for what we call sympathy is the virtue—or the vice—of advanced civilisation. I doubt whether primeval man cared much for what his neighbour was thinking about in the abstract. When we advance to the point where luxurious leisure is possible, then only do we begin to communicate our sentiments one to the other. It is often an extremely annoying habit. My cultured brother! are you condemned by the strictness of your circumstances to drive about the country in a vehicle called a wagonette? Then you *must* know what it is to have an exasperating fellow-creature of intense enthusiasm and excessive love of the picturesque appealing to you a dozen times in a mile to twist round your head like a Polly-pi-caw, and look at something behind you. 'Oh, you *must* look!' is the cruel appeal of one who aches for sympathy and who has no sympathy for your aches! Strange that there should be in the human mind this absorbing desire to put somebody else in the same position that he or she occupies. Such attempts always fail, yet they will always be repeated in defiance of all experience to the contrary, and in total disregard of the law of nature, that a man cannot possibly be in two places at once. Is it that we are dimly conscious of the fact that the spiritual man will be independent of the limiting conditions of time and space, and that any device whereby we can help one another to approximate, even to the semblance of such independence, must be at once a move in the right direction, and a proof that we ourselves are rising in the scale of being.

Certainly the earliest letter that has come down to us—as far as I know—is an attempt to make all who read that letter feel at home in a great Egyptian city more than three thousand years ago. Yes! At least fourteen hundred years before Christ, say the pundits. Think of that!

Centuries before there was a man or a thing called Homer—perhaps while Moses was trotting about in a wig and loin-cloth, and little Aaron was fishing in the Nile with a bit of string and a crooked pin—this letter was written, which all may read, by Panhem to his

correspondent Athenæus. 'I arrived at the city of Ramesses,' says this old-world gentleman, 'and I have found it excellent, for nothing can compare with it in the Theban land.' A very paradise for the vegetarian. Vines and fig trees, and leeks, and onions, and garlic, and nursery gardens—positively, nursery gardens. But, alack! they *drank*, these Egyptian people did—they drank the shameful, and Panbess did not blush for them; he too smacked his lips—metaphorically—at the wine and the beer and the cider and the sherbet. He actually names them all, and he gives us clearly to understand that the place was 'a pleasant place to live in,' none the less because the drinks were various. And this before Israel had crossed the Jordan, while wolves were prowling among the seven hills where Rome rose in the after time, eight centuries before Solon appeared as a legislator, and a whole millennium before Pericles was born or thought of! Yes, even then this Egyptian gentleman pronounces in a letter his opinion upon things in general, and goes out of his way to remark in it that there was a brisk trade in bitter beer imported all the way from Galilee.<sup>1</sup>

It is observable how few letters we find in the Old Testament. When they occur they are for the most part letters written among people in a far higher condition of civilisation than the Israelites had attained to—i.e. people among whom there was a more settled government, a greater knowledge of the world, and wider views than the children of Israel had any toleration for. It is to the West that we must turn, and to a literature that grew up long after the times of the older Jewish polity in Palestine, if we are to look for the earliest specimens of what we now understand by letter-writing.

So, too, it is significant that Greek literature is entirely wanting in anything that may be called a collection of letters. It is significant because, when we remember the kind of life which people led in Hellas, it is difficult to understand how they ever could have been a letter-writing people. They knew little or nothing of that affectionate intercourse between members of the same family which our word *home* stands for; the innocence of childhood, or even its loveliness, has hardly a place in Greek art; the companionship of brother and sister, or of mother and child, was hardly thought of. Where the moral sentiment is deficient, or so feeble as to exercise hardly any influence upon the conduct, people cannot be expected to keep up a friendly correspondence. It is to Rome and Roman literature that we must turn to find the earliest examples of affectionate and confidential letters passing between members of the same family, and between friends of the same tastes and sympathies.

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 11.



It is only when we come to the second century B.C. that we find the fashion of letter-writing has already become generally prevalent—in just when Rome's Empire had become widely extended, and when her citizens were always on the move, and sometimes absent from home for months or years, while in the meantime their hearts were ever turning towards the old scenes and the old friends whom they had left behind. As might have been expected, the earliest letters are those from parents to their children. Letters from Cato the Censor to his son seem to have been published soon after the old man's death, and a considerable fragment of a letter from Cornelia to her son Gaius Gracchus is still extant, though some doubt its genuineness. Fifty years after Cornelia's death Cicero tells us he had read Cornelia's letters—that is, they were already common property, and already a recognised portion of Roman literature.

Of all the early Roman letter-writers, Cicero himself was by far the most prolific and indefatigable. Born in 106 B.C., and murdered in 43 B.C., his life of sixty-three years was among the busiest lives that any Roman ever lived, but, like many another busy man, he always found time to write his letters. There are nearly 800 letters of Cicero now extant, besides at least 90 letters addressed to him; and we know that this large collection is a mere fragment of the immense correspondence that he left behind him. It extends over a period of less than twenty-five years—i.e. it gives us on the average a letter for about every eleven days of the last twenty-five years of his life; the letters are written to all sorts of people, and are of all varieties of style. Only in a very few instances does the writer seem to have had any thought of their being published. Their charm is their naturalness, their frankness, their outspokenness. It is difficult to imagine what our notion of Roman life and manners, of Roman history, would be without this unique correspondence; and all this astonishing letter-writing went on in the midst of every kind of engagement, and of such claims upon the writer's time and thoughts as few men that have ever lived are exposed to. Cicero was deeply immersed in politics, in lawsuits, in foreign affairs, in building houses, in writing books and making collections of art treasures, in travelling, in actual warfare; yet in the midst of it all he was writing letters, long and short, at a rate which only a professional journalist nowadays could think of turning off.

Sometimes pedantic and sometimes affected in his other writings, Cicero is never so in his letters. There he is always natural, and there you have the best side of the man shown us. The letters were written from his heart—I mean the familiar letters. He writes because he had a longing to communicate his thoughts to his friends—in other words, because he had a craving for the sympathy of those he loved. I believe that will be found to be the real secret of all good letter-writing. If a woman sits down

to write as Madame de Sévigné did, or as Pope did, with a view to an outside public, and only half a thought for the friend or relative addressed, you will never get really natural letters. There will always be a false ring about them. More than one book has been published during the last few years the author of which has been extremely careful to tell us in his preface that it was never intended for publication; that he was very much surprised indeed when it was urged upon him that he should actually print his letters! Nothing had been further from his intention. The letters were written in the first instance to X, or Y, or Z, &c. Yet we can hardly read a page without feeling quite certain that X, or Y, or Z was only a peg to hang the letters on, which were most surely addressed to a larger outside public, whom the author never lost sight of from the moment he took his pen in hand till the moment he laid it down.

Cicero's letters are thoroughly genuine, and when they are meant to be read by the world at large, the style is altogether different from that which he uses in the simple confidence of friendly intercourse. Yet there is one abominable practice which is extremely objectionable in these letters. Cicero is always putting in little scraps of Greek and Greek words—Greek slang, in fact. His letters swarm with them—exactly as some people now never seem to be able to get on without some scraps of French or German, which might just as well, or better, be expressed in homely English. There was some excuse for a Roman doing this in Cicero's days, for the language was inadequate for the wants of a large-minded man then, and there were new ideas and new habits and new experiences for which the meagre Latin vocabulary of the time did not suffice; but there is no excuse for this kind of thing now. The habit of putting in tags and rags of French at every page is only one of those crafty devices whereby a person with a small vocabulary endeavours to conceal poverty of style. It is a confession of weakness and a pretence on the part of the writer that he is master of a foreign language, which he can use with greater facility than he can his own mother tongue. That usually means that he is very imperfectly acquainted with *any* language, his mother tongue included.

There are two curious omissions in Cicero's letters, one to be very much applauded, the other very much to be deplored. The first is that Cicero never indulges in that most foolish practice of ordinary letter-writers, to wit, long descriptions of scenery—what people now call *word-painting*—a most silly and affected expression. Few things are more irritating than to receive a letter extending over three sheets, filled with descriptions of scenery. They are almost always very feeble, at best they are very tantalising, and they generally wind up with an abrupt notice that the writer has positively no time for more. Of course not! You can't go on indefinitely using up superlatives and ringing the changes upon all the names of the

sketch in a paint-box. When I write a book of travels, I shall describe nothing I ever saw in the whole course of my journey—I shall only tell my readers what I heard. And a very interesting and exciting book will my travels be!

The other omission in Cicero's letters is really quite unpardonable. In all these 800 letters it would be difficult to find one in which he says a word about the dress of the ladies of his time—it is disgraceful, but so it is. It proves him to be like other male creatures—unobservant, tasteless, dark, obtuse, and lacking in that higher sense and that gentler, truer, elevating refinement which the nobler sex is gifted with. This omission in Cicero's correspondence is all the more reprehensible because his correspondents were by no means exclusively gentlemen. There was one lady, Cærellia, who, we are told, had a very voluminous correspondence with him. It is most unfortunate that Cærellia's letters are all lost. She *must* have told him how Fulvia and Terentia and Tullia and a host more were dressed, and how they looked. The result is that there are few subjects of which we know less than we do of ladies' dress at Rome in the later years of the Republic. We know that Cicero's own wife got him into great difficulties by her speculations on the Stock Exchange or something of the sort, and that Cærellia herself was an extremely fine lady of great wealth and of very great culture. We know that Cicero frequently writes about his lady friends, though he was not exactly what is known as a lady's man; but about their toilet—their jewels—their fashion of doing their hair—their shawls and their feathers and their ribbons, and the last new thing in caps or mantles—not a word! It is very sad! What a deplorable loss the world has experienced in the disappearance of the Lady Cærellia's letters! Is it not to be hoped that they may yet be discovered in some obscure library? How much happier we shall all be!

When Julius Cæsar was murdered at Rome there was a young man pursuing his university education at Athens, and his name was—well, it does not much matter what his name was, but we call him *Horace*. I don't know whether he was a *great* and voluminous letter-writer, but I do know that he left us two books of what he calls letters, which have this great recommendation, that they are written in *verse*. I know it is a received axiom that a poet is born, not made; but a poet is one thing, and a versifier is quite another. Anybody who has only average ability can write *verse* if he tries; it is the very easiest accomplishment that man or woman can acquire. But practice and care are needed for the manipulation of *verse*, and practice and care are not generally allowed to be essential to the production of letters worth reading. Therefore I do strongly recommend any young person afflicted with the dangerous gift of fluency in writing and liable to be run away with by a restless pen and an exuberant style—any one, *i.e.*, who, being still in the teens, is in a

fair way to become intoxicated by the discovery of how much may be produced on paper under some circumstances and by some unfortunate people in twenty-four hours—I say, I do strongly recommend such persons to write, if it be only one or two long letters a week, in English verse. My gentle sisters of the nimble pens, my noble brothers who drive the goose-quill with such ready fingers, as a wholesome check upon excessive speed in the production of literature, do try writing your letters in verse. Did not Horace do so? Why should not you? Is it not a melancholy thought that all Horace's prose letters have perished? So may yours. Yes! But a good many of his verse letters have survived. Why not emulate Horace?

There is one more Roman letter-writer that I have a word to say about—I mean that coxcombical and self-conceited prig commonly known as the younger Pliny. Yes! he was really the *beau idéal* of a prig. Very rich, very polite, very refined, very highly cultured, very choice in the society he mixed with, very punctilious, and very much impressed with the conviction that the world at large, and the Roman world in particular, had a great deal to be thankful for in the fact that he, Pliny, had been born when he was and been brought up as he had been.

He could not help being a prig. He was brought up a prig from his childhood. He wrote a Greek tragedy when he was fourteen. When he was a boy his uncle seriously expostulated with him once for taking a walk. It was such waste time. Once he writes to a friend that he had been out hunting—killed three boars too, and fine ones. Who had? That didn't matter! He, Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus—better give him his full name!—had sat by the nets—that was quite enough—sate with pen and notebook in hand, a wild boar or two grunting at him all the while and preparing for a charge on the earliest possible opportunity! Cool as a cucumber and improving the occasion, 'I thought about a subject, and made my notes about it,' says he—like a young curate sermonising, in fact.

Once, when he had been invited to a dinner, he stipulates that he will come, provided the conversation shall abound in Socratic discourses; and once, when half promising a friend that he intends to write him something worth reading, he checks himself with the horrible thought that he had no paper good enough, and there was a great doubt as to whether he could get any good enough to write on. 'Think of the nasty coarse spongy stuff in these parts,' he says. 'Why, my dear friend, I should actually be sending you smudges—dreadful!' The most sublime instance of Pliny's priggishness is to be found in his letter to Tacitus, describing his own lofty and superior demeanour during the great eruption of Vesuvius. The angry volcano was all aflame—the earth was heaving like a troubled sea—the air was dark with smoke and ashes—his own uncle had been suffocated by the sulphurous fumes, and his mother burnt into the room where

this young puppy of seventeen was playing the stoic. Pliny says, 'I looked for a volume of Livy, and read it as though quite at my ease, and even made extracts from it as I had begun to do.' Making extracts from Livy in an earthquake! What sort of letters could you expect from such a man?

And yet Pliny has left us some very delightful and amusing letters. Among them is the famous ghost story, which is perhaps the best specimen of his power of simple narrative. Here it is:—

There was a certain mansion at Athens, large and roomy, but of evil repute, and a gloomy sort of place. In the stillness of the night, lo! there used to sound the clank of iron, and as you listened there was a rattling of chains; at first a long way off, then coming nearer and nearer, till it came quite close. Presently a specter appeared. An old, old man, lean and wan, with a long beard and shaggy hair, with fetters on his legs and manacles on his arms, and wringing his hands. The inmates of the house were very miserable. They would not live there. The place became deserted and given up to the dreadful phantom. At last a certain philosopher came to Athens, Athenodorus by name. He saw the advertisement, inquired the terms, asked why it was so cheap, learnt the full particulars, and gladly hired the mansion. Towards evening he ordered a sofa to be set for himself in the front of the house, and provided himself with pen and paper and a light. He sent away all the servants and set to work writing. For a while there was only dead silence. By and by—hark!—there was the sound of iron grating against iron, then the chains clanking. The philosopher never looked up nor stopped his writing. He kept his mind clear and his ears open. The noise increased; it drew nearer—it was at the threshold—it had come inside the door—it was unmistakable. He raised his eyes. There was the phantom he had heard of staring at him. The ghost stood still and beckoned to him with its finger. Athenodorus waved his hand as much as to say, 'I'm engaged; you'll have to wait,' and he went on with his writing. The ghost rattled his chains over his head as he wrote. He looked up again—the ghost was still staring at him. He took up the light and followed. The ghost went very slowly, as if it felt the weight of its chains. It led the way to a back yard of the house, then vanished. Next day Athenodorus went to the magistrates and told them they must dig in the place where the ghost disappeared. There they found some human bones and fetters upon them. They were collected, buried at the public expense, and the house was rid of ghosts from that time forward!

'Very odd!' says Pliny. 'My dear friend, what is your private opinion upon this story?'

I have ventured to give a translation of this letter, not only because it is the earliest detailed account of the appearance of a spectre with which I am acquainted, nor because it is a specimen of the kind of ghost story which is very commonly repeated when such stories are going the round, but because it is difficult to see how any such story could have been told except in a letter. There are some things for which familiar letters are peculiarly adapted. In what other branch of literature could a man sit down seriously to tell a ghost story? He could hardly venture to introduce such a narrative into history; science would deride him, philosophy would frown at his levity, poetry would refuse to lend herself to his tale. But in a letter you may be as playful as you please, and then you may adapt yourself to

your correspondent, who may be modest or the reverse, but in any case you know he is not likely to take you *au grand sérieux*. In our letters we are not expected to write by rule and compasses. We are not afraid of too severe criticism. A letter is hardly expected to be a full-dress performance.

As far as I know, more than three hundred years had passed before any such collection of letters as that of Pliny was published, or at any rate attained to anything like very general popularity. At the close of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth, Q. Aurelius Symmachus thought proper to proclaim to the world that he considered himself the prince of letter-writers of his time, and the world—i.e. the Roman world—was in such a dilapidated condition that it took Symmachus at his own valuation. For, like Pliny, Symmachus was very rich, had a grand house at Rome, and several beautiful villas in various parts of the world. If I ever live to be rich I am not sure that I shall publish a volume of my letters, but I don't know. Somehow rich people seem at all times to have delighted in letting mankind read their letters. Any poor creature can get his children to read his letters, long or short, but to get a whole generation of men and women to pore over your correspondence and applaud it—that seems to be grand! So Symmachus thought, and so his son thought, when he edited his father's epistles in ten books, I suppose because Pliny had published his in ten books. It is a dreary collection—'vapid as long decanted small beer,' as one says—yet noticeable for one feature that in our time has become extremely well known to us. Symmachus is the first who gives a specimen of the real genuine begging letter, and we have of this two examples. I am not going to translate them—partly because I am reluctant to facilitate matters for the begging impostors and give them a model from antiquity, partly because most of us have no need to go back to the past to find out the kind of epistles which the begging impostors send. This is a kind of literature familiarity with which has bred in most of us a certain measure of contempt. There is one letter which Symmachus wrote for a young friend of his, who very much wanted to make an offer of marriage to a young lady and wished to do so in the best possible manner. Symmachus was equal to the occasion, and gave his friend a model. As to the letters of introduction in this collection, they are legion, and the letters of condolence and the letters of congratulation. But, as I said before, they are a dreary lot, and perhaps the only really curious and valuable epistles are those which have to do with the writer's bargains in horseflesh and the purchases he made of strange animals for his menagerie! As for his style, it has one merit and one only, it is fairly simple and fluent. If the man had written obscurely his rubbish would never have reached a second edition.

Note that if there is something in what a man says, the world will forgive a little awkwardness in the manner of saying it. But if there is nothing, then only that man's writings are read who can be understood at a glance. Miss—what was her name?—was wise in her generation. The lips that are always in the proper attitude for the pronunciation of 'potatoes, prunes, and prism' are sure to be practised in the enunciation of elegant phrases; and a letter that offends nobody, and does not require to be read three times before you can catch its meaning, is much more likely to be read by thirty times three readers with pleasure than the other is to be read three times by one.

Just a generation after Symmachus (almost the last of the dandified pagans) joined the majority, he actually found an imitator in the person of Sidonius Apollinaris. At any rate, they say that Symmachus was his model. He certainly did not copy his model very closely as far as style goes, for a more villanous style than that of Sidonius in his letters one would not wish to find. Sidonius started in life as a politician, and at one time it seemed on the cards that he might actually become Emperor of Rome some day, for he married the daughter of the Emperor Flavius Avitus. Avitus had a short reign of barely a year, and then Sidonius found himself effaced. By and by he rose to the surface again, was employed as an ambassador from the Arverni to the Emperor Anthemius, got into favour, and had a statue of himself set up in Rome. I dare say it is there now somewhere.

One day the Emperor said, 'I'll make this man a bishop.' Sidonius protested vehemently, by no means liking the prospect. But there was no help for it. In those days when an emperor took a thing into his head it had to be done. Sidonius became a bishop accordingly—Bishop of Clermont, and a very good and conscientious and zealous bishop he was—so good a bishop, in fact, that when he died he was proclaimed a saint; and there stands his name sure enough, in the Roman Calendar on the 23rd of August as Saint Apollinaris.

I can hardly imagine a greater contrast than the letters of Symmachus and Sidonius. Symmachus's trashy epistles have been saved from absolute oblivion only by their flimsy transparent style, and the very triviality of their contents. The letters of Sidonius will always be read in spite of a style that is most repulsive, and at times appears studiously unintelligible. He is one of those objectionable writers whom a man reads because he can only get at his information by reading him; for really the matter in Sidonius is extremely valuable. Some paragraphs you can no more make out than you can crack a cocoanut with your teeth. These you must skip, and if you can find a translation happy are you.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, some of Sidonius's letters are charming. Thus the careful portrait

<sup>2</sup> See Guizot, *Essai Littéraire et Historique sur Ap. Sid.* 1840; Chailly, *S. Sidonis Apoll. et son École*, 2 vols. 1867.

of Theoderic, King of the Goths, in the first book, is one of the most elaborate miniatures that has ever been drawn in words. So too the delightful account Sidonius gives of a visit he had paid to a friend's house near Nîmes, and the sketch he gives of the way in which a rich country gentleman kept up hospitality in the fifth century is invaluable. We talk about *our* luxurious way of living. Let a man read some of Sidonius's letters, and he will see that 1,400 years ago, down in the South of France, people had a rather exalted notion of grand and capacious amusement.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the impression we get from these letters of the prodigality and luxury of the times is almost dreadful. There is one letter taken up with the description of the dresses and appearance of a young bridegroom's retinue on his wedding morning. There is another with very valuable details on the plan of a large villa, apparently at Clermont; and there are up and down the letter all sorts of odd hints and notes which only a letter-writer could have inserted.

But what is especially valuable in this correspondence of Sidonius is the fact that in it we seem to be taking a farewell of heathendom, as it was concerned with the life of the upper classes in Roman society, and find ourselves moving now in a world that has, if not yet become Christianised, yet has become profoundly modified in its habits of thought, and even in its moral tone, by the influence of Christianity. Between the letters of Symmachus, the pagan gentleman, and those of Sidonius, the Christian bishop, one would expect to find a great gulf fixed. There is no gulf at all; Sidonius, the Christian gentleman, bridges it over, and by the time that Sidonius has taken his place as the bishop of his diocese, and begins to write letters to other bishops and to the Pope and the clergy round him, we feel that we have stepped with him into the Christian world, and are not surprised to find that in this valuable correspondence we are brought face to face with that not always very edifying form of composition, to wit, religious letter-writing.

Here I am touching upon a branch of our subject which requires such very delicate handling that I feel I had better pass it by with a very few words. This, however, must be said, that religious letters were things unknown till the Gospel made its way in the world. Not till the tendency had been at work to a very dangerous extent whereby people were urged to aim at being Christians first and men and women afterwards—not till unanimity in opinion on matters of faith had become the idol which all professing Christians were taught to bow down to, and till a wave of fierce and intolerant asceticism had swept over the Christian world, and men and women had been taught the duty of self-examination and self-contemplation to an extent which made their own dreams and moods and emotional condition appear

<sup>3</sup> Lib. II. 2.



to them the only realities, and God's beautiful world that with its glories was appealing to them as every other was getting to seem the only dreariness—not till then did people begin to write religious letters, detailing their own experiences, telling of their own or others' visions, or temptations, or ecstasies; and at the best occupied with discussions on the interpretation of sacred Scripture, or the writer's views on theology, the beatific vision, counsels of perfection, and those tempestuous emotional paroxysms which are called conflicts of the soul.

I am not at all sure that such letters as these when they abound (as they have abounded at times) indicate that religion is in a flourishing condition in the Church, or in a healthy condition for the individual. But with such letters I feel that it would be unwise to meddle now. The fourth century saw the beginning of what may be called religious letter-writing. The three largest collections of these letters are those of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Basil. St. Augustine's letters can really hardly be called letters at all; they are for the most part treatises on the interpretation of sacred Scripture, or on theological or philosophical questions. The human element, and even the moral element, is conspicuously absent. I can think of only a single instance in all this collection of 263 epistles which I could describe as a graceful or affecting letter; I mean that one in which the writer accepts the present of a tunic which a young lady had prayed him as a special favour to wear. Sapidia—that was her name—had made the tunic for her brother with her own hand. Her brother had died—suddenly, we may infer: would Augustine wear the tunic as a memento of the dear lost one, as a token of regard and confidence from the sorrowing sister? Augustine writes that he was actually wearing the tunic at the moment that he was replying to the letter of the poor girl.

In the letters of St. Jerome, which number one with another just 150, we have some valuable notices of the religious life of the time, and we get a most curious impression of the awfully high pressure at which devout people were living at the close of the fourth century. So far St. Jerome's letters are invaluable, but there is an unreality about them. I do not mean insincerity. The men and women are not men and women, but creatures who are trying to be something else, and who believe themselves to be something else. Jerome's letters are, with, I think, a single exception, eminently and glaringly unpractical. Jerome himself is up in a balloon, and he seems to assume that everybody else is, or ought to be, or wishes to be, or is trying to be up in a balloon too. The single exception (which, however, you must take for what it is worth) is the letter to *Lucia*, in which he gives advice on the education of a young lady whose mother was very anxious to bring her up religiously. The rules are almost amusing. The girl is not to mince her words as the

fashion is; she is not to paint; not to have her ears bored; not to dye her hair red; not to dine with her parents lest she should learn to be greedy; not to allow any young gentleman with curly hair to smile at her; she is to learn to spin, and she is by no means to learn dancing or fancy work.

I think we have met with this kind of advice in more modern times than St. Jerome's, but a letter like this is noteworthy because it shows us how there is really nothing new under the sun; and this, perhaps, is one of the most useful lessons which familiar letters read us—they hold the mirror not up to nature, but they hold it up to society, and remind us that the manners of one age are not so very different from those of another.

St. Basil's letters are very much less known than those of his two great contemporaries, but they are far more real, genuine, human, and interesting than those of Augustine and Jerome. Basil's letters have a wide range of subjects, and his correspondents were people of all ranks and classes and opinions—pagan philosophers and professors; governors of provinces, ladies in distress, rogues who had tried to take him in, and of course a host of bishops and clergy. There are going on for four hundred of St. Basil's letters which have come down to us, and therefore they must have been very popular once. Certainly nobody reads them now. Yet as letters—as natural, graceful, gentlemanly letters—they are incomparably superior to those of Augustine or Jerome—*these* are always dreadfully grim. But Basil can laugh and can be playful—witness his letter to the Governor of Cappadocia, who had cured himself of an illness by dieting himself on pickled cabbage. 'My dear sir,' says Basil, 'I am delighted at the news. I never believed in cabbage before, still less in pickled cabbage; but now I shall praise it as something superior to the lotus that Homer talks of—yea, not inferior to the very ambrosia that served as the food of the gods!' The Governor answered that letter very briefly, and his answer has been preserved. 'My right rev. brother,' says the Governor, 'you are right, there's nothing like pickled cabbage! Twice to cabbage kills—so the saying has it. I find many times to cabbage cures. Come and try. Dine with me to-morrow on pickled cabbage—that and nothing more!' I think the Governor had the Bishop there. I suppose he felt compelled to go, but I can't be quite sure. Think of a saint solemnly dining on pickled cabbage!

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that after St. Basil's time, after St. Augustine's time, the art of writing letters in an easy, familiar, frank, and unconstrained way died out for more than a thousand years. I do not mean that no letters have come down to us; they swarm in mediæval literature; the eleventh and twelfth centuries are especially rich in *Epistles*, for that is a better name for the minsters which the prominent personages of those centuries

signed. But these epistles have all the appearance of being made by machinery. To begin with, they are almost always written by men in office, either in the State or the Church, by bishops or archdeacons, or kings or nobles, or abbots or priors. One never hears the prattle of a child, or the sob of the widow, or the laughter of a friend. The letter-writers never unbend. Even in St. Bernard's letters we hear little about common affairs. I remember one of them in which St. Bernard, being away from Clairvaux, and either at Rome or on his way to Rome, gets tidings that a certain landed proprietor in the neighbourhood had swooped down upon a herd of swine which belonged to St. Bernard and his monks. The letter is a short one, and it bluntly tells the offending marauder that on the receipt of this letter he shall straightway send back the pigs without an hour's delay. 'If not,' says St. Bernard, 'I will beyond a doubt excommunicate thee for thine evil doings.' It was no light offence to drive off the pigs of a holy abbot! But the point is that the abbot was writing and not the man, and it is so, as far as I have observed, through all the correspondence of these ages. The people whose letters were thought worth preserving were all *personages*, they are players in the drama of their time, and they all have their stage dresses on—nay, they have all broken with anything like the family life and the sympathies and affections which flourish round the domestic hearth. The official life has swallowed up the personal.

If you ask how and why this was, I should be disposed to assign more than one cause for the phenomenon. But certainly the most powerful and most crushing influence which produced this effect was that which was furnished by the almost universal intolerance of anything that bordered on freedom of thought and freedom of speech during the long period to which I have referred. Do not commit the mistake of assuming that this intolerance was only in matters of theology. It was in everything. The bitterest and narrowest intolerance that ever was displayed was not greater in the domain of theology proper than in the domain of philosophy. Abelard was no ecclesiastic, and the party strifes between Nominalists and Realists had only a remote bearing upon religious belief. When Vacarius, the greatest lawyer of the twelfth century, began to lecture at Oxford, and was gathering crowds round him in his lecture-room, the king, Stephen, drove him away from England because he would have no new-fangled science of law. Heresy as late as the fourteenth century did not mean only theological heresy, it meant any novelty in physical science, politics, law, even art. For a thousand years people were afraid of expressing their real sentiments, they were afraid of one another, orthodoxy was the one thing needful, and any revolt from the tyranny of the dominant authorities was visited upon the rebel with no sparing hand. How could people write freely as

stand to stand with a better round their necks? It was not till the time of the Renaissance that men began to unbosom themselves again. In speaking thus I must be understood to speak with special reference to England and Englishmen, for the intellectual awakening of Italy in the fourteenth century had characteristics peculiar to itself, and the letters of Petrarch are wholly unlike anything which we have to produce in our literature of the same age.

But when the fifteenth century dawns, then we come upon what, I think, may fairly be called the incomparable collection which goes by the name of the Paston letters, and which, I think, stands quite alone in literature as an assemblage of the private letters addressed by members of a family of distinction to one another during a period of eighty-seven years, and which includes more than a thousand letters, the earliest of the date of 1422, the latest written in 1509. The minuteness of detail, the naturalness, the outspokenness of this correspondence, the way in which by its help we are plunged into the family life and social habits and political schemes and conflicts of this period of our history, are so wonderful and so thoroughly unreserved that an attempt was made about twenty years ago by the late Mr. Herman Merivale to show that they were and must be a forgery. The attempt was triumphantly scattered to the winds. Mr. Merivale was smitten hip and thigh, the original letters were actually produced, and are now deposited in the National Archives. We are not likely to hear any further doubts of their genuineness.

One of the arguments that Mr. Merivale brought forward to prove his point was that, on a comparison of these compositions with the published works of the time, and especially with what might be called the professional English of the bookmakers, the Paston letters were incomparably more simple and *modern* in their language, incomparably more intelligible and readable than the books were. The fact is undeniable, and it is a very significant fact too. Familiar letters, if they are not lucid and unaffected in style, if they are pretensions and stilted, are worthless. Fine writing is bad enough anywhere; it is detestable in a letter. If a man is paid by the page for his writing, and has to live by it, we may pity him for his hard fate; and if he spins off his periods with a view to covering so much space in a given time, it is partly his fault and partly the fault of his unhappy circumstances; but if a man writes pages upon pages of commonplace in a bombastic and inflated style to a relation or a friend it is all his fault. He at any rate might have let it alone.

When we come to the sixteenth century we come to a very curious condition of affairs. As far as the quantity of letters is concerned, the sixteenth century has perhaps the largest assemblage of letters to produce of any period in English history. The letters and papers (for the most part letters in form) of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which have already been calendared, count by

hundreds of thousands. The Cecil correspondence preserved at Hatfield, and which extends from the accession of Edward the Sixth to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is a fathomless ocean of letters. We are told that during all those fifty years over which the Cecil correspondence extends scarcely a day passes which does not produce one or more letters connected with passing events. The Cecil correspondence is said to contain upwards of 30,000 documents, only a portion of which is bound up in 210 huge volumes. Yet it is remarkable that in all this prodigious assemblage of letters which the sixteenth century could produce, the really hearty, friendly letters are rarities. The men are all dressed in buckram, the women are all playing a part; there is no free, unrestrained intercourse.

When James the First came to the throne English society seemed to recover from the constraint which had oppressed it so long, and then everybody began to write letters—their name is legion. Everybody began to write letters then, and everybody regarded letter-writing as a graceful accomplishment by which he might hope to gain friends or improve his prospects, or even make money; it was like playing the violin. Who could tell whether a career might not be open to the professional? For the *newsletters* of the seventeenth century did the work of the newspapers now, and the quidnuncs of the time bought and sold the last piece of intelligence, which straightway was committed to paper and circulated sometimes widely, sometimes among the privileged few. And this, too, produced its effect upon the familiar intercourse which was carried on by correspondence. The letter-writers were writing for an outside public, and how large that public might grow to be no one could say. When the Commonwealth comes, and everybody is suspicious of his nextdoor neighbour, as he had been in the century before, it is noticeable that there is a great dearth of such letters as we should most desire to meet with—so great a dearth, indeed, that we are very imperfectly acquainted with the general tone of sentiment among even the middle and upper classes, and their real opinions and secret hopes and fears and wishes under the Protectorate. It is extremely significant that in those periods of our history, when Englishmen were most held down by the tyranny of their rulers, when their lives and liberties were most insecure, when the nation was cowering in the most abject panic—I mean under the terror of Henry the Eighth, under the oligarchy which ruled in the name of Edward the Sixth, and under the iron heel of Cromwell—we have almost nothing that can be called familiar and friendly letters. In times of horror and fear and suspicion, and when no man can trust his neighbour or kinsman, men and women dare not put pen to paper; then the least said is soonest mended.

It is only when the reign of Queen Anne had come to an end that English letter-writing revived. Pope and Bolingbroke wrote for fame, Grey and Horace Walpole wrote for love. I think only

one man that ever put pen to paper has surpassed Horace Walpole as a letter-writer. Grey and he were at Cambridge together, and through life they were always friends and correspondents. It is impossible now to do much more than mention the names of these accomplished men. Grey's own letters are very finished compositions—not because he laboured at them, they never smell of the lamp; I should be surprised to hear that he had ever re-written a letter in his life—but Grey had all the fastidiousness and precision of style which come of severe scholarly training and correct scholarly taste, and it is conceivable that if his education had been other than it was, he might have proved only an ordinary correspondent. I sometimes think that if Cowper had been sent to the University, instead of to an attorney's office, he might have been, and would have been, more like Grey than any one else. But Horace Walpole would have been Horace Walpole whatever his training had been. His letters came from him by a spontaneity that can never be attained. He was born a writer of letters, and if he had been shut up in a desert island like Robinson Crusoe he would have written letters all the same, and kept them till some ship arrived which should carry them to their destination. The good-humour, the gaiety, the delicate satire, the exquisitely felicitous turns of expression, the sly hits here and the shrewd comments there, the inimitable way in which he tells a story, the absence of that scowling detraction and venomous spite which make some of Pope's letters so distasteful—all this and a great deal more make those nine volumes of Horace Walpole's correspondence the delightful treasure-house they are. I never take down a volume of Horace Walpole's letters without reading more than I intended, without thinking and sometimes saying to myself, Why will people write any more books? Surely we have enough already!

I have ventured to say that one letter-writer has surpassed even Horace Walpole, but I feel inclined to withdraw my words. Could any one surpass him? Well, if any one could or did, that one was Charles Lamb. And if he did it was because in Walpole's large correspondence there is sometimes silver mixed with the gold, and sometimes the writer's heart is not quite free from guile, nor his hands always clean. But Charles Lamb's letters are all gold, all pure gold. When he dipped his pen in the inkhorn all the gall evaporated. That unique genius seemed to be unassailable by the base passions and meaner motives which trouble common men; that gentle spirit did not seem to know what the feeling of jealousy or hatred or spite or envy meant. Only once that I remember was he known to be angry, but then more grievously hurt and troubled than wroth. It was when Southey had quite unintentionally laid bare an old and dreadful wound.

No man can be the worse for reading Walpole's letters, but any man—man or boy or girl will be the better—yes, very greatly

the better—for reading Charles Lamb's letters, every word of them!

Take the following specimen. It is one of that inimitable collection of letters addressed to his friend Manning, and I give it as an instance of the same kind of literary composition of which I have already instanced the ghost story in Pliny's correspondence, when I said that only in a letter could such a story be told; for as there are some subjects which are best dealt with by a poet, and some by a mathematician, and some by an historian, and some by a philosopher, so there are some which only admit of being handled by a letter-writer who has no higher aim than to delight or amuse or interest his friend, and to carry on a genial and light-hearted talk with him on paper when he can no longer talk with him by word of mouth. His aim is to provoke him to laughter or playful retort, to engage with him in a game of skill and repartee, when neither side desires to be too sombre, where both are playing for love, and each is the merrier for all the surprises and tricks and passages with the foils that occur as the game goes on. Take, I say, the following as a specimen:—

DEAR MANNING, . . . I wish you had made London in your way. There is an exhibition quite uncommon in Europe, which could not have escaped *your genius*—a live rattlesnake, ten feet in length, and the thickness of a big leg. I went to see it last night by candlelight. We were ushered into a room very little bigger than ours at Pentonville. A man and woman and four boys live in this room, joint tenants with nine snakes, most of them such as no remedy has been discovered for their bite. We walked into the middle, which is formed by a half-moon of wired boxes, all mansions of *snakes*—whip-snakes, thunder-snakes, pig-nose snakes, American vipers, and *this monster*. He lies curled up in folds; and immediately a stranger enters (for he is used to the family, and sees them play at cards) he set up a rattle like a watchman's in London, or near as loud, and reared up a head from the midst of these folds like a toad, and shook his head, and showed every sign a snake can show of irritation. I had the foolish curiosity to strike the wires with my finger, and the devil flew at me with his toad-mouth wide open: the inside of his mouth is quite white. I had got my finger away, nor could he well have bit me with his big mouth, which would have been certain death in five minutes. But it frightened me so much that I did not recover my voice for a minute's space. I forgot, in my fear, that he was secured. You would have forgot too, for 'tis incredible how such a monster can be confined in small gauzy-looking wires. I dreamed of snakes in the night. I wish to heaven you could see it. He absolutely swelled with passion to the bigness of a large thigh. I could not retreat without infringing on another box, and just behind a little devil, not an inch from my back, had got his nose out, with some difficulty and pain, quite through the bars! He was soon taught better manners. All the snakes were curious, and objects of terror; but this monster, like Aaron's serpent, swallowed up the impression of the rest. He opened his cursed mouth, when he made at me, as wide as his head was broad. I hallooed out quite loud, and felt pains all over my body with the fright.

Yours sincerely,

PHILO-SHAKE, C. L.

I have been told that when I was a child Charles Lamb once patted me on the head. (Surely the hair will never cease to grow

on that particular spot ! ) But what a reserve of joy he would have bestowed upon me if he had ever written me a letter ! A man with a letter of Charles Lamb's in his breast coat-pocket addressed to his very self would be as rich as one who owns a genuine Hobbema.

We have come to our own time at last, after skimming on the surface of the centuries. We have got back to the Postmaster-General from whom we started. Bless the good man and all that belong to him ! We could not do without him now, and we owe him more than we know. But is it true that with the increase of quantity there is coming a deterioration in the quality of our letters ? Never believe it ! First-rate quality in any commodity—material or mental, moral or spiritual—is not to be had for the asking. But pleasant, cheery, happy letters, such letters as—like the quality of mercy—are twice blest ; courteous, graceful letters, such as win young people friends, and go far to keep such friends in good humour ; hearty, affectionate letters, such as strike the chords of love and awaken mysterious tremors in response ; letters that tend to keep us at our best and to protect us from sinking down to our worst—these any one may write who is not too indolent to take trouble and not possessed by the delusion that accomplishments come by nature as spots do upon the leopard's hide.

Young men and maidens ! When I began to write this paper I started with the most audacious purpose in my mind. I actually intended to offer you some valuable advice on the subject of letter-writing, beginning with 'Firstly' and ending with 'Forty-ninthly.' Happily for my reputation, the gifted editor of this Review decidedly objected to this excessive display of practical wisdom, and even Mr. Cadaverous outdid himself by remarking, 'Sir, I am surprised at your imprudence ; no Doctor, not even a Doctor of Divinity, should give advice gratis ; did it never occur to you that a handsome fortune might be realised by setting up as a Professor of Epistolopathy and charging the usual fee ?'

The suggestion is receiving my most earnest attention, and I am not without hopes that a house in Savile Row may be vacant before next season.

AUGUSTUS JESSOP.



**BIRMINGHAM:****A STUDY FROM THE LIFE.**

When, last October, the mayors met at the Freemasons' Tavern to celebrate the jubilee of municipal reform in England, Lord Granville told them he had 'often thought it would be an interesting task to trace the similarities and dissimilarities between the corporations of our great centres of industry and the old historical municipalities of Italy;' and then he proceeded to institute a comparison, the general correctness of which will be admitted. The English municipalities, he said, were superior to the famous cities of Italy in their respect for justice, for order, for the 'general well-being' of their inhabitants. But his observations on the subject of culture seemed to imply a misconception. The English cities, he observed, 'can only for the present humbly follow in the encouragement of art and literature.' Doubtless Lord Granville meant what the Archbishop of Canterbury meant when his Grace spoke, some weeks later, on this very subject of municipalities, in the town of Birmingham, and before the famous Institute of which, in succession to James Russell Lowell, he is honorary president for the current year. The artistic achievements of the Italian cities were, he said, 'the love and despair of the ages.' If, in speaking of 'the encouragement of art and literature,' Lord Granville was thinking of its fruits in individual masterpieces, then, indeed, it is to be feared that we are not only humble followers of the Italians 'for the present,' but also for a more indefinite period than one likes to think of. But if, in speaking of the encouragement, we mean the combined effort of the community, for the sake of every member of it, then the English cities are, or will be, ahead of their superb prototypes of mediæval Italy.

I am not attempting the task suggested in Lord Granville's speech, but only intend to select a representative English town, to make a study of it from the life, and to show how this life is an expression of the social tendencies of the day. I have therefore chosen the great city which claims to be the most open and hospitable to ideas, to be regarded as the most fully developed example of the English city of the future—in a word, as the city wherein the spirit of the new time is most widely, variously, energetically assuming visible form and shape. What is the social

temperament of this Black Country community—its intellectual character, its ideal of a City? Is there any fundamental principle underlying its multiform aspirations and endeavour? In the conflict of opinions even about questions seemingly incongruous (questions about corporation stock, questions about popular culture; local questions and questions imperial) can there be discovered any line of intellectual cleavage? Avoiding abstract discussions, I wish to isolate, as it were, a fragment of the restless, many-sided life of this swiftly-changing close of the nineteenth century—a fragment of half a million souls—and to examine that.

Grote, the historian of Greece, was of opinion that the enfranchisement of the English municipalities was about as important and far-reaching a measure as the great Reform Bill itself. He thought that a mayor might become somebody. But there are distinguished politicians even who would appear to think rather meanly of mayors. 'A mayor!' was the exclamation which, in the late debate, a celebrated Irish orator—Mr. Sexton—hissed out, half articulately, between his teeth as he darted his arm daggerwise in the direction of the corner seat, where sat, quietly smiling, the 'rebel' member for Birmingham. Now the ex-mayor might have retorted (I mean mentally) that, if he thought the Eighty-five would govern Ireland as well as the mayor and his parliament of sixty-four members governed Birmingham, he would at once vote for Mr. Gladstone's Bill. But perhaps it was only in the heat of the moment that Mr. Sexton hurled forth a taunt which seemed to imply that a mayor, even of the head-quarters of British Radicalism, must be, comparatively speaking, a poor creature, and his municipal politics of little more than parochial scope and interest.

Judged by their respective utterances, the Primate is the sounder statesman of the two. He clearly recognises the fact that the delegation of great powers and responsibilities—amounting, indeed, to a very liberal kind and degree of 'home rule'—from the State to local authorities is one of the most distinctive movements of the day. The government of a town like Birmingham is, in reality, as complex, and demands as high administrative gifts, as if it were a little kingdom. From main drains to free libraries, from coal gas to the antique, whatever concerns the physical and mental well-being of her children, that is the business, the official business, of this renowned city of the Caucasus. Lord Granville's Italian cities had foreign policies of their own; and their energies were rather often expended in fighting their foreign rivals next door. In this respect, the English cities are at a disadvantage; but, making allowance for this difference, the scope of self-government of the ideal English City (such as the democratic age is bringing forth) will as far exceed that of the Italian communities, as the nineteenth-century conceptions of public duty are wider than those of the Middle Age. The distinguished

statesman—or, if Mr. Sexton prefers, the distinguished mayor—had this in his mind when he said that Birmingham wanted to keep her best men to herself—her best students, her best writers, her best surgeons and physicians, her best artists. Why should they be so very ambitious to go to London? Why should they not turn Birmingham into a London of the Midlands—a small London certainly, but unlike the mechanical conglomerate of great London—an organism with a life of its own, and a life to be proud of?

But it was not without a long and stout fight that the modern idea of the English city obtained final, definite recognition in Birmingham. Stated generally, the whole course of municipal conflict in Birmingham, from 1835 until the present day, has turned on this idea:—the Tories battling obstinately against it; the Liberals, or Radicals, as they were ordinarily called, the Democrats, as Mr. Chamberlain now calls them, fighting as obstinately for it. The contending theories of the scope of corporate government might be described as parochialism and civism (to borrow a word from Dr. Benson's Institute speech). The parochialists were of a mind with the local historian, Hutton; who, about forty years before the Municipal Acts, taunted his townsmen on their rising ambition for the pomps of a mayor, 'a white wand and a few fiddles.' 'The Birmingham folk,' wrote he, 'have generally something on the anvil besides iron.' 'A town without a charter is a town without a shackle,' he rapped out. Short sentences of this wrought-iron sort, as if chipped off by the deft blows of a Black Country hammerman, are scattered throughout his book. The reason of Hutton's hostility to the civic idea must be explained. Birmingham had always been 'a free town'—without any 'shackles' of trading guilds, or merchant guilds, or State-made guilds of any sort. In this 'unshackled' condition, Birmingham had won her great prosperity; and in it he wished her to remain. Besides, the chartered corporations of the day were anything but models of self-government.

When at last the era of municipal reform arrived, the Tories were still holding to the venerable doctrine that a local government fulfils its end when it keeps a jail and a squad of policemen. They resisted the extension of local liberties, on the ground that popular assemblages—as at ward elections—must be detrimental to the peace and security of the town. They were repeatedly urging—though the connection was not very apparent—that the charter for which the Liberals fought would injure trade. In fact, the municipal conflict was the national conflict in miniature, as if viewed through an inverted telescope; and the fundamental question common to them both was an ethical question: the question of trust or mistrust in the people; the question which underlies all the speeches in which Birmingham's most distinguished citizen, Mr. Chamberlain, has elaborated (but not very exhaustively) his programme of 'State

Socialism'—in a word, a question or theory of human nature. The special issues in dispute—State franchise, municipal franchise, control of police, the limit of local taxation—might be infinitely various and with no apparent connection; but the permanent, the fundamental issue, as above stated, was one and the same. Thus, as already said, there was a law of political cleavage, according to which it would be found that the men who would vote, say, for such prosaic measures as a city's purchase of gas and water monopoly, were the same men who would fight most earnestly for the removal of electoral restrictions, whether in State or city; and for the utmost expenditure of local funds on such a non-political object as popular culture. Such were the men who, in the years when Birmingham was just making her first advance towards the great eminence which she has since reached, took the high ground that no question was too great for the consideration of the municipality—that is, of the people, not merely in their individual, mechanical aggregate of Browns, Joneses, and Robinsons, but in their character of civic organism—that, in a word, the true English city should be a sort of 'miniature republic;' influencing, either by direct impulse or merely by removing unfair obstacles against individual development, the whole sphere of social life; yet necessarily subordinating its activities to those of the national whole, and beating with the nation's mighty life.

For the details of the struggle between the popular and anti-popular parties I must refer the reader to Mr. J. Thackray Bunce's municipal history, where it will be seen, how the Tories endeavoured to nullify the charter by preventing the newly born corporation from maintaining and controlling its own police; how Lord Melbourne became alarmed lest 'those Birmingham fellows,' as he called them, should, in their revolutionary career, reverse the Saturnian feat by swallowing their Whig parent; how all the Whig ministers of the day, including the Greys and the Russells, shared the apprehensions of the Tory Peels and the Tory Wellingtons; how consequently Whig and Tory combined to foist upon Birmingham the 'foreign police,' the 'foreign gendarmerie'—in other words, the police controlled from London—how irate Birmingham Radicals, of the type of Mr. Scholefield, M.P., declared they would sooner emigrate from Birmingham, bag and baggage, than live in a town pronounced unfit to take care of itself; how 'those Birmingham fellows' abused the 'foreign police' and the London Department almost in the same language in which the Irish orators of to-day denounce 'the Castle' and the Royal Irish Constabulary; how, after four years' fighting, the Radicals carried their point; but how even then the Town Council continued to rank as one among seven or eight co-ordinate Boards independently levying rates for their respective departments, and crossing and recrossing each other's purposes to such striking effect that one 'authority' might be seen diligently cleansing while a

second as diligently was shooting rubbish into that very slimy and oozy Bea which did duty as the Arno of the Black Country Florence; and lastly how, in 1851, the Town Council, swallowing up all the Boards, started on its career as a great corporation. I will only say of this period that the Whigs—the more ‘cautious,’ as they themselves explain, the more ‘timid,’ as others insinuate, wing of the great Liberal army—really had some reason for dreading an opening of the democratic flood-gates by the ‘Birmingham fellows.’ For, in the first place, Birmingham was the cradle of the political unions which hastened the great Reform Bill; upon which Conservative politicians fathered Chartism and all its works; and of which, it may be added, for the sake of historical connection, our Liberal federations and caucuses are the latest developments. In the second place, local politics and national politics were interfused in Birmingham to an extent and in a degree unknown before or since in any other English city.

This, then, was the first stage in the development of the civic idea. Its work, as also that of the next or transitional stage, which lasted until about 1872, lay mainly in the material sphere. But also in this first period there manifested themselves the early signs of what the future historians of the nineteenth century will recognise as the beginning of the period of popular culture in England. Manchester and Liverpool were already in this respect some years ahead of Birmingham, whose famous free library and first art gallery were not opened to the public until 1865, the latter institution, it may be remarked, being first opened on Sundays in 1872, to the great delight of the vast majority of the working population. The free library, to quote an eloquent speech at the opening ceremonial, is ‘the first fruit of a clear understanding that a great town exists to discharge the same duties to the people of that town, which a nation exists to discharge towards the people of that nation.’ The speech was a ‘note’ of a new time. Students of contemporary history will mark how the period from about 1872 has been distinguished by an awakening of popular taste, revealing itself in the establishment of free libraries, picture galleries, museums, loan exhibitions, in almost every corner of the country. This same period, moreover, is distinguished by a rapid growth of political associations. People fail to realise the significance of this popular or democratic *renaissance*, for the simple reason that they are living in the very midst of it. In the Midland city, this revival set in with full force in the third or present period of its civic development, the Chamberlain period—the period of bold experiments in self-government, of new conceptions of social duty, of new ideas on the relation of the city to the higher life of its people.

The ordinary municipal powers (which Birmingham shares in common with other great towns) have been used by her with such

splendid energy that in the few years of this third period thousands of fever-haunted human piggeries, misnamed houses, have been swept away, 1,500,000*l.* worth of land acquired in the heart of the town, and a series of magnificent streets and noble public buildings raised upon it, which have changed Birmingham from one of the ugliest to one of the finest cities in the kingdom. The purchase of the gas and water works for 4,000,000*l.* was an experiment of (unparalleled magnitude in the history of English municipalities. This transaction looked like any other commercial transaction, but it involved a social principle worth noting. It dealt the first great blow at the hoary abuse of 'consolation' prices, proceeding on the just principle that market price is the price of private property required for the good of all: a principle which Mr. Chamberlain has so earnestly enforced in his political addresses, and of which more will be heard when the Irish question is swept off the boards. Secondly, as regards the financial results of the purchase, the price of water has been reduced 30 per cent.; the reduction in the price of gas has also been very large—two hints for the future municipality of London. But in this case the meaning of 'profits' has undergone a change. 'Profits' go to the reduction of local taxation, or to the further lowering of prices, for the whole community of Birmingham is the owner. That a necessary of life should never be the monopoly of private speculators, whose first care is (naturally) for dividends, is the doctrine which Mr. Chamberlain enforced in 1874, the year of his second term of office. 'We shall get our profits indirectly,' said he, 'in the comfort of the town and the health of its inhabitants.'

But the distinctive feature—the most honourable and the most attractive feature—of this present period is the latest step in the comprehension of popular culture within the scope of municipal energy and ambition. This is the 'new departure' in the history of English cities. English municipalities have expended public money on free libraries and picture galleries; but the beautiful building nearly opposite the Birmingham new Art Gallery is the first *municipal* school of art in the British Isles. The new school and its branches now give instruction to 2,000 pupils. That the city cares as much for the culture of her people as for the sweeping of her streets is the boast of every Birmingham man, from the chief magistrate to the humblest master craftsman bending over his 'factored' work in his own garret. And lastly, in order that the community might have the freest possible scope for its energies, there came into force in 1884 the Consolidation Act, one of the chief effects of which was the removal of the limit of the public rate for libraries, museums, galleries, and the Art School; and, in a word, the extension of borrowing powers indefinitely.

And so we have travelled a long way beyond the jail-and-squad-of-constables stage in the evolution of an English City. It would

astonish the old historiographer if, revisiting the earth, he could see the Birmingham house of parliament, with a 'strangers' gallery' more liberal in space than that of St. Stephen's; and learn how its members regard a seat in it as a highest distinction; if he were made to understand that the lands, the parks, the gardens, the public works, the great buildings, the splendid libraries and galleries, which the sixty-four members administered, are the property of the half-million people; and to realise the strong personal interest, as of ownership, which every man in the half-million feels in the institutions of his town. The keen, restless intelligence of the Birmingham people—their curiosity, in the fine sense of the word—their hospitality to ideas, their pride in their city (with its significant motto of *Forward*), their idea of the city as a power to which they stand in filial relationship—this it is which so forcibly strikes a stranger as soon as he begins to know them at first hand.

I must now address myself to the question, How far does all this official activity—all this organisation—represent the ideas and the aspirations of the people? Is it not possible that a dead weight of popular indifference may underlie it? Well, let the people answer for themselves. As already explained, the Consolidation Act contained proposals for the abolition of the law which restricted the 'popular culture' rate, as it may be called, to one penny in the pound. But the task of introducing order into the confusion of the already existing municipal Acts was so pressing that many even among the warmest advocates of free libraries and galleries, dreading the effect of the prospect of increased rates, were for omitting the proposals. These gentlemen were backed by a considerable body of the rate-payers. But while the city fathers were disputing, out the voters turned in their thousands at the ward elections, and by overwhelming majorities approved of the application to Parliament, 'just for the reason,' as a leading citizen of Birmingham afterwards said to me, 'that our Bill increased the free library rate.'

This success was principally due to the working-men voters. It was a curious commentary on the first stingy measure introduced by Mr. Ewart, more than a generation before, for 'the establishment of free libraries at municipal expense, providing that the rate should not exceed a halfpenny' in the pound, with the further precaution, that, before a community could levy its own halfpenny two-thirds of the ratepayers must vote for it; that if they did get their halfpenny they could only spend it on house room, not a farthing on books; and that if they did not get it they must wait two years before making a second application.

'There is one thing,' said another eminent citizen—one of the most enlightened and successful servants of the great community for which he toils—'there is one thing which neither the Council nor the people will stand, and that is extravagance: they will sooner

spend fifty pounds than fifty farthings to get a thing done if that be the only way to get it *well* done.' After a tolerably minute investigation on this point (as well as on many others) I have come to the conclusion that in this rational, this true notion of 'expense' the councillors reflect the opinion of the vast majority of the Birmingham population.

To turn for a further illustration to a department which, though not under the direct control of the Town Council, is yet representative—the School Board—I was greatly struck with a remark which I frequently heard from working men no less than from the Board officials: 'We consider the child first.' An expedition among the thirty-six Board schools—so many of which are models of taste and comfort—will convince any one that the Birmingham people are as good as their word. The architecture and the adornment of some of these schools are in themselves an education to their pupils. The Birmingham ideal is that the schools, where the young generation is trained for its life's work when the old generation is dead and gone, shall be as beautiful as the common purse can afford.

In the free art gallery one's attention is speedily attracted by many and eloquent signs of what I have been insisting upon throughout this article—the idea, the sentiment of the City. Presented to the town 'by five thousand workmen, in appreciation of the earnest and able manner in which he has promoted measures tending to the intellectual and material advancement of the population, during a long and honourable connection with the municipality of Birmingham'—this is the inscription on the portrait of an ex-chairman of the Free Libraries Committee of the Birmingham Council—the three-acres-and-a-cow statesman, Mr. Jesse Collings. Had this been the gift of five rich aldermen, who would not 'miss' their guineas, one might perhaps pass it by without much remark; but the 'five thousand workmen' contributing their pennies, that is the point of it. And there is another point, perhaps; we may, or may not, approve of Mr. Jesse Collings (and his quadruped), but that is beside the present question—What is the intellectual and moral temperament of this Birmingham democracy? what its attitude towards 'the things of the mind'? what kind of public service does it most appreciate, whether the servant be Mr. Collings or Mr. X.?

The foregoing is only one example, which I have taken at random, from a great number of precisely similar memorials in honour of citizens who have done good service to the town, or of free gifts from other citizens to enrich the common collection. The portrait of John Henry Newman—Birmingham's most illustrious inhabitant—is presented by a body of subscribers 'to the Corporation.' Among other names is that of George Dawson, whose portrait is in refreshing contrast to his statue. But, to pass over this part of my subject, there is the splendid collection of the paintings of Cox—



himself a Birmingham man—presented to the town by Mr. J. H. Nettlefold.

But there could hardly be a more creditable record of the popular taste of which I am speaking than the tablet in the great library which sets forth how the building was destroyed by fire in 1879, how it was reopened in 1882 by Mr. Bright and the chief magistrate, and how a sum of 14,000*l.*, a considerable proportion of it from the artisans, was 'forthwith subscribed' for the purchase of books. The restoration of the Shakespeare section, with its collection of about 7,000 volumes in every literary language of the world, some of them extremely rare and valuable, is in itself no mean triumph for the Birmingham people. The exquisitely designed Shakespeare room is a veritable shrine, in which, among visitors less illustrious, the aged recluse of St. Mary's Oratory has sometimes been seen lingering, as if oblivious of the vast tomes of the *Acta Sanctorum* close by. One cannot but admire the steady persistence with which the city has been repairing the losses of the great fire. I see that in some details about the government of Birmingham, which Mr. Chamberlain has been communicating for publication in the United States, the reference library alone is said to contain about 80,000 volumes; but in 1882 the number was only about 50,000. Moreover the volumes in the seven or eight branch libraries number some 60,000 more. So that at the present time the Library Committee of the Town Council is responsible for the keeping of about 140,000 volumes, the property of the community. The total issue of books 'by the corporation' (to quote Mr. Chamberlain's expression) exceeds a million a year. Not only are the books there, but some of the most highly educated citizens—not excluding M.P.'s of the borough—have fallen on the happy device of giving lectures on the contents of the library: one lecturer choosing the books on law; a second the editions, commentaries, history, &c., of the poems and dramas of Shakespeare; a third taking for his subject the literature of Greece and Rome; a fourth the botanical books; a fifth art works, and so on. These lectures, reprinted in pamphlet form at a penny each, have a large circulation and form an invaluable guide to the working men who read in, or borrow books from, the library.

The perfect freedom of these institutions! As regards access to the famous central library—one of the most magnificent of the kind in existence—perhaps the most formidable restriction is contained in the laconic rule that 'readers giving a false name and address will be held responsible for the consequences.' Wherever you hail from, whoever you are, and whatever you are—provided you be sober, not too untidy—the whole treasures of the place, from Tupper to Aristophanes, from the Queen's magnificent present (Lepsius, price about 120*l.*) to a file of *Punch*, are at your disposal. When I saw how

promptly my volumes were brought to me I could not help reflecting on the somewhat leisurely processes of the British Museum. 'One of my most distinguished readers,' says the chief librarian, 'is the little boy whom you may have just seen outside; he blackens boots, or looks after the cabmen's horses, or does something of the sort; however in he comes, here in his leisure moments gets his books, takes his arm-chair, and becomes deeply absorbed.' 'With all this enormous circulation of books among people of whom you cannot know much more than the names and addresses,' I asked, 'do you have many lost or damaged?' 'The instances,' was the reply, 'are so very few that they are not worth mentioning.' Let us cross the square and enter the new Museum galleries with their fine collection of paintings and sculptures, and bronzes, vases, jewelled enamels, textiles, embroideries, carvings, arms, gems, antiquities of every age and of every clime from Japan to Britain. Not a single accident occurred even on the Sunday after the inaugural ceremony by the Prince of Wales last November, on which day the street was blocked with a crowd eager to get in, and when even what looked like the 'rough' element was not inconspicuous among the sightseers. The curator, Mr. Whitworth Wallis, of South Kensington, tells me how among his more unpolished visitors he has noticed a gradual improvement in manners and personal appearance, as if they were influenced by the example of the others whom they met there, on equal terms for the moment, or perhaps by their awakening sense of beauty. Not the least pleasant proof of the success of this great municipal experiment is the regular resort to the spot of numbers of artisans, who may be seen patiently examining the specimens of artistic craftsmanship, making note of them, and perhaps instituting silent comparisons between their style and that of certain classes of their own workmanship.

I may here remark that the Birmingham Art Gallery possesses great advantages over the Liverpool gallery, superb even as this is. The Liverpool institution is too exclusively a collection of paintings. The Birmingham institution preaches as plainly as may be the supreme value of artistic treatment in all handicrafts, for which reason it is intended to embrace everything from a button to a Burne-Jones.

On the other hand Liverpool can give a useful hint to Birmingham: as, for example, in her collection of topographical details, in the form of drawings of the old seaport, which will be of the highest value to historical students. But these great provincial capitals are not too proud to learn from one another; and shortly after the opening of the Birmingham gallery a deputation of the Nottingham town council visited the town to take note of its public institutions. From the opening day until the present date—a period of nearly eight months—the Birmingham Art Gallery and Museum has been

visited by upwards of 800,000 persons. This attendance far exceeds that of any other institution of the kind in the kingdom. In short, the success of this magnificent popular experiment has exceeded all expectations. This is due to the determination of the City Council to turn the galleries to the utmost account for recreation and instruction; to the intelligence and the enthusiasm with which the Curator has addressed himself to his enviable task; and in no small degree to the revolt against the Sabbatarian superstition. At the present moment the picture galleries are being furnished with the electric light (how slow we are in London!).

Sixpenny, and penny, catalogues, containing short biographies of artists, comments on paintings, descriptions and historical sketches of the processes in enamel work, pottery, decorative iron work, &c. &c., are bought on the spot by the ten thousand. The Birmingham people do not commit the mistake of turning their town and country visitors loose into this splendid collection without a guide to the appreciation of what they have come to look at. As already said, the entrance is free. But to the Nottingham museum, the beautiful building which, from the top of its hill, overlooks the lovely valley of the Trent, admission is free on Tuesdays only: sixpence is charged on Fridays, and a penny on each of the remaining days of the week.

Doubtless it is but natural that the Birmingham museum should be a popular institution in a community which for variety of handicraft is a long way ahead of all other towns. There are upwards of five hundred classified manufactures, which, counting their respective branches, are supposed to embrace 2,500 or more different sorts of occupation. The Birmingham masters and artisans will frankly admit to you that a great deal of the produce is 'rubbish.' They admit the imputation about 'Brummagem ware;' but having done so, they will stoutly argue that the real culprit is the barbarous consumer, that if they produce the very worst stuff, *they also produce the best*, and that large quantities of the finest and costliest articles sold under other local designations in London and all over the world are the 'factored' work of Birmingham craftsmen. I inquired of one of my master-worker acquaintances whether it was true that, besides making glass heads, and cheap (and very dangerous) rifles for the more unsophisticated races of mankind, the Birmingham artists exported copper gods to the heathen of her Majesty's Indian dominions, and then sent out missionaries, on comfortable salaries, to disestablish and disendow them. The charge was repudiated.

I have here touched upon a chapter of what might be called the natural history of the Birmingham people; and I can only touch upon it. Their quick intelligence, their openness to ideas, their liberalism, are partly ascribed, by some authorities, to this very variety of occupation; to the ancient town's freedom from the

'shackle' of a guild, owing to which freedom, as also to its position in the centre of England, it became a favourite place of resort for enterprising people (and perhaps for waifs and strays) from other parts of the country. Whatever may be the bearing of this theory of immigration upon the intelligence and the liberalism of the town, it is certain enough that a surprisingly large number of Birmingham's most distinguished citizens are not Birmingham men at all. Mr. Chamberlain, for example, is 'only a Londoner;' Hutton, who wrote the history of his beloved Birmingham, was an immigrant. 'My compassionate nurse,' he calls the town of his adoption: 'I was hungry and she fed me, thirsty and she gave me drink, a stranger and she took me in.' The words express the spirit in which, generations after, men who, like himself, were poor when they began their career in Birmingham and rich when they ended it, proved their affection and gratitude to the city by endowing her with noble institutions and making her the inheritor of their wealth.

If an inquirer into the distinctive characters of English cities were to ask me for some hints about operations in the Midland capital, I should say that he could not do better than begin by making friends with that part of it which extends square-wise round its noble Town Hall; and includes, almost in one continuous series of great buildings, the Institute, the Free Library, the Free Gallery and Museum, the Council House, the Mason College, and the Municipal School of Art. It is an eloquent sermon, in stone, on the temper of unofficial Birmingham, her ambition as a corporate unity, and her citizens' ideas of social obligation to the community wherein they have prospered. The Mason College—that 'noble gift,' as Professor Huxley called it in his address on modern culture—cost 170,000 of the million pounds which, according to Mr. Chamberlain's estimate of two or three months ago, represent the value of the parks, the gardens, the public institutions, the scholarships, the works of art, with which in the short space of twenty years the Masons, the Rylands, the Tangyes, the Nettlefolds, the Adderleys, the Calthorpes, the Middlemores, the Chamberlains, the Rattrays, and others have enriched and adorned their city.

Other English towns can boast of individual buildings which equal, or even surpass, the best in the Midland capital. The museum of Nottingham is unique. The Town Hall of Manchester is a monument of which the greatest of cities might be proud. In some respects—architectural and others—the library and gallery which Liverpool owes to two of her most illustrious citizens, surpass the corresponding institutions of Birmingham. But nowhere in England are gathered together such varieties of intellectual wealth, so many evidences of a noble public spirit, as in that small space round the Town Hall of Birmingham. There is a certain indefinable air of refinement, and of a homely, familiar, hospitable Northern welcome, about this favoured

spot. Moreover, the Liverpool galleries, the London Palaces of Delight (which want more money) are wholly, or nearly so, the results of private benevolence; but though private benevolence has done so much for Birmingham, it is the spontaneous initiative of the community as a whole which gives it its great distinction among English cities.

Speaking about the Mason endowment, Mr. Max Müller makes the noteworthy observation that what he admires most in its statutes is 'its spirit of faith in the future.' It was feared lest the teaching of the College should be confined to what Mr. Goschen, in one of his addresses on modern culture, calls 'saleable knowledge'—to metallurgy, practical mechanics, *technique*, Davy lamps, coal mining, and, generally speaking, to—if I may venture the expression—the chemistry of the Black Country. The founder, however, left the decision of this important question to his townsmen, and the result is that the literatures and philosophies of Greece and of Rome divide with modern science and modern languages the sphere of college studies. 'Politics' and 'theology'—denominationalism, in whatever form, educational or any other—are the only subjects against which the College shuts its doors. Here we have the stern Puritanism of old Birmingham, passing into modern nonconformity (a most potent influence in the Midland city), and this milder form of the old spirit, mellowing at last into nineteenth-century humanism.

Round this new seat of modern culture are slowly grouping themselves into an interconnected living whole all the educational institutions of the place, from the elementary Board school upwards. I will deal with only one of them—the Institute, the honorary presidency of which is regarded as being almost as great a distinction as the rectorship of a Scotch University. Indeed the Institute is looked to by some people as the real nucleus of the future University of the Midlands: but whatever its destined position may be, it is a wonderful microcosm of that variety of pursuit distinctive of the big Birmingham outside which Burke christened 'the toy shop of Europe.' If on some night of the session one could see through the floors and walls of its endless lecture rooms and laboratories a very extraordinary spectacle would meet the gaze—in one room an audience listening to a lecture on the development of the English novel; on the other side of the partition a crowd of students taking notes of an address on architectural styles; in a group of other rooms the Birmingham artisan, in his hosts, all eyes and ears, taking in his pennyworth of magneto-electricity, or of physiology, or of hygiene, or of mixed mathematics; down below, at the bottom of a long whirligig of stairs, in the metallurgical department, young men bending over furnaces where the solid iron of the Black Country melts like rain; and far away over their heads 200 small Paganinis at their pennyworth of fiddling, following with simultaneous bow-sweep their

conductor's movements on a violin diagram on a blackboard. When I came upon them (to my amazement, I must confess) they were playing 'God Save the Queen,' and playing it very well. This experiment in juvenile performance was started two or three years ago, and has been, I am assured, a success, in spite of the jocular legend that the innovator's friends and admirers sent him by postal delivery an occasional box of cotton wool. The class, in short, is but a recent manifestation of that love for music which no one who visits the provinces will fail to recognise as one of the most remarkable characteristics of the awakening of national taste and refinement.

Perhaps to some reposeful temperaments there may seem to be too much of intensity—of high-pressure energy—in all these multi-form pursuits. But, however this may be, the energy is Birmingham's 'all over.' As for the penny lecture system, it is, without doubt, one which should be adopted by Sir Edmund Hay Currie and his friends for their 'Palace of Delight'—the 'People's University' of recreation and culture—in the East End of London. The introduction of the penny system in the Midland Institute was immediately followed by a large increase in the number of working-men pupils.

The lesson which Birmingham and her sister cities—Newcastle, Leeds, Sheffield, Nottingham, Bristol, Manchester, Liverpool—teach is this: that the greater the facilities the people have for self-culture the more eagerly and gratefully will they take advantage of them. In Birmingham even the republished addresses on popular subjects are sold every season literally by the hundred thousand. Some interesting facts on these points could be given by the professors and lecturers, who in their overcrowded rooms repeat the same address to different audiences of workmen from the same factories and workshops.

The great characteristic of this manysided popular movement is its spontaneity. As the Primate said in his Institute speech, 'nothing but an interior agency could have done all that has been done in Birmingham, an agency in which every single man has an interest.' But these interior agencies are also initiating energies, and it is remarkable how they are directed to serve the one end of public good—how, in other words, even the unofficial agencies of local philanthropy are harmonised with the official, corporate work of the community. To descend to the very nadir of social existence in the Midland capital, I would indicate as an illustration of this harmony, the unofficial co-operation of the Halfpenny Dinner Society with the School Board. I say that the 'father' of the halfpenny dinner movement (not only in Birmingham, but in England), Mr. France, of Moseley, and his associates, whose daily 'delivery' at the public elementary schools is now as regular an institution in Birmingham as the cabinet on wheels which accompanies the science head master on his rounds, accomplish more of the work of practical Christianity

in a day than certain other fathers of the cities of the ages of faith got through in a month.

The light which the operations of agencies of this description throw on the lives, the needs, the characters of people of the lower class will prove inestimably valuable in the times of social legislation which are close at hand. I have a striking example of this in a mass of MS. which has been compiled for me by the kind direction of the secretary to the School Board, and which might be called a Domesday Book of the miseries—and the heroisms—of the poor. No one acquainted with the facts accumulated by the officers of the department will be at a loss to foresee how the Birmingham capital will cast its solid vote on the coming question of Free Education. This is one of the advantages of studying a community from the life.

And now, to end this portion of my subject, I will ask the reader to accompany me, in imagination, to a popular 'At Home'—first of Old Birmingham, and then of Young Birmingham, *qui rem publicam sustinebit* when Old Birmingham has departed. We may as well go on a Sunday—for some reasons. In the galleries and wide area of the Town Hall at least 3,000 people, representing every class of the community—learned folk and folk not very learned, masters and workmen, and Midas rubbing shoulders with the slender-pursed half-timer—are cheering some passage in a 'lay sermon' on the English poets, or on ideal communities, or on the ugliness of workmen's dwellings, the speaker in this last case reminding them of the artist who had learned from Dr. Johnson how hell was paved, but who did not know, until he went in and out among the houses of manufacturing towns, how it was 'papered'; or, plunging deeper into geology, the preacher may be describing the 'slabs with rain-drops and ripple-marks, that tell how the tide rose and fell millions of years ago.' Said a Birmingham clergyman once about a meeting of this description, 'I envy you your congregation: there wasn't a cough among them.' He did not say whether he envied the cheering.

I can fancy how in the lay church a three-thousand-power congregation would cheer the expressive reading of some splendid passage from Job, or from 'Isaiah of Jerusalem,' and feel none the less reverence by reason of their demonstrativeness. There are in Birmingham places of worship which are as crowded on Sundays as the Town Hall during its winter and spring season; but the contrast which in this respect some others show is sufficiently startling. While we in London are still under the Sabbatarian yoke, the Birmingham people have shaken themselves free of it; and when you have had your lay sermon, or your music, in the Town Hall, you may cross the square and spend an hour or two in the Museum and Gallery.

Now for Young Birmingham. I cannot but think that many

refining impressions must be left upon his mind by the mere beauty of the noble building—the Town Hall, again—in which he so frequently appears, with grown-up Birmingham watching how he comports himself. The occasions of his appearance—in public, observe—are too numerous for notice, and I will choose that which has the advantage of being one of the very latest institutions of the city—namely, the periodical gymnastic display by the boys and girls from the public elementary schools. I have seen many a pretty sight in England and out of it, but none more charmingly pretty, of its kind, than this. In the orchestra-amphitheatre were placed hundreds of children, boys and girls, whose pure voices blended in the choral singing which is a favourite art of provincial England; and on the broad arena the brightly clad bands of athletes, still in their sunny borderland between childhood and early youth, executed, with simultaneous, exquisite precision, their rhythmic maze dances and their gymnastic feats amid the plaudits of as much of lay and official Birmingham as the galleries could accommodate. One sees that, in this assembly of the children, the City—the parental City, let us call it—exercises a civic ‘function,’ or that only a very slight formality is required to render it completely so. The president of the gathering is the chief magistrate of the city. To him, as prize distributor, are presented the victors at the running, leaping, swimming, cricket, football, and other matches of the season; and one thinks it a very natural thing when, the speech-making coming on, one of the speakers goes back to an olden time when ‘the most beautiful and gifted race’ of the world, before or since, valued games as they valued knowledge, and turned them into public festivals. At any rate there can be no doubt as to the spirit in which this great community regards its obligations to the rising race. On the other hand, their consciousness of this *public* interest in them, their direct personal association with the names, the men, the institutions which have given their town its high distinction, are likely to brace and refine the moral fibre of the young, and in after years to develop their sense of social duty.

One night last winter, on the same spot, but before a very different audience, this question of educating the rising race formed the subject of one of the most impressive debates ever heard in an English city. The audience—judge, jury, rival counsel all in one—was the far-famed Caucus. A long time might pass before such another opportunity of seeing the terrible Caucus at work, and taking note of its business capacity, its temperament, its spiritual outlook. For the question, though ‘non-political,’ was of the first importance. Fought over fourteen years since, it would now, it was hoped, be finally disposed of: for a whole week it had filled the columns of the *Post* and the *Gazette*, and been hotly argued at local meetings, exciting a kind and degree of public interest which are entirely beyond



the range of London experience. So I received permission to be present.

Punctually to the minute, 'The Two Thousand' began to arrive. The side galleries filled rapidly, and the semicircular tiers of orchestra seats, and the larger area where a few nights earlier young Birmingham celebrated his gymnastic festival. There they were, from the sixteen wards of the city: the Birmingham 'Two Thousand,' the very pick and choice of the most democratic of English communities. Among them were lawyers, doctors, clergymen, schoolmasters, merchants, manufacturers, journalists. It was a journalist, the editor of the *Post*, who opened the proceedings. But a large proportion of them appeared to be artisans, including a class which Birmingham inherited from mediæval times, the class of master-workmen. Some of them were in their working attire—as if they had been kept late. But the majority of them had managed to go home, wipe off the workshop dust, shave, brush their hair, swallow two cups of tea and a chop, button their jackets, and stride off just in time for the debate. Some talked with gestures more or less emphatic to the men next them; others skimmed over Dr. Dale's pamphlet, or produced their newspaper extracts, made marginal notes, or scribbled something—the heads of their speeches perhaps. Within a couple of yards of me, a clerical-looking gentleman and a workman conversed with animation. 'But we shall be satisfied with the compromise,' said the former. A slow, good-humoured smile, a leisurely shake of the head, was the workman's reply, as he drew his forefingers and thumb contemplatively over his black stubbly whiskers. It was clear how *he* meant to vote. Perhaps it might not be difficult to guess how nine-tenths of them would vote. However, it was beyond a doubt that every man in the Caucus had carefully studied the subject, and in his own mind had settled the following serious question or questions—Does religious instruction (as commonly understood) afford the best moral training for the rising race? Does it purify and elevate the sentiment of reverence? Or does it deaden it? In this age of the democratic *renaissance*, shall the clergy lead or be led? Taking ethic in its widest sense (the interfusion of moral feeling with intellectual temperament, attitude, ideal), is the ethical level of the clergy above that of the community? In plain English can the clergy be trusted? In the programme the question did not, of course, appear in that form. In general terms it was merely this—Shall Bible-reading, 'with historical, geographical, and grammatical explanations' be permitted in the Board Schools? But the real issue, the issue from which the debate derived its whole interest and significance, was just as I have put it.

A detailed account of the night's work is out of the question. I shall only indicate one or two instances of the spirit of this remarkable assembly. For example, the long and loud applause which

followed when a speaker—an artisan, I think—argued that there was no religious instruction or ceremony of any kind whatever in the Midland Institute, where he had received his education, and when he implied that the study of science and literature constituted in itself a moral and religious discipline in the highest sense of the terms; and when, again, he challenged the clerical party to deny that the children of the Birmingham Board Schools, where no religious teaching was allowed, were as truthful, as polite, as moral, as religious as any other children in the kingdom. Here the Caucus cheered loudly for Young Birmingham.

The most heartily applauded sentences of the evening's speeches were those which described religion as something too high and too sacred to be made the subject of the disputes which (it was alleged) would be sure to break out on the acceptance of the compromise, which meant nothing else but the thin end of the sectarian wedge. But the Birmingham clergy, pleaded one of the members, have promised to accept this proposed concession as final. The Caucus interrupted him with a burst of ironical laughter. But there was no irreverence, nor spirit of intolerance, in it, any more than in the applause which greeted a speaker's straightforward confession that, loyal Churchman though he was, he could not trust the clergy in this matter of education; nor was there any in the merriment to which the 'Two Thousand' gave way when the Reverend Dr. Dale humorously described how the denominationalists would fall out when, taking the advice of a clerical champion, they would meet in the schools to settle the meaning of scriptural words with the help of a dictionary.

Not irreverence, nor shallow scorn, but the sense of solemn responsibility was, clearly, the dominant feeling and inspiration. 'It is better to send forth the young spirit, unhampered by dogma, into life's battle; we shall teach it how to acquaint itself with the best that has been known and thought in the world; we shall trust that its experience, emotion, and reflection will ultimately and naturally flower into religion'—that, if one were asked to put the matter into a word or two, was the signification of a discussion which lasted three hours, in which not a moment was lost—every speech being brief, clear, and to the purpose—every 'point' in which was caught up promptly by the large audience, and in which the forms and courtesies of debate were scrupulously observed from first to last. A shout of applause followed the vote of about nine to one against scriptural teaching. And then it seemed, somehow, as if the whole affair had suddenly receded into ancient history. Just as at the sound of bell, or of steam-whistle, the multitude of workers drop their tools, pull on their jackets, and make for the gates, so did the Caucus promptly write its *finis* to the question which had been ripening for months and years; and in a minute or two the great

hall was empty and silent. That, said my friend, with a nod of what seemed proud approval, '*that's Birmingham.*' It was, no doubt.

Firstly, the debate exemplified the doctrine which Birmingham proclaimed at the beginning of her municipal career, and which she has since striven to apply, in ever-widening range of action—the doctrine that the life of the city, with all its variety of function, should be, like the life of the human organism, one and indivisible. Complete corporate unity has not yet been effected. The School Board, for example, is a separate administration, though, indeed, the city council, years ago, asserted its authority, even in the educational sphere, by its successful struggle for the repeal of the 25th clause. The assumption of popular education, as a branch of municipal government, will, perhaps, be the next important step in the civic evolution of Birmingham.

Secondly, it was a re-assertion of another position which the first civic reformers maintained—that no subject bearing upon the physical and spiritual welfare of society should be considered beyond the scope of local or national politics (between which they admitted of no essential distinction). Whatever men in combination can do for the free growth of each individual, for the refinement, the elevation, the beautifying of human life, by art, by literature, by science, by 'recreation'—all that is 'Politics:' and the art of politics, the art of life in society, is the highest and greatest of all arts.

Thirdly, the men who hold this view of popular culture are the Radicals, the Democrats in politics. The men of the Birmingham Caucus, and their constituents, are the men who voted for the increase of the library rate; who would support with all their might and main every Liberal measure in the House of Commons; who would have said with the Hebrews of old that even the building of the temple should be stopped for the education of the children; who would give but short shrift to institutions which could not satisfactorily account for themselves, but deal considerably and generously with all of them which were useful or beautiful. These men believe that it is from Democracy that culture has most to expect; that there, or nowhere, is the hope and the ideal of the better life.

The Democratic movement in Birmingham is merely an example of the general movement. I have selected it because it is the most complete of English examples. It is but a single current in the stream of national tendency. To change the figure, it is but an individual symptom of the upward 'filtration' of ideas from the soil and the roots of the nation's life. The forms vary, but the impulse, the informing spirit, is one and the same. Take two types of the modern English democracy—the northern, with Newcastle for its centre; the Midland, with Birmingham. The types are as distinct from each other as either is from that of the southern population, influenced by the Metropolis.

Strength and reserve seem to be the special characteristics of the first, versatility and expansiveness of the second; and these characteristics appear to reveal themselves in corresponding preferences for forms of popular culture, the northern Englishman showing a stronger bent towards scientific studies and a less pronounced leaning towards art and literature than his countryman of the Midlands.

There is no more extraordinary testimony to the reality and the rapid propagation of the popular enthusiasm for culture than the history of the University extension scheme among the miners and artisans of Northumberland and Durham. This new educational movement among these men has been spontaneous, the extent of it being limited only by their pecuniary resources, though it is possible that this difficulty may be surmounted by recourse to the agency of the co-operative and other trade societies. In fact, the members of an industrial co-operative society in Lancashire were among the first to suggest the idea of University lectures. It must not be supposed that the movement among the northern population is confined to a small minority of exceptionally intelligent men. On the contrary, it is a general movement, and, be it again asserted, a movement from below. The vast majority of those who share in it are working men—miners and artisans—the same men who have founded the Miners' Union, who are now the mainstay of northern Liberalism, and who have sent representatives of their own self-reliant, sturdy class from the mine-pit to the benches of the House of Commons. It will have its centres in such institutions as the Science College of Newcastle, Owens College of Manchester, the Institute and College of Birmingham, and the kindred establishments in Liverpool, Nottingham, and other great towns. And side by side with this transformation of these great cities into centres of culture and learning there proceeds the civic development, with its careers for the talents which otherwise would have sought scope for themselves in the Metropolis. While the Metropolis will become less than it has been the centre of attraction for the best energies and the highest ambitions in the realm, the great towns will assume more and more the character of, so to speak, provincial Londons—a town like Newcastle, for instance, representing and influencing the national and the local politics of the North; or, like Nottingham, those of a considerable portion of North-Eastern England; or, again, like Birmingham, giving the most complete expression to the intelligence and the social ideals of the teeming population of the Midlands.

It would be easy to show how this quickening of the popular taste and intelligence—revealing itself in the love of art, of noble music, and the craving for literature and science—becomes apparent even in the Middlesbroughs, the Warringtons, the Northwiches,

the Walsalls, and other smaller towns, where ugliness and the dreary monotony of mechanical toil have reached the extreme limit. The builder and the scavenger having reduced the death rate, the men-machines have called in the artist and the man of letters to make their longer life worth the living. It is the reaction of their spirit against brutish materialism; the broadening edge of light on the cloud of their existence.

JOHN MACDONALD.

## ARE ANIMALS HAPPY?

THERE exists in the shop window of a naturalist in the East End of London a glass frame containing a carefully mounted group thus composed: in the centre of the frame a small moth is pursued by a dragon-fly in the air above and by a trout in the water beneath; the dragon-fly is itself about to fall into the jaws of a swallow, which in its turn is pursued by a large bird of prey, while the trout at the same moment is about to furnish a meal to a hungry pike. That group is a pictorial embodiment of an answer which nineteen out of twenty people would give to the question at the head of this article. It represents the general impression of animal life as an existence of perpetual struggle ending in violent death. The same idea pervades Wolff's admirable series of drawings of animal life, published under the title of *Wolff's Wild Animals*, and containing some of Mr. Whympers finest engraving. There, as typical groups of animal life, are depicted the hare dying in the snow with carrion crows hovering above; a grizzly in combat with a bison, and a tiger with a crocodile, the terrified deer rushing through the forest with the leopard clutching his flank, the elk pursued by wolves, the antelope overwhelmed in the avalanche. The same ideas pervade all attempts at artistic embodiment or verbal description of wild animal life—warfare and suffering, starvation and destruction.

This view is not simply the casual conclusion of the artist or of the aforesaid nineteen persons who think of omnibus-horses on Ludgate Hill or pigeon-matches at Hurlingham; this gloomy view of animal life has been endorsed by science whose verdict was pronounced by Professor Huxley after the reading of Charles Darwin's posthumous paper on Instinct. That verdict is a reasoned conclusion derived from a consideration of the working of natural selection and of the vital phenomena incident to the struggle for existence. No race of animals exists except at the expense of pain and suffering to some other race. To keep a cobra in health and happiness, who shall tell what number of vermin must yearly suffer untold agonies? and yet a cobra is not of more value than many vermin. To the unscientific mind this statement is decisive, but possibly the unscientific would stop here; they would say, 'Remove the carnivora and the rest of animated nature may then be happy.' Science, however, goes further and says, 'The struggle for existence would be just

as hard ; the weaker, the unsuitable, the superfluous organisms must still perish, whether they perish swiftly or by slow starvation. Every race is constantly tending to increase beyond the existing means of subsistence, and the immense annual surplus must be drained off at whatever cost in suffering.'

It needs, perhaps, some courage to enter a protest against conclusions so weightily supported. But to one who feels that there is something to be said on the other side, the desirability, nay, the duty, of saying it is apparent. So truly terrible is the view of the universe thus presented to us, that if one should see any possible way of escape it behoves him to point it out.

Now, in dealing with animal life, its energies and passions, it is impossible for us to do otherwise than argue from our own life and our own energies and passions. We find a number of beings constituted on the same general plan with essentially the same arrangement of organs of sense and nutrition and motion. It is an inference we are compelled to make, that the sensations and the emotions of such beings resemble our own in no less a degree. When we find, moreover, such beings drawing inferences which we should draw under the like circumstances, or making such movements as we should make under corresponding incentives, we are compelled further to conclude that their reasoning faculties also resemble our own. Assuming this, we have for our inquiry a starting-point in our own happiness and misery ; and the fairest line of argument will be to consider how far our own pleasures and pains would suffer modification by the change in organisation, in habits and in conditions of life, from our own to those of the lower animals. In the first place, however, there are two considerations which, as they form no part of our subsequent line of argument, we may as well set forth and dispose of at the outset.

First. Animals do not commit suicide. I do not say that no animal ever has committed suicide, but there is no species in which it is a deliberate custom. It used to be a popular belief that the scorpion stung itself to death whenever placed in a situation of danger from which there was no escape. The subject has, however, recently been investigated (and has been made the subject of some rather cruel experiments) by some correspondents of *Nature*, and the result appears to be that in *one* case, when the rays of the sun were repeatedly concentrated by a lens on one point of its thorax, the animal did eventually sting itself *in the same place* ; but that in many other cases, where presumably even more pain was inflicted, no attempt was made by the animal to wound or kill itself. That is to say, the scorpion *can* commit suicide—it knows how—but it refrains from doing so. There was also a rather exaggerated story related by De Quincey, attributing deliberate self-destruction to a young horse ; but the catastrophe was obviously brought about by an error of judg-

ment committed in an excess of high spirits, or perhaps in one of those panics which seem to overmaster the horse more completely than any other animal, and which frequently lead to the destruction of runaway steeds. There is, further, the authentic and periodically recurring instance of immolation in the case of the Norwegian lemmings, probably, if not yet certainly, referred to the persistence of a once beneficial habit. These apart, there is not even a suggestion of suicide as a *habit* amongst brutes. Other anecdotes there certainly are of dogs who have refused food after the death of their master, but such tales must be accepted with a certain amount of reserve: they are recorded out of a very honourable affection for the dumb hero, but, entirely apart from that, they none of them establish a case of genuine suicide. There is no record of a dog deprived of its master deliberately doing any act which would at once and inevitably cause its death.

But if there is no suicide in the animal world, then the immense probability is that there is no misery sufficiently unbearable and sufficiently hopeless to cause self-destruction. The animal which knows how to kill another knows also how to kill itself. It recognises none of the scruples which prevent man from attempting self-destruction, or make him pause when he has resolved on it. If animal life were really so unhappy that 'twere better not to be, there is no reason at all why suicide should not be a common occurrence. What prevents it but that which we call the instinct of self-preservation? And what is the instinct of self-preservation but this: the inherited conviction of every species of animal that its life is worth living?

Secondly. Animals increase and multiply. Not only do they not destroy themselves, but their tendency is to perpetuate their own species, and by means of varieties to give rise to new species. *Prima facie*, this again suggests happiness. Why should those varieties which have, through natural selection, become permanent—why should they have increased from one or two solitary individuals to the myriads now representing their descendants? There are only two explanations possible: either there has been a divinely implanted instinct compelling them to reproduce their kind to the same life of misery they themselves have lived, or, on the other hand, the life of the species has been a happy and prosperous one. Unless one is prepared to recognise the hand of a Creator in the compulsory perpetuation of agony, it seems impossible to suppose that the species of animals now dominant have had a miserable existence. Surely on any *natural* principle of selection those whose existence is on the whole most in harmony with natural surroundings—those who are able to extract the largest amount of pleasure from their condition of life—they are the organisms we should expect to find most numerous on the face of the earth.

Pains and pleasures are the guide for conduct in the animal



world, teaching the individual, and through the individual the species, what to do and what to avoid. Mr. Romanes (summing up the researches on this subject of Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Grant Allen) says:—

They clearly point to the conclusion, which I do not think is open to any one valid exception, that pains are the subjective concomitants of such organic changes as are harmful to the organism, while pleasures are the subjective concomitants of such organic changes as are beneficial to the organism—or, we must add, to the species.

In other words, those species which have survived and multiplied have done so because their actions (as a whole) were associated with pleasurable feelings, and because those actions which they were prevented by painful associations from doing were those which would have been hurtful. That, indeed, is the *raison d'être* of pleasure and pain, for that purpose were they called into existence as part of organic life. They

must have been evolved as the subjective accompaniment of processes which are respectively beneficial or injurious to the organism, and so evolved for the purpose or to the end that the organism should seek the one and shun the other.

Pleasures and pains begin in almost the lowest stratum of animal life, rising in the very dawn of consciousness, and they have helped to guide individual action, and specific growth or decline, throughout all the ages from the times of Eozoon to the present day. If any animal or any species found delight in habitually doing that which was hurtful, one of two things must ultimately happen: either the species must acquire a dislike to the hurtful act, or else it must dwindle and disappear. And with reference to those species which have survived—those which have triumphed and are now over-spreading the earth—it is safe to infer that the activities which have constituted the greater part of their lives have been associated with pleasurable sensations.

May we then draw a distinction between the organisms which have failed in life and the organisms which have succeeded, and must we admit that those which have failed have, during the time of their decline, had an existence on the whole of more misery than happiness? Apparently we must do so. The latter days of the British wolf or of the dodo cannot have been very happy. Those rare tentative forms which appear in the geological record as in the nature of an experiment may have had a precarious and chequered existence. Possibly *Archæopteryx* was not altogether happy, but the birds which succeeded him have solved the problem of existence and their happiness has been cheaply purchased by his vicarious sacrifice. Can we carry the argument any further? Can we estimate the total surplus of animal happiness over animal unhappiness at any given time by comparing the number of the vigorous organisms with the number of the decaying? If so, there is at present, and there

always has been, a large surplus of pleasure. Now, as at any previous geological horizon, the orders which are disappearing must be very few and very widely scattered as compared with those orders which are advancing and multiplying. The more widely aberrant any species is from the type of its parent group (the type of success and happiness) the poorer it is found to be numerically, and the less widely is it distributed on the earth's surface. Even, therefore, if we admit that the process of decay and approaching extinction in all cases involves individual misery (by no means a necessary inference)—even if we admit that universally, we admit only a very small set-off against the happiness of the vast majority of flourishing and healthy forms of animal life.

With these preliminary considerations in our favour, let us consider the principal constituents of human happiness and unhappiness, and draw what inferences we can from our own case to that of the lower intelligences.

The psychology of pleasure and pain has yet to be worked out. Mr. Herbert Spencer has laid the physiological foundation and Mr. Grant Allen has developed it, but their analysis leaves untouched altogether the higher or purely cerebral pleasures. Modern psychologists since Bain have considered those pleasures alone which arise directly from sensation, and not those which are concerned with reason or reflection. For we must draw a wide distinction (a distinction which no one has drawn since Hobbes) between *satisfactions* and *conveniences*, as Hobbes called them, or, as we might call them in modern phraseology, pleasures of the cerebral hemispheres and pleasures of the local ganglia, otherwise central pleasures and peripheral pleasures. Take as the type of one kind the pleasure you experience in winning a game at chess, and of the other kind the pleasure of warming your hands at a fire on a cold day. There is, of course, the corresponding distinction to be drawn between physical suffering and mental disappointment or trouble. This we may shorten by limiting the word 'pain' to the former and by using the word 'distress' or 'trouble' in speaking of mental suffering.

Now, taking the total pleasures of man's life, we shall find that the local or ganglionic pleasures, the *conveniences*, largely predominate, both in volume and intensity, over the central or brain satisfactions; while, on the other hand, of the total pains mental troubles constitute by far the larger share. Perhaps this general statement requires some little support. Take, then, the last part of it first,—that which applies to troubles and pains. The statistics of Friendly Societies show the average annual sickness in middle life to be six days. Considering the source from which this estimate is derived it is, no doubt, above the mark, for it includes every slight derangement out of which a claim on the funds of a society could be manufactured, and a blistered finger counts for as much in the returns as an attack of

cholera. It is also to be observed that the statistics are taken from those classes most liable to serious accidents—those which an Accident Insurance Company would insure only as hazardous risks. Consequently in the upper and middle classes the sick-rate must be well below that figure; and further, there is no doubt that, with better sanitary arrangements, the rate has decreased since the estimate was made. Probably we shall not be understating the case if we estimate the present average sickness of civilised man in middle life at four days a year.

Now what is four days' sickness in comparison with the mental suffering which the average man undergoes in the course of a year? Out of the millions on English soil, how many units are there who have less than four days' anxiety in a year? how many who spend so little as one-ninetieth part of their time in struggles against poverty and hunger, in dread of creditors they cannot pacify, in sorrow for their own or others' misdoings, in unavailing regrets for the past, or in useless forebodings of the future? Ask any man who has his living to earn whether he would be contented to have his mental anxiety limited to four days in the year. He would be more than contented if he could have it limited to ten times that amount. Furthermore, every disease or sickness is accompanied by mental depression which is frequently, if not invariably, responsible for greater suffering than the physical derangement; and even in slight illness involving no danger, there is an amount of mental worry from the enforced confinement, and the consciousness of work left undone, which is frequently harder to bear than the physical inconvenience. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge on this theme, because most persons, as soon as the statement is made, will concur that the perplexities of life, the disappointments and the anxieties, constitute with the mass of humanity a blot on existence far more serious than the pains of limbs or bodies.

Now as to the first part of our postulate, viz. that local ganglionic pleasures predominate over intellectual pleasures. This does require a little more corroboration, nay, it may even appear a paradox embodying nothing but contempt for man's prerogative, mind. It is, however, no paradox, but a truth which the most highly cultured and contemplative person (who is also healthy) will, unless he is holding a brief for the supremacy of the intellect, very soon acknowledge. Nay, he will in all probability go further, and assert that from the satisfaction of one appetite alone (that for food and drink) he has derived more pleasure than from literature and science, or art, or all combined. The pleasures of eating—including in that not merely the pleasures of the palate, but the far more impressive volume of sensation resulting from digestion—do, as a matter of fact, occupy a more important place in man's life, not merely than any other single activity, but than any two or three combined. The sensations arising

in the alimentary canal during the process of digestion and assimilation of food are frequently overlooked, because they are not, like the movements of the higher organs of sense, within the direct control of the brain. But throughout the whole process a stream of impressions is conveyed to the brain corresponding with the manner in which the digestion is proceeding, and these impressions constitute a very large portion of the total from which the happiness or misery of a life is derived. Those unto whom digestion is a healthy and regularly conducted process can with little difficulty verify this observation if they take the next opportunity of observing how very differently some slight trouble presents itself to their mind before and after a good meal. If we consider simply the element of time, the period occupied each day in the actual satisfaction of the appetite and the still longer period occupied in digestion, we must admit there is represented in those processes an amount of quiet enjoyment to which no other function or activity of humanity can show a parallel.

It will, no doubt, be admitted at once that for the poor (that is, for three-fourths of humanity) bodily pleasures are more important than mental. If this is admitted, it is quite sufficient for my present purpose. But those who admit this will, if they reflect, extend the observation to the whole of humanity. As we rise in the scale of wealth intellectual pleasures become possible, but also at the same time the range and variety of the objects ministering to bodily pleasures are indefinitely extended, and the leisure and other adjuncts to their complete enjoyment are present as they are not in the case of the poor, with whom even the enjoyment of food is interfered with by the necessity for labour, and proper digestion is hindered by want of leisure. With wealth—wealth which brings opportunities for intellectual pleasure—come also fresh forms of satisfaction for the animal appetites. There exists no scale by which these two can be measured—no means of comparing the æsthetic values of a bottle of chambertin and a sonnet of Petrarch. It is a difficult matter sometimes for a man of leisure and culture to make up his mind whether he will go to a banquet or to hear Patti as Zerlina. But it is not necessary for us at present to discuss the relative charms of music and dining, and therefore we need not force the delicate problem to its final test—which of the two a man would rather go without. We have quite sufficient evidence already. For if to the pleasure of consumption and digestion of food we add the subtler pleasures of taste, the pleasure of smoking, the pleasures of exercise, those of repose, and, more intense than all, those connected with the passion of love, we have undoubtedly such a volume of conveniences as no intellectual satisfactions can pretend to approach. It is not possible for us to strike a balance between human joys and human woes, to say by how much the one outweighs the other, nor is it necessary for our present purpose to do so. All that we can be sure of, and all that we require

to know, is that, taking mankind as a whole, his conveniences outweigh his satisfactions, and his dissatisfactions outweigh his inconveniences.

Starting, then, from this assumption, let us suppose the mental powers gradually diminished, while the bodily powers remain unimpaired. Suppose that process continued until the mind no longer troubles itself about unseen things, but is content with drawing inferences from actual present sensations, so that the looking forward—the taking thought for the morrow, which is the principal source of human mental suffering—ceases to exist. You then approach the constitution of one of the higher mammalia. It is a constitution in which the chief sources of human pleasure remain untouched, while the chief sources of human pains are either removed or diminished. In such a constitution, as compared with man, the reduction in total pleasures should be relatively small, while the reduction in total pains should be relatively large. Grant to an animal so constituted unstinted food, and it ought in theory to be happier than a human being, the limitation in its pleasures being more than counter-balanced by far greater limitation in its pains.

Imagine a graminivorous quadruped with limitless pasture, and you have a state of things in which you ought to find the maximum of happiness of which the organisation is capable. Granted that the totality of its pleasures would not equal the totality of human pleasures, by far more would the totality of its woes fall short of the totality of human woes. If such an animal cannot taste the pleasures of the knowledge of good and evil, neither has it to taste the miseries of poverty and loneliness, of loss of wife or child, of failure in business, of knowing not where to procure food or where to lay its head. The problem how to make both ends meet never vexes the mind of the ruminant; monotony has no terrors for the ox; no fear oppresses it of another's rivalry; no jealousy of another's success. Even when disease and decay overtake it, it knows nothing of that which makes disease terrible to man—the knowledge that it must end in a separation from those whom he loves.

It would not be fair, however, to take an ideal ruminant with unlimited pasture as a representative of animal life. Other elements than those which affect man's pleasures may have to be taken into account, or those which do affect man's pleasures may acquire a greater modifying influence in the economy of animal life.

Pasture is not, in fact, limitless, and there may be a difficulty in obtaining food, climatic influences may inflict more discomfort on beings who cannot at will alter their covering, or in other ways the conditions of life may be such as to increase the totality of physical suffering. We must, therefore, consider separately the sources of pleasure in the animal world.

The pleasures connected with the maintenance of individual life

hold, of course, the chief place. From the most lowly of the protozoa up to the highest of mammals and insects, pleasure (presumably of increasing intensity) is associated with the consumption and assimilation of food. The earliest type of a nervous system is a collar of cells surrounding the oesophagus, and that type persists with modifications up to the most highly organised mollusca and arthropoda. The earliest function of the nervous system—its chief function throughout all animal life—is to subserve nutrition, and thus the most solid pleasures come to be associated with the assimilation of food, while the greatest inconveniences attend its deprivation. In the lower forms of life, no doubt, this is the only form of enjoyment. Whatever pleasures a medusa may be supposed to possess, they must necessarily all be derived from the actual consumption of food. With further development come special organs adapted to discover by sight, or smell, or hearing, or some other sense the prey intended for food. Here there is another opening for pleasure. All animals which catch their prey have the additional pleasure of the pursuit and the capture, which is one of the keenest, if not the very keenest, of all pleasures; while, on the other hand, ruminants have their own special pleasure in the process of remastication, which is nature's solatium to them for the deprivation of the pleasures of the chase. There are two forms of enjoyment connected with food, the latter possessed by a widely spread family, and the former by all carnivorous animals, neither of which pleasures are shared by man. And taking this into account, together with the fact that the majority of animals can consume with relish more food in proportion to their bulk than man, there seems every reason to believe that in this most important of all elements the pleasure of the average vertebrate is greater than that of man.

In connection with the preservation of the individual life there remain to be considered the pleasures of exercise and sleep. Precisely what amount of pleasure is represented by the latter it is impossible to guess, but the former in the youth of all animals counts for a great deal, and in the majority continues throughout life to afford enjoyment of the keenest description. The fox-terrier is always readier for a walk than his master, and generally enjoys himself more thoroughly on the way. His natural gait is swifter than man's, and all animals of whom that can be said have a great advantage in the amount of pleasure which they derive, or ought to derive, from the use of their limbs. The glory of rapid motion which we can only begin to realise on the box-seat of a coach, or in the movement of skating, must be something much more intense to the chamois or the white-headed eagle. Constantly, throughout the animal world, we notice that delight in the use of muscle and limb which in man scarcely survives his majority, but which in them lasts far into maturity. We are accustomed unconsciously to recognise their prerogative in this respect when we apply the phrase 'animal spirits' to a boy

who is full of life and energy, and who enjoys a run over the hills on a breezy day.

Besides the pleasures connected with individual existence, there are the pleasures connected with the perpetuation of the species. Here the lower animals are certainly at a great disadvantage as compared with man. They can have nothing to correspond with that blending of chivalry and common sense, of devotion and friendship, of sensual passion and calm and trustful respect, which constitutes, or ought to constitute, the modern Englishman's love for his wife. Nor can the joys of animal maternity be compared with those of the human mother, who has the development of an intellect to watch as well as growth of limb. But the advantage which man has in these respects is entirely on the mental side. Considered simply as physical processes, the pleasures connected with the perpetuation of the race are probably as great in the case of most vertebrates as in man, while certainly the pains of maternity are immeasurably less.

The majority of the miscellaneous instincts exhibited by animals are directly connected with the preservation of the race, and it is important to consider whether instinctive acts are accompanied by pleasure. If, as we have seen, even reflex acts are accompanied sometimes by pleasure, the probability seems to be that instinctive acts are so accompanied. They are more likely to be than are reflex acts, because the former rise into consciousness, whereas the latter do not; that is to say, instinctive acts are not performed purely mechanically, they require the co-operation of different nerve-centres and the guidance of the head of the nervous system. And originally, no doubt, the great majority of actions now instinctive were done intelligently and deliberately, and have through long usage and through the effects of heredity now come to be done instinctively. Mr. G. H. Lewes, indeed, supposed this 'lapsed intelligence' to be the origin of all instincts, but Mr. Romanes has shown sufficient ground for believing that some instincts have been developed directly by natural selection out of habits casually and unintelligently adopted, which habits chanced to be beneficial to the species; these he calls primary instincts, and all the others arising from lapsing of intelligence, secondary instincts. Now it seems nearly certain that secondary instincts are accompanied with pleasure, and it is probable that many primary instincts are so accompanied. As a rule, where a habit has been persisted in generation after generation, until it has become almost as mechanical as a reflex act, it seems fair to presume that originally the habit must have been pleasurable, and that, therefore, some reminiscence of the original pleasure still attends its repetition. The act of incubation certainly still seems to give pleasure to the hen, and the ancestral birds who first adopted the troublesome habit can only have done so (one would think)

because they found some satisfaction in the act. It may have been done originally as a protective act of ownership, with the same sort of delight as that which a little child feels in gathering all her play-things close round her, whether she wants to use them or not. But whatever may have been the original motive it must have involved pleasure, otherwise the act would never have been persisted in sufficiently to solidify into a permanent instinct. In animals, as in man, we cannot suppose that any act which involves work, or care, or attention would continue to be performed unless pleasure were associated with it. True, there are some primary instincts necessary to the preservation of the species which are actually destructive of the individual, but these constitute no objection to our theory, because the ultimate results are not at the time present to the mind of the individual, and the immediate act is purely one of pleasure. We may conclude with some degree of probability that all primary instinctive acts were originally highly pleasurable, and that in all flourishing orders of animals sufficient pleasure still attaches to them to ensure their continuance.

As to secondary instincts—those which are due to lapsing of intelligence—it is obvious that such must, when first performed, deliberately have been so performed under the influence of some pleasant stimulus, either as incentive or as reward. It is thus that man has succeeded in implanting in domestic animals those habits which he required for his own use, and which have hardened into permanent instincts. They have been implanted, in the first instance, by a system of rewards and punishments, and they are so maintained. Let the artificial stimulus be removed, let the animal be allowed to run wild, and such instincts—all instincts, in fact, which are enforced by no sanction—soon disappear. Nature must have furnished a corresponding motive either of pleasure in performance or pain in non-performance of all those acts which, originally intelligent and voluntary, have now become secondary instincts. At each subsequent performance of any such act there must be some revival of the pleasurable feelings originally associated with it, and, however faint these may be, yet, considering the frequency of repetition of such acts in the life of the individual, they must, on the whole, be something worth counting towards the total of happiness.

Now what is there to set off against this solid substratum of pleasure which we have found accompanying alike the activities preservative of individual life and those preservative of the species?

Principally these four things—famine, exposure to weather, bodily injury, and violent death; things not altogether unknown to man, but to which beings living from hand to mouth, and in many cases upon each other, are more especially liable. It is undoubtedly true that every year a certain number of animals are condemned to



starvation, crowded out of existence by the pressure of surplus population, and this process must be attended by a certain amount of suffering. But it is exceedingly doubtful whether the suffering is of that intense and dramatic kind which is popularly associated with the struggle for existence and the working of natural selection. It is not the case of a strong healthy animal going out alone into the wilderness to struggle with the agonies of starvation. It is a process which takes effect principally on the very young or the very old. The very young perish because their mother is too ill nourished herself to supply them, or because they are not sufficiently vigorous to fend for themselves; the old go perhaps somewhat before their full time. In the one case life is stopped before much pain can have been felt, in the other case it is stopped after the greater part of its pleasure is past; in either case with very much less than the maximum of suffering. In the majority of the higher mammalia the operation of the Malthusian law very probably does no more than equal the rate of infant mortality in England 200 years ago, a rate which was then looked upon as a matter of course. Moreover, in animals the pressure of population upon subsistence is very much modified by frequent migration to fresh pastures or new hunting-grounds, a step taken much more easily than a similar step can be taken by man, and with much more certainty of result. It is only in carnivorous animals that hunger can come to assume alarming dimensions; in their case it, no doubt, frequently is responsible for considerable suffering; but in making that admission we must qualify it by the further observation that the carnivora are accustomed to go for a long period without food and then to make up for lost time by eating a meal of proportionate magnitude. We should probably greatly exaggerate their sufferings from want of food if we compared them to any of the more serious ailments which man suffers without permanent injury. We admit—we have already admitted—that the Malthusian process must be attended with misery to the members of an expiring group or species, but on the overplus of the members of a vigorous group its effect is insignificant when contrasted with the grand mass of healthy animal activity surrounding them.

The vicissitudes of the weather may be responsible for more suffering among the lower animals than in the case of man, but we who live in England are perhaps inclined to overrate the amount of inconvenience occasioned to the world at large by this cause. When our English winters are really rigorous, then we do see a certain amount of suffering both amongst flocks and birds, but that is due rather to the capriciousness than to the actual rigour of the season. The corresponding changes which over the greater portion of the large continents occur with more regularity are foreseen and provided for by animals as well as man. Either by change of coat, by migration, or by hybernation, most animals and birds contrive to endure or

to avoid the cold of northern regions, and in those cases in which no corresponding instinct has been developed it may be safely inferred that the necessity has never been sufficiently felt. We are too apt to over-estimate the sensitiveness to cold of other organisations. We should remember that, with the exception of the hermit-crab, man is the only unclothed animal, and as a protection against cold man's garments are a very poor substitute for a woolly or hairy hide covering the whole body without joint or opening. If any one will carefully notice a dog in his kennel after a night of intense frost, he will be surprised how little inconvenience the animal has suffered from the low temperature. As for rain and damp weather, the consequences to human beings are far more serious than any that trouble the animal world from that source.

We come, then, to what in the mind of the artist and of the casual observer occupies the chief place in the catalogue of animal miseries—the physical injuries and violent deaths due either to conflict between individuals or to the capture and slaughter by carnivorous creatures of their prey, to which, perhaps, if animals themselves were consulted, they would add the ravages in their number committed by man. This is the aspect of animal life which was condensed for the instruction of children by the popular versifier who concluded that 'God had made them so,' which dismal doctrine we have tacitly assented to without inquiry whether it is really the ordinary occupation of bears and lions to fight, or whether, on the other hand, they are not very well content to get on without fighting so long as hunger or jealousy does not call for such exertion. Now we ought at least to try to be fair with those who cannot defend themselves; we need not endeavour to clothe the carnivora with the wool of the sheep, but let us try to see them as they are, let us endeavour to do them justice. And we do not do them justice when we accuse them of indiscriminate cruelty. Cruelty is rare in the animal world; the present writer is very much inclined to doubt whether it exists at all, though the instances of the cat, the hawk, and the Javan loris are perhaps obstacles to the acceptance of such a statement.

Cruel in effect the carnivora no doubt are, but it is a cruelty such as that of the skilful butcher who takes the best and shortest way he knows to attain his purpose. It is cruelty in the way of business, either for food, or from anger or revenge, to maintain supremacy or protect the household. The lion kills its prey or its opponent in a straightforward, businesslike way, as an act which ought to be done, and must be got through as speedily as possible. The higher refinement of intentional, deliberate cruelty is reserved for the more intellectual being. If the history of the most bloodthirsty of the carnivora came to be related it would contain no chapter such as the one which tells how Einar, Earl of Orkney, with his sword carved the back of the captive Halfdan the long-legged into the form of an

eagle, dividing the spine lengthwise and separating the ribs, and then lifted the lungs aloft in the air as an offering to Odin!

The victims of the carnivora have, then, at all events, this advantage, that they perish speedily; moreover, they perish under circumstances either of struggle or flight which probably minimise the suffering. Sudden death has not the terrors that it has for man, whom it deprives of his hour of preparation; to animals it is an unmixed benefit to die speedily, so that on the whole it is quite possible the operations of the carnivora result in a real economy of pain.

A more important consideration is this: how far is the suffering from wounds or sickness of one of the lower animals comparable with the suffering undergone by mankind from the like causes? Is it not in all probability utterly insignificant in comparison, as insignificant as are the mental troubles of an animal when contrasted with ours?

The nervous organisation of a wild animal is so much coarser-grained (to speak metaphorically), so much less delicately nurtured than that of civilised man, that the same wound which would cause intense pain in the latter will pass unheeded in the former. The wolf will give no cry of pain though a limb be severed, while the humanised dog cries out if his toe is trodden on. A corresponding difference can readily be observed in man himself, between the European and the North American Indian, or between civilised man in his drawing-room and the same man reducing himself to a semi-savage state on the field of battle.

It needs not to go very far down the scale of existence before coming to creatures to whom, quite obviously, the loss of a limb is a matter of very small concern, and whose injuries are rapidly and completely repaired by regrowth: from this point there is, no doubt, a gradual, very gradual increase in susceptibility, until we reach the apes, or even, we might say, until we reach savage man, and then there is a wide gulf. With civilisation and regular habits comes a quite different scale of proportion between injuries and suffering. One daughter of Eve suffers, to bring her child into the world, more pain than is suffered by all the ewes on the Welsh hills during a whole season, and one man dying of cancer endures more than all the oxen slain for food in a whole month.

We have now instituted a comparison between the bodily pleasures and pains of men, and of animals, and with what result?

Starting with the proposition that man's total happiness depends principally on these local ganglionic pleasures, we have been led to the conclusion that all those very pleasures are present also in the organisation of the lower animals, undiminished, so far as we can see, in force, and even with some additional advantages. And as to physical suffering, we have inferred that its intensity is so much less

in animals than in man that, even if the individual instances of it are more frequent, the balance of advantage would probably remain with the brutes.

Briefly, therefore, our conclusion is that, so far as bodily pains and pleasures are concerned, if in humanity there be a surplus of pleasure over pain, there is in brutes a still greater surplus; if in humanity there be anything like an equality between pleasure and pain, there is in brutes a large preponderance of pleasure; if in humanity pain predominate, then in brutes the proportion should be reversed.

BRIGGS CARLELL.

## LIGHT AND WATER-COLOURS.

## A REPLY.

It would have been far from my wish to break a lance with so formidable an antagonist as Mr. J. C. Robinson had not the opening of the controversy in the *Times* assumed the character of a challenge to those who practise water-colour painting, as well as to collectors and the custodians of our museums. I venture, therefore, to enter the lists as a humble representative of the challenged party upon the understanding that, in this capacity, I am entitled to the choice of weapons.

The weapon I select without hesitation is a plain unvarnished statement of facts, together with such inferences as may be drawn from the study of a question that has occupied the attention of water-colour painters long before the present discussion arose.

Convinced that *ad captandum* arguments and the recourse to exaggerated statements only divert the attention from the real issue, I will endeavour to summarise as briefly as possible the several phases through which the question has passed, and then enter upon the consideration of individual cases.

The project of lighting up the National Gallery, so justly condemned by the authorities of that institution, led naturally to the consideration of a kindred question—the condition of the valuable and representative collection of water-colour drawings at the South Kensington Museum. Mr. J. C. Robinson, doubtless from a laudable desire to secure the safety of our public collections, drew attention to the deleterious influence of daylight upon water-colours, instancing the present condition of the South Kensington drawings as a proof that these works could not be exposed without risk to the light of day; but Mr. Robinson appears not sufficiently to have considered that there are other influences besides light which work prejudicially upon water-colours, such, for instance, as damp and impure air. A careful examination of the collection has convinced me that the two last agencies have been at work in several of the instances brought forward in evidence of the injurious effects of light alone. Now, as the arguments against the exposure of water-colour drawings upon our walls rest chiefly upon the assumption that daylight is their

greatest enemy, I wish to point out that as regards their safety from damp, impure air, and mechanical injury from abrasion and careless handling, they are better protected when placed in frames covered with glass and sealed at the back than when they are kept in portfolios or in drawers.

When the results of the official inquiry into the merits of this difficult and complex question become known, the public will be in a position to judge how far the serious accusations brought against an important department of one of our principal museums are justified by the patient and searching inquiry that is being instituted. That the decision arrived at will be an impartial one and lifted above the heated atmosphere of a newspaper controversy there can be no reason to doubt. I may be permitted, however, in the interim, without in any way prejudging the case, to record a few facts that have come under my notice during a very careful survey of the South Kensington Collection, tending to prove that the danger of exposure to light has been greatly exaggerated.

The bearing of the very beautiful collection of early English water-colour drawings now on view at the Royal Institute upon the question at issue will next engage my attention, and here I have been so fortunate as to procure, in a large number of cases, exact and perfectly trustworthy data from which to form a judgment both as regards their present condition and the circumstances under which they were placed previous to their exhibition on the walls of the Institute.

Beginning with the permanent collection at South Kensington, examined the water-colour drawings seriatim, stopping here and there to note down such observations upon particular works as seemed to bear upon the question of exposure. I have been greatly aided in this investigation by the very ably compiled catalogue, which, together with the information contained in the labels, forms an admirable guide to the collection and conduces greatly to its educational value.

The drawings by Turner, fourteen in number, are thoroughly representative of his different styles, and with the exception of 'Hornby Castle' (No. 88), the distance and foliage of which seem to have slightly faded, are in excellent preservation. The 'Warkworth Castle' (No. 547), exhibited in 1799, is a splendid example of permanence. The paper in this beautiful drawing—perhaps slightly deepened in colour by age—seems to justify the assertion of Sir James Linton that this work and some others that he mentions are actually deeper in tone than when they were first painted—a remark that has been perverted by Mr. Robinson into the assertion that they have gained in *brilliancy*.

Three drawings by H. W. Williams, who died in 1822, come next on my list—No. 648, 'Castle Campbell,' No. 649, 'Loch Tummel,'

and No. 3018, 'Bothwell Castle,' painted in 1802. All three in perfect condition.

Francia, who died 1839, Nos. 568 and 625, the first faded, the second unchanged. The works of this clever artist are grey in tone, which renders it somewhat difficult to give an opinion as to what their antecedent condition may have been. The same remark applies to many of the earlier masters. John Glover, born 1767, died 1849, No. 478, 'Tivoli,' apparently unchanged. J. Laporte, b. 1761, d. 1839, 'Conway Castle,' sky and water much faded, the Indian red pronouncing itself strongly, the indigo nearly disappearing. I wish to insist upon this quality in indigo when it is associated with Indian red, because in a great number of cases this combination of pigments appears to have been the *sole cause* of fading.

Mr. J. C. Robinson, in his letter to the *Times* of March 26, makes the remark that 'the more or less fugitive colours are not only by far the most numerous, but they are also the most brilliant and useful to the artist.' Now here I must join issue entirely with Mr. Robinson, for, if we eliminate indigo and some of the vegetable yellows, the causes of decay are quite insufficient to justify the cry that 'every fully-coloured water-colour drawing, framed and exposed to the light, begins to fade and change, to die in fact, from the very moment it is so exposed.'

Another instance of change arising from the use of the above combination may be noticed in No. 1303, W. F. Wells, 'The Dawn.'

No. 522, B. Barker, b. 1776, d. 1838, 'Brecon Town and Bridge,' a low-toned drawing in perfect condition, possibly a little darkened by age, but absolutely unfaded. Here indigo appears to have been freely used, but of Indian red there are no traces.

I now approach a series of drawings which offer a remarkable proof of permanence. I allude to the 'Ellison Gift.' It happens, most fortunately for my argument, that the greater part of these drawings are in their original frames. A glance at the style and condition of these frames ought to convince the most sceptical that the works they contain have been exposed on the walls for a period far exceeding the limits assigned by Mr. Robinson to the duration of a water-colour drawing.

No. 1057, J. Varley, Ellison Gift, 'Bolton Abbey,' painted 1842, original frame, quite unfaded. No. 1056, J. Varley, Ellison Gift, 'River Scene,' painted 1840, quite unfaded; the original frame. No. 512, David Cox, Ellison Gift, 'A Cornfield,' and No. 1018, Ellison Gift 'Windsor Castle,' both in the original frames, in perfect condition. No. 1022, P. Dewint, Ellison Gift, 'The Snowdrift,' Indian red is much exposed in the sky, the indigo faded, otherwise unchanged; original frame. No. 515, P. Dewint, Ellison Gift, 'Nottingham,' in perfect condition; a very early style of frame. No. 1021, P. Dewint,

Ellison Gift, 'Lincoln Cathedral,' a large drawing in an old-fashioned frame, in good condition; indigo in the sky possibly a little faded. Nos. 1040 and 1041, Ellison Gift, 'Ratisbon Cathedral' and 'Würzburg,' in perfect condition; undated, but the style of frames points to about the year 1840. No. 515, Ellison Gift, 'The Cricketers'; this beautiful drawing has suffered much in the sky, almost all the indigo having vanished, leaving the Indian red dominant. As a proof that the two pigments, Indian red and indigo, ought never to be associated, this drawing is of the utmost value; but it remains to be proved that this action is caused or aggravated by exposure to light. No. 1034, Ellison Gift, F. Mackenzie, *b.* 1787, *d.* 1854, 'Lincoln Cathedral,' framed in the old style, as are several others by the same artist; in perfect condition. No. 1025, Ellison Gift, Copley Fielding, 'A Ship in Distress,' painted 1829, the original frame; the sky is 'foxy,' from the use of Indian red. No. 519, Ellison Gift, Copley Fielding, 'South Downs,' in perfect condition; original frame.

Leaving this valuable series of drawings in the Ellison Gift, I will proceed to notice some others which have been selected to illustrate both permanence and change. And here I occupy more uncertain ground, as, for obvious reasons, I am prevented from ascertaining with certainty the extent to which they may have been exposed to light previous to their acquisition by the Museum.

No. 431, Cristall, *b.* 1767, *d.* 1847, 'The Fishmarket, Hastings.' This drawing shows no evidence of fading, but its appearance suggests that it must have been exposed to smoke or impure air long prior to its purchase by the Museum in 1873. No. 2938, Smith Bequest, Eddridge, 'Near Bromley, Kent,' secured by the Museum according to the terms of the bequest in 1876; generally in good condition, as are the other eleven drawings by that artist. Eddridge was born in 1769, and died in 1821. No. 1426, Townshend bequest, Robson, *b.* 1790, *d.* 1833, 'Loch Coruisk, Skye,' in perfect condition. No. 3047, Smith bequest, Bonington, *b.* 1801, *d.* 1828, 'Street in Verona,' in good condition. Nos. 568 and 569, J. Chalon, *b.* 1778, *d.* 1860. Both these drawings are in a bad condition. The 'Welsh Landscape' has suffered from damp, and in the 'River Scene' there is distinct evidence that water has run down it from above.

No. 3013, Smith bequest (1876), Cotman, *b.* 1782, *d.* 1842, 'Dieppe.' The colour is unaltered, but there are mildew spots in the sky, pointing to damp. The other drawings by this artist are in good condition. No. 564, D. Cox, 'Cottage near Norwood,' in perfect condition. No. 158, D. Cox, 'Moorland Scene,' signed and dated 1854, quite unchanged. I have omitted to notice two other drawings in the Ellison Gift, which I here add to that important series—namely, No. 1011, J. Barret, 'Landscape Composition,' original frame,



and No. 1012, J. Barret, 'Weary Trampers,' signed and dated 1840, both in a perfect state.

In order to justify the censure directed against the authorities of the Museum by Mr. J. C. Robinson for neglecting the necessary precautions for securing the safety of this collection, it will be necessary for that gentleman to prove that the unsatisfactory condition of some of the drawings, which I have not hesitated to notice above, has been brought about since they have been placed upon the walls of the South Kensington Museum.

It now remains for me to notice the interesting series of drawings by Cozens included in the Dyce collection. As regards their present condition they speak for themselves. I see no evidences of change, but they offer a valuable illustration of the method of work adopted by the early school of English water-colour painters, being executed first in monochrome and then heightened in effect by thin washes of local colour. This conventional treatment was followed by Turner in his early works, which in many instances have been actually copied from drawings by Cozens. Turner, however, very soon emancipated himself from the trammels of his instructor, his instinct for colour leading him to see that one monotonous tint was quite inadequate to express the varied hues of shadows as seen in nature. Girtin shared with Turner in this just discrimination, and, even in the few years of life allotted to him, was able to effect a revolution in the practice of water-colour art. The seven drawings at South Kensington appear to be well preserved, but as the turning point in the history of English water-colour art it is to be hoped that the authorities of the Museum will be able to enrich their collection by other and more striking examples.

Passing to the works of an artist belonging to a totally different school, I will next notice the large drawing by G. Cattermole, the 'Diet of Spiers.' This work having been particularly alluded to as an instance of fading, I wish to ask why it is that other drawings by Cattermole belonging to the same series (the Ellison Gift) and exposed to light under the same conditions offer so marked a contrast. The answer to this question is very simple. The 'Diet of Spiers' is a very early work of the master. It is executed on white paper in transparent colour. At an early period of his career Cattermole discovered that the use of white paper was not congenial to him, and he soon abandoned it for the peculiar grey coarse paper used, I believe, for wrappers by the papermakers. Upon this material he painted frankly in body colour (*gouache*). This method, so well suited to the impetuosity which characterises his work, he pursued to the last.

The drawing in question, regarded as a work of art, could never have competed with his later productions, but I have it upon the authority of one of Cattermole's most intimate friends—a gentleman

still living, and who is the contributor of some of the finest productions of the master in the present exhibition at the Institute—that this particular drawing was allowed to remain uncovered for weeks together at the engraver's, exposed certainly to dust and possibly to damp.

The drawings by Holland may also be compared with advantage with those at the Institute, these latter being authenticated as having been for many years exposed to full daylight. I am unable to discover any appreciable difference between the works of this artist as represented at the South Kensington Museum and those now on view at the Institute.

I will close the notice of the South Kensington drawings, necessarily imperfect, by a reference to a work by W. Hunt, because it has been cited by Mr. Church in evidence of fading under the treatment to which it has been subjected at the Museum. The drawing in question is obviously an unfinished one. This the pencil marks still left in the background would suffice to show; but I would call attention particularly to the melon, the principal feature in the work. This portion of the drawing has not faded, for the colour has never been there. It is simply a *laying in* with body colour previous to its completion in transparent or glazing colours—a process familiar to oil painters, but seldom resorted to by water-colour artists except in the case of William Hunt.

We come now to the region of facts, not only as regards the actual condition of some of the finest specimens of water-colour art that have ever been gathered together, but also to that chief element in the question, the history and antecedents of a considerable number of them.

I allude to the collection at the Royal Institute which the energy and perseverance of Sir James Linton have enabled him to present to the public as a proof that the hasty and sweeping charges brought against one of the most beautiful arts of our time have not been substantiated and are incapable of verification.

Presuming that most of the readers of this article have personally inspected the collection in question and that the perusal of Sir James Linton's preface to the catalogue will have explained the objects of the exhibition, it will be sufficient to state briefly that it was intended to confute a mischievous fallacy which by its wide circulation through the medium of a powerful journal is calculated to mislead the public into the belief that one of the richest and purest enjoyments of our lives—the contemplation, namely, of the works of the greatest English water-colour painters of a past generation—is a fleeting delight which can only be indulged in under conditions that are troublesome and difficult of attainment. Who can compare for a moment the satisfaction we derive from the inspection of works in a museum with the enjoyment of water-colour drawings exposed upon

our walls? The critic or dilettante visits the British Museum to compare styles or to verify a date, and it is well that this opportunity should be afforded him, but the pictures upon our walls appeal to a different and I think a higher faculty. Who is there that, being the fortunate possessor of beautiful works of art, will fail to admit their humanising influence? and how the aspect of a 'Turner' or a 'David Cox' diverts his attention from the petty cares of life, the *res angustæ domi*, and even helps to soothe him under the pressure of greater troubles?

I would wish to point out that the objects of the permanent collection at South Kensington and the much smaller exhibition which I am now about to notice are widely different. The South Kensington Museum is above all an educational institution, and its art collections are brought together with the distinct intention of guiding the student in the investigation of the history of its different branches. Hence the condition and the qualities of individual specimens have been less regarded than the position they occupy in the category they are intended to illustrate. The exhibition of early English water-colour painters at the Institute consists of the contributions of various collectors and connoisseurs, who have kindly lent their works for the purpose indicated. In the former case I purposely selected for notice many of the drawings which at some period of their existence had suffered injury from the treatment to which they had been subjected, with the view of showing that in numerous cases other causes besides exposure to light had been at work. With regard to the Institute collection no such discrimination is required, for they are nearly all in admirable condition.

I will proceed to notice a few of these drawings. The three magnificent Turners, now the property of Professor Ruskin, occupy—as their transcendent beauty entitles them—a central place on the walls of the Council Room. Of the drawing No. 90, 'Scene in Savoy,' I am enabled to state with absolute certainty the following particulars. Professor Ruskin speaks of it in these terms: 'It is a very early drawing, certainly not later than 1812 or 1814, and I cannot conceive of it as ever more beautiful than now.' To my personal knowledge the 'Scene in Savoy' was hung on the walls and exposed to ordinary daylight for upwards of twenty years. Mr. Ruskin proceeds to say: 'The Devonport and Salisbury were hung in the excellent light of Mr. Windus's drawing-room at Tottenham, and came from Tottenham to Denmark Hill.' No. 8, Turner, 'Tintern Abbey,' exposed to light ever since it was painted in the year 1800. The practice pursued by Professor Ruskin of covering up his Turner drawings during a portion of the day, although, as evidenced by the condition of many works by Turner, by no means a necessary precaution, is to be advocated as an exceptional measure, owing to the extreme tenuity of many of his tints and the subtle gradations of

colour upon which so much of the value of his work depends. It is well known that paper when excluded from the light acquires a yellow colour by age, an effect similar to that produced upon oil pictures. It is, therefore, in every way desirable that delicately tinted water colours should be alternately covered up and exposed to light. The opinions of Professor Ruskin upon all matters relating to art stand in no need of advocacy by me. Every line that he has written will be remembered and quoted long after the present controversy has been forgotten; but as he has been charged with inconsistency, it is well to remember that he only advocates this precautionary measure in the case of drawings by Turner.

No. 41, W. Hunt, 'Pine, Melon, and Grapes,' exposed in frame for forty years. No. 73, J. Varley, 'A Landscape,' exposed since painted, about 1828. No. 108, S. Prout, 'Dresden,' toned paper, always exposed to light. No. 122, E. Dayes, 'Greenwich Hospital,' exposed ever since it was painted, about 1800. No. 168, J. Varley, 'Windsor,' always exposed since painted in 1828. No. 91, 'Salisbury Cathedral,' a very early work by Turner, showing no evidence of change. No. 93, 'Buckfast Leigh Abbey,' the property of Mr. Arthur Severn, R. I., an exquisite drawing in perfect condition. There are several other very early works by Turner, but being executed almost entirely in monochrome, their value as an evidence of durability under exposure to light is less striking; but I may mention one—No. 158, 'The Bay of Nice'—a drawing executed in the old manner, first in neutral tint and then slightly washed with local colour. This drawing has been in my own possession and always exposed to light for more than thirty years. I can discover no change in it.

I turn now to the beginning of the catalogue. No. 5, W. Hunt, 'The Restless Sitter,' an exceptionally brilliant drawing by the master. This work has been executed fifty-five years; it has changed hands four times, but has to this day always been framed and exposed to light. No. 10, De Wint, 'Felling Timber,' exposed to light by the present owner; sky quite unchanged, owing probably to the absence of Indian red. No. 11, 'Ulverston Sands,' De Wint, hung on the walls for twenty years. No. 13, De Wint, 'Haymaking,' in perfect condition; the original frame. No. 18, 'Plums and Blackberries,' W. Hunt, exposed to light since painted; exhibited at the Fine Art Exhibition 1878-9 (see notes by Professor Ruskin in catalogue of that exhibition).

No. 21, J. Holland, 'Interior of Church,' dated 1844, always exposed to light. I may mention that the works of this artist are so eminently decorative in character that they are generally placed on the walls by their owners. Having been intimately acquainted both with the painter and his works for many years, I have frequently been struck with the brilliancy of his water-colour drawings. His

oil pictures, on the other hand, have sometimes deteriorated in quality, owing, I believe, to the injudicious use of certain media.

No. 23, J. Varley, 'Lake and Mountain,' exposed to light from the time it was painted; the original frame.

No. 29, W. Müller, 'Near Bristol,' dated 1844, always exposed to light. No. 35, G. Barret, 'Landscape with Cattle and Sheep,' hung on the walls. No. 41, Wm. Hunt, 'Pine, Melon and Grapes,' in splendid condition; exhibited at the Fine Art Gallery 1878-9 (see notes by Professor Ruskin in catalogue of that exhibition). No. 45, W. Hunt, 'Black Grapes and Strawberries,' at least twenty years exposed to light. No. 49, 'Quinces,' W. Hunt, twenty years exposed to light; exhibited at Fine Art Exhibition 1878-9. No. 53, W. Hunt, 'Green Grapes,' always exposed to light, remarkably strong and pure in colour. No. 55, W. Hunt, 'Dead Pigeon,' always exposed to light, especially brilliant and pure in colour (see notes by Professor Ruskin in catalogue of Fine Art Exhibition). No. 60, G. Barret, 'Morning,' for fifty years exposed to light; original frame. No. 62, J. Holland, 'Old Port of Dover,' dated 1846, framed and exposed to light from the time it was painted.

No. 25, J. Varley, 'Ross Castle, Killarney,' long exposed to light; the original frame. No. 43, W. Hunt, 'The Shy Sitter,' twenty years exposed to light. I have been informed by Mr. Orrock that all his Hunt drawings have been exposed in frames for twenty years, so that further mention of them is needless. No. 70, Sir A. Callcott, R.A., 'Lake of Thun,' an early drawing evidently executed under the influence of Turner; exposed to daylight for thirty years. Note particularly the purity of the grey tones. No. 77, G. Cattermole, 'Reading the Bible in the Baron's Chapel,' dated 1846, in the original frame; in perfect condition.

No. 78, G. Cattermole, 'Visit to the Monastery,' exposed since it was painted to light. No. 82, 'Flower Drawing,' J. Holland, always exposed to light. Note the purity and brilliancy of the colour. Holland's early practice of flower painting doubtless contributed much to the beauty of his colour in after days. No. 86, Bonington, 'Genoa,' framed and exposed to light for thirty years. No. 95, G. Cattermole, 'The Minstrel,' always exposed to light. No. 100, W. Hunt, 'Interior of a Cottage,' exposed to light ever since it was painted, fifty-six years ago.

No. 105, J. Holland, 'Venice,' extremely bright and pure in colour; in the original frame. No. 113, D. Cox, 'The Skylark,' a magnificent drawing in perfect condition; in the original frame, as is also the pendant, 'Changing the Pastures'—two of the finest Coxes in existence. No. 119, F. J. Lewis, 'The Dancers.' This drawing was purchased by Mr. Ruskin, sen., in 1840, and has been always exposed to daylight until quite recently. In the original frame.

No. 120, E. de Witte, 'A Dutch Church.' This drawing has been

the subject of much discussion. Mr. J. C. Robinson declares that the name and date 1868 inscribed upon it are a forgery, and that the paper is of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, and moreover that it is a *very bad copy* of an old oil picture by the master. This statement remains to be verified, but it is an undoubted fact that the drawing in question has been framed and exposed to the light for forty-five years, which is amply sufficient for our present purpose. No. 137, D. Cox, 'Crossing the Moor.' This drawing was purchased from the artist by the late Mr. Topham, R.W.S., and hung on his walls until his death. No. 139, G. Barret, 'Evening,' framed fifty years ago, and always exposed to light. No. 151, D. Cox, 'A Windy Day.' This remarkably brilliant drawing has been exposed to daylight for thirty-three years. No. 155, De Wint, 'Aysgarth,' exposed for more than twenty years to the light. No. 163, S. Prout, 'An Old English Cottage,' the property of Professor Ruskin, who informs us that it has been exposed to light since his childhood (see appendix to Catalogue).

I have now, I trust, succeeded in verifying my original statement that a very large number of the drawings in this remarkable collection have been exposed to full daylight without appreciable change. The publicity given to the statements of Mr. J. C. Robinson has induced me—I fear at the risk of wearying the reader—to go into much detail. This has been inevitable, for it is only by the reiteration of particular facts that it has been possible to meet general accusations. As regards the present condition of the drawings, they speak for themselves.

In a letter from Mr. J. C. Robinson recently addressed to *Truth* the following passage occurs: 'What is there to show that many, perhaps even the majority, of these drawings may not, for the greater part of their time even, have been kept in the dark in portfolios, or otherwise carefully protected from the light? This has certainly been the case in some instances; and if this can be proved, is not the exhibition at least sailing under false colours?' I trust that the information I have been enabled to procure is a sufficient answer to these questions. Had the collection at the Institute consisted solely of works that had been exposed to daylight, Sir James Linton would have laid himself open to the charge of having purposely excluded every drawing which told against his argument. It might have been supposed that the mere fact of such a collection as this having been secured in *little more than a week* would have been sufficient to refute the absurd accusation that members of an honourable profession have banded themselves together in order to propagate a falsehood—for this in effect is the charge hurled against them.

Before concluding this branch of the subject, which is intentionally devoted to the enumeration of facts, I wish to call attention

the condition of a small but well-selected collection of drawings is the possession of my friend Mr. Henry Drake, of Kensington. This gentleman has not only afforded me an opportunity of carefully inspecting the works in question, but has given me the assurance that they have been hung on his walls for twenty years, and for about the same time on the walls of their former possessor. Being most of them in their original frames, it may be taken for granted that they have been exposed to the light for more than forty years. I think that their present appearance would be a revelation to those who hold that the period of thirty years arbitrarily fixed upon for the duration of their existence so far as colour is concerned, has been far exceeded. The collection comprises drawings by the following artists: W. Müller, Copley Fielding, David Cox, G. Cattermole, E. Duncan, G. Fripp, P. Nasfel, and others, all in admirable preservation. No special precaution has been adopted with regard to these drawings, except their protection from *direct* sunshine.

The difference between the effects of direct sunshine and diffused light are so enormous that I was long under the impression that they differed in *kind* as well as in degree. The inquiries I have instituted concerning this matter have led me to modify this opinion, but practically my conviction remains the same, and I think the above facts attest that there is a gulf between the effects of sunshine and ordinary diffused daylight—an assertion that no one who has practically studied the subject will be able to deny. The exclusion of the direct rays of the sun from water-colour drawings is a condition of their preservation in the state in which they were produced; and had the discussion opened with a recommendation to that effect, I am convinced that the controversy would have been pursued in a very different tone from that it has unfortunately assumed.

It is to be observed that in his first letter to the *Times* Mr. J. C. Robinson takes no notice of the varied pigments employed by different artists, but pointedly asserts that *all* water-colour drawings are doomed to destruction unless guarded from daylight, thus leading the uninitiated reader to conclude that *all* the pigments employed by water-colour painters were open to the same objection. It was not until Professor Church took up the question and pointed out the particular pigments that should be used with caution, that Mr. Robinson descended from vague generalities to the consideration of really important factors in the question. It is, however, worthy of remark that Mr. Church is more exercised in his praiseworthy endeavours to promote the study of the chemistry of pigments amongst living artists than in vain regrets over the ignorance or indifference of some of the greatest artists of the century concerning the pigments they employed.

The greatest master of landscape painting—the man who occupies

a solitary pedestal in the Walhalla of landscape art—was admittedly careless in this respect. In whichever medium he worked, the one consideration by which he seemed to be guided was the production of the effect to which he was urged by the inspiration of the moment, and this especially with regard to the scheme of colour he adopted, which induced him to select the colours which were the best exponents of his ideas. Turner was probably little troubled by the question of durability. As Mr. Ruskin happily remarked, 'He feels in colour, but he thinks in light and shade.' The rich enjoyment which the mere practice of his art must have afforded him was untempered by anxiety as to the future of his work, and was akin to the satisfaction of a great musician who draws sweet tones from his instrument.

It is from these considerations that I should feel disposed to exclude the water-colour works of Turner from the walls of our public galleries, except under the conditions which in the National Gallery render them secure from injury.

Passing on to the lesser lights, the men who, admirable in their way, are only second to Turner, it would be a misfortune were we to be deprived of free access to their works so long as they are placed under vigilant care.

The pessimists, happily few in number, would have us believe that the durability of pigments, as regards the effect of daylight upon them, is in the inverse ratio of their usefulness. This is fortunately far from being the case. The fading effect of light upon certain pigments is almost confined to those of organic origin, many of which have been but sparingly employed by our best water-colour painters.

Sir James Linton expresses the opinion that certain drawings have even become richer and deeper in tone than when they were first painted, but he is represented by Mr. J. C. Robinson to have said that they have gained in *brilliancy*, which is quite another thing. The desiccation of the size in the paper, as well as the gum and other media employed in the manufacture of water-colours, may have conduced to this quality, a change which is analogous to the darkening of the oils and varnishes in oil paintings.

It has been hinted that artists are not entitled to a hearing on this question of durability, on the ground that they are influenced by interested motives. The truth or fallacy of this accusation must depend upon the meaning attached to the word. In one sense artists are certainly *interested* witnesses, but if sordid motives are attributed to them such an imputation must be emphatically disclaimed. Mr. Robinson may rest assured that the sincerest admirers of the early school of English water-colour painters are to be found in the ranks of living artists, who would view with dismay the dissolution or decay of the priceless treasures which have been bequeathed to us.



Many artists have themselves instituted experiments upon the pigments employed by painters in both materials, but they have hitherto been of a desultory nature, and not pursued with sufficient system. The investigations of Professor Church have been of great value in this respect, and whilst deprecating the animus exhibited by Mr. J. C. Robinson, both as to the matter and the manner of his attacks, I am quite ready to allow that good results may follow from the inquiry that he has instigated, and whilst separating the good seed from the chaff let us remember the old adage: *Fus et ab hoste doceri*.

Before this controversy began, people were becoming weaned from the fallacious doctrine that works executed in water-colour were necessarily less permanent than those 'protected' by the oils and varnishes with which they were painted, and it is to be hoped that this scare will not deter them from reconsidering the verdict that all water-colour drawings which have been long exposed to daylight have been irreparably injured.

Mr. Robinson contends that one of the causes of the greater stability of oil paintings is the circumstance that the pigments are employed in far greater volume than in water-colour painting, strangely overlooking the fact that the early painters applied their colours with remarkable thinness, as may be seen in the works of Jan van Eyck, Albrecht Dürer, Holbein, and in most of the early Italian masters. It is moreover to be noticed that these works were painted on a white *gesso* ground, and probably in water-colour. The use of oil or varnish was an after-process employed in finishing the picture. I am aware that I am now treading upon debatable ground, but there is high authority for the assumption. Now these so-called oil paintings are precisely the works which excite the admiration of the world not only from their inherent beauty, but from their extraordinary durability.

The practice of loading the colour belongs to a later date, and I have yet to learn that it conduces to their permanence. That light is not without its influence upon certain pigments, even when they are 'locked up' by oil or varnish, is evidenced by the fact that numerous examples of the Dutch school have suffered in this respect.

Landscapes by Hobbema, Both, and Ruysdael, frequently show fading in the greens of their foliage. In these cases yellow glazing colours of vegetable origin have been employed, which, being fleeting, have passed away, leaving a cold blue green underneath. Such examples might be multiplied, and they extend even to the Florentine and Siennese schools of the fifteenth century, and especially in the flesh tints of Botticelli, whose works, graceful and refined as they must always have been, may even have acquired a certain pathos

from the pallor that has ensued owing to the use of pigments prepared from cochineal.

I mention this fact in order to show that the fading effects of light upon certain pigments is by no means confined to water-colours. On the other hand, the durability of flax, which material is the foundation of all good drawing paper, is abundantly proved by the wonderful preservation of linen in the Egyptian tombs.

'Pure old water-colour painting upon pure old rags'—such is the panacea offered by the greatest art critic of the day, to pour balm into the wounds of those who hold that all water-colour drawings are doomed to extinction when exposed to daylight.

In the opening pages of Mr. J. C. Robinson's article in this Review, to which I have presumed to offer a reply, he says that in his first communication to the *Times* he did not intend to provoke a controversy, by which, I suppose, he means that, the fiat having gone forth that all water-colour drawings were for the future to be considered as inherently perishable, it would be presumptuous for any one to dispute either the premisses with which he starts, or the conclusions at which he arrives.

Not being in a position to speak *ex cathedra*, and having to face the proverbial difficulty of proving a negative, I have ventured to embark in a controversy with an assailant in whom fluency and wealth of illustration are happily blended. But, fortunately for ourselves, combatants have been enlisted on our side who combine a practical experience of the art in which they excel with the critical faculty which renders their testimony of the highest value. As any definitive judgment upon the merits of the case can hardly yet be expected, we must look to the gradual enlightenment of the public for the decision of a question that concerns every lover of art.

FRANK DILLON.

## NAVAL DEFENCE OF THE COLONIES.

WE have heard much of late of the necessity for Imperial Federation, but no attempt appears to have been made either to formulate a scheme for the practical development of such a policy, or to offer a definition of the word federation as applicable to the British Empire. The term is probably used by many to express their desire that the mother country—irreverently called by our American cousins the 'grandmother country'—should use her utmost endeavours to unite the subjects of the Queen in all parts of the world as one family, with one bond of union founded on a determination to promote the welfare and to protect the interests of every portion of the British Empire.

If federation signifies the permanent union of her Majesty's numerous possessions on such principles it is clearly intended to be framed on a sound basis; but it is doubtful whether any legal or political enactments, beyond those which now exist, can be expected to accomplish that object more completely than the system which has prevailed of recent years, and which, in accordance with the general feeling of the nation, is undoubtedly drawing the colonies and the mother country into closer union year by year, with ties of friendship and confidence in each other.

In the January number of this Review the difficulties of attempting to establish a federation of the Empire, in the ordinary meaning of the term, have been so ably and conclusively discussed by Sir Henry Thring that a repetition of his arguments would be superfluous; but after careful consideration I am led to believe that the same arguments which he has advanced against the probability of a political federation of the colonies with Great Britain being established, at least during this century, apply with equal force to the proposal for a federation of the naval and military forces of the colonies with those of the United Kingdom, except as regards the local defences of each colony. I refer only to the immediate future. What may occur in the far future I will not venture to predict. But whatever system is adopted to unite those forces it should be such as may readily be expanded to meet the increasing strength and importance of our colonial empire, which has in it all the elements of greatness and which will require all the care and con-

consideration of both imperial and colonial statesmen to consolidate as it grows in power and extent year by year.

Whatever change is made in the mode by which the colonies are bound to the mother country must be (as was ably urged by Sir George Bowen at the Colonial Institute on the 15th of June last) only in consequence of the expressed wish of the colonies themselves. Any attempt to force or to persuade them into federation will assuredly result in failure. The secret of our success in colonisation hitherto must not be ignored; it is, that the self-government of each colony has been made a reality and does not exist in name only. We learnt our lesson in 1776, and have most certainly profited by it. Do not let us depart from those principles, but rather let us continue to encourage our colonial brethren to apply all their energies to insure the stability of their own institutions, and to the maintenance of their own prosperity and happiness.

The consolidation of our great empire will best be assured by treating our colonies as friends, not as children; as friends bound to us by the closest of ties, those of love and mutual confidence: by recognising unreservedly their growing strength and importance; by giving full consideration to all requests which are founded on careful discussion among themselves, and which may therefore be relied on as the expression of public opinion. A desire for closer political union may arise spontaneously from the colonies, but such desire will probably first show itself by a voluntary federation of the Australasian group, where there is a nearer approach to a community of interests, and in respect to which a notable example has been shown to them by the Dominion of Canada.

If our colonies in various parts of the world were to form themselves into groups for their own defence and commercial interests—especially in regard to custom-tariffs—any subsequent desire for imperial federation would be more easy of accomplishment. Such a movement would in itself indicate the wish of the colonists to advance in the direction of closer political union.

It is not within the object of this paper to discuss the question of the representation of the colonies in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom. It appears desirable, however, for many reasons connected with the management of the internal affairs of each colony and its independence of imperial legislation, that the most capable men should remain in the colonial legislature, where they could best render good service to their own portion of the Empire.

If the admission of colonial members were limited to a small number to represent each colony, their influence in Parliament would be insufficient to guide its policy, although their presence would offer temptations for undue interference with colonial affairs: if the number admitted were in proportion to population or revenue, they would in

the course of years overwhelm the members returned by the constituencies of the United Kingdom.

I think it probable that the colonists would, after a careful consideration of the matter, be more likely to desire the formation of a council in London, to which the Secretary of State might look for advice on colonial affairs in general, and which might be formed somewhat on the lines of the Indian Council, now acting under the Secretary of State for India.

Whatever steps may be taken, or may be disregarded, in this direction, it is certain that the stability and integrity of this great empire will in the future to a large extent depend on the wisdom and sagacity with which the Imperial Government deals with questions connected with the welfare and interests of our colonies and dependencies. They are often spoken of by foreigners and even by our own countrymen as sources of weakness, as direct temptations to attack by any hostile force of a maritime State with whom we may be involved, or *about to be* involved, in war; they are considered to be unable to protect themselves and too far removed from Great Britain to be able to rely on efficient protection by the mother country. If this be so, we must not let such a state of things continue. We must make the colonies in the event of war what they are during peace—a source of strength. Their revenues, their manhood, and their minerals would, we may feel assured, thanks to the patriotism and loyalty of the colonists, be at the disposal of the Imperial Government for the defence of their own territory as well as of our trade and shipping in their vicinity. But while there is time we should, in conjunction with the Governments of our principal colonies, organise a system capable of general application, and insure that whatever plans are adopted for defence should be matured and executed without delay, that they may be ready and efficient when required.

It is generally acknowledged to be the duty of the Imperial Government to afford protection to British subjects, British interests, and British territory in the event of war—first to insure the safety of the head and heart of the Empire, then to guard all its members.

The question of Home Defence is one of such magnitude that it will not be touched upon here. It depends mainly on the strength and efficiency of the navy; if that, our first line of defence, is not adequately provided for, our existence as a nation is imperilled.

When discussing the mode in which the defence of our colonies should be undertaken it must be borne in mind that they are to be classified in three distinct categories.

1. Those which are held as naval stations for the repair and equipment of our ships of war, and also as *places d'armes* for strategic purposes, as *dépôts* for troops, stores, and provisions, and which will

provide a secure refuge for ships of the Royal Navy and mercantile marine if pressed by the enemy in time of war. Positions of such importance should be made capable of protecting themselves against any force that might reasonably be expected to be brought against them, and be prepared to stand a siege until the arrival of our fleet to their support. In this class are included Malta, Aden, Simon's Town, Gibraltar, Bermuda, Hong Kong, and others.

2. There is another class of colony which is of value for the replenishment of our ships of war and merchant vessels with coal, stores, and provisions, and which will also serve as a refuge when ships are pressed either by the enemy or bad weather. These, usually called coaling stations, are of much importance for the maintenance of our squadrons in all parts of the world where our ships must necessarily cruise for the protection of our commerce and carrying trade.

These ports should be so defended as to be independent of the presence of our fleet, which must always be left free for offensive operations and for the protection of our trade on the high seas. The permanent self-defence of these ports should be sufficient to deny the anchorage to an enemy and to prevent the occupation or destruction of the dépôt by a hostile squadron.

This protection can be best afforded by the provision of submarine mines, to be laid down when required, on a system carefully organised in time of peace; the mines being guarded and the anchorage commanded by a few guns of about 6-inch and smaller calibre, separated from each other, placed at heights of about 100 feet above the sea-level, and at distances from the shore varying from a quarter to half a mile. Each gun should be mounted on a disappearing (Moncrieff) carriage, and be surrounded by a ditch or other sunken obstruction to prevent it from being run into.

In this class of coaling stations may be included St. George's Sound (Western Australia), Port Royal (Jamaica), St. Lucia (West Indies), Perim (Red Sea), a coaling dépôt in the Fiji group, and for the present the island of Port Hamilton, near the Corea (though I look forward to this latter possession becoming a far more important station than a mere coaling dépôt), with others of varying importance.

3. The most important class of our colonies has yet to be considered; it consists of those large territories peopled by the Anglo-Saxon race, who with love and pride own the Queen of Great Britain as their sovereign, and which are rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and strength. In this class are included the Dominion of Canada, all the colonies in the Australasian group, and our colonies in South Africa. This last-named group has passed through a period of trouble and difficulty of late years, and it is hoped that they are rising out of them and may insure a prosperous future by a confederation among themselves.

In each of these groups it is considered that the Imperial Government should secure at least one port by efficient protection as a naval station; for this purpose Halifax, Sydney, and Simon's Bay have been selected. Of these Sydney may be considered to be fairly secure, and has the advantage of a good dock for the repair of large ships. Halifax may with submarine mines and some additional forts be moderately well protected against the approach of a hostile force by sea, though it is open to an attack by land and has as yet no dock which will accommodate a ship of war; one is in course of construction, which I trust will be completed without delay. Simon's Town and the locality of the dock at Cape Town are not yet in a state to defend themselves against an enemy without the assistance of our fleet. No time should be lost in making this important station secure by completing both the fortifications and the railway, so as to render us independent of the Suez Canal for a route to India, China, and Australia.

We are bound also to provide for the protection of our trade and merchant shipping in the neighbourhood of these important colonies, whose welfare depends so intimately on their exports and imports; and with this object our cruisers, which must be fast and powerfully armed, should be multiplied, so as to be ubiquitous. The duty of these cruisers should be not only to drive away or capture those of the enemy, but to guard against filibustering or other expeditions on unprotected parts of the coast, and especially to capture the steam colliers which would be a necessary accompaniment to any hostile squadron, by which alone they could be provided with coal, the sinew of maritime war.

A very general movement among the Australasian colonies which has lately taken place indicates that many of them consider they should not rely only on the Royal Navy for defence. They naturally feel that in the event of Great Britain being involved in war with a great maritime Power the attention of this country would be mainly directed to the seat of war nearer home, and to the conduct of offensive operations against the enemy which might have the effect of bringing the war sooner to an end. Provision would doubtless be made for the protection of our trade on the high seas in all parts of the world, but it is not improbable that the importance of the capture of one of the principal ports of one of our principal colonies would be a temptation to an enterprising enemy to despatch a powerful squadron to distant seas, whose destination would be unknown to us, and which might temporarily outnumber our squadron in those seas. It is to guard against such a contingency, I presume, that the colonies are turning their attention so seriously to local defence; and it is our duty to support their efforts loyally and effectually. The great commercial interests which are at stake and the honour of this country and of our flag, which is involved, render it necessary that

the Imperial Government and the colonies should jointly take steps to secure the outlying territory of the Empire from hostile invasion and colonial property from destruction.

It is almost superfluous to refer to the fact that the object of the colonies in providing vessels of war is solely for the purpose of defence. Their status as armed vessels of war is provided for under the Colonial Defence Act of 1865, the title of which indicates that their special duty is to take part only in the local defence of the colony which provides them. No fear therefore need be entertained that the possession of armed ships of war, which are constructed and intended only for service in harbours and on coasts, will be utilised for purposes of offence in such a manner as might, during peace time, involve us in troublesome diplomatic correspondence with foreign Powers. The necessity for such a limit of the duties of the colonial armed forces was, presumably, carefully considered by the framers of the Act of 1865, and should not be disregarded.

Many of the colonies are now voting money for, and are earnestly engaged in, the provision and maintenance of naval forces for defensive purposes. In some cases officers on the active lists of their respective ranks in the Royal Navy have accepted service in the colonies. These have been allowed by the Admiralty to proceed abroad for such temporary service as they can be spared. Warrant officers, petty officers, seamen-gunners, and others have also temporarily been allowed to accept such appointments. They would probably, however, be immediately recalled to England in the event of this country being involved in a maritime war, which is precisely the time when the colonies would require their services. This would disorganise most seriously the young colonial navy. No doubt officers of the mercantile marine of experience and high character could be found to fill the vacant places, but it is certain that the principal duties of officers in such a force will be those of training seamen in the management of heavy guns and in the use of the arms which will be placed in their hands. The capacity for instructing and training the seamen in the performance of all their duties can only be properly possessed by those who are thoroughly conversant with them, and who have kept pace with the progress of science and art in the construction and use of ships and weapons for naval warfare.

In the event of war the naval forces of each colony would doubtless be placed under the orders of the naval commander-in-chief on the station. The officers and men would then be under the Naval Discipline Act and would in all respects be incorporated with the Royal Navy. But it is evident that such a force, composed of officers on the active list (if not previously recalled), others on the retired list, officers and seamen of the merchant navy, and other seafaring men



coloured in the colonies, trained on different systems, under different commanding officers, not united under any one authority, would lack that cohesion and strict discipline which is absolutely necessary to form an effective naval force. It is true that each flotilla would be generally retained for the defence of the port to which it belongs, but occasion might arise when it would become necessary to unite them, and in any circumstances they would be required to act in conjunction with the ships of the Royal Navy, where the want of a uniform system would be seriously felt.

I am very far from wishing to deprecate the personal value of officers and men trained and nurtured in the colonies. I believe that men whose early life has been passed in any of our large colonies will be found to be peculiarly well fitted for service in the army or the navy; and I would gladly see both services more fully recruited from that source, both as regards officers and men. In respect to the navy, in which service a considerable increase in the number of young officers is becoming more necessary every year, much benefit would be derived by the admission of a larger number of colonial cadets, who would thus be trained to take part in the defence of their native or adopted homes, as well as to fulfil their duties in other seas. I do not, however, anticipate, in view of the scarcity of labour and high wages now prevalent in the colonies, that we shall get seamen in any large numbers to join ships of war at the present rates of pay for some years to come.

There are many minor difficulties to be overcome before colonial naval forces can be with advantage incorporated with the Royal Navy in time of war. Our naval regulations, Naval Discipline Act, and system of signals are not to be learnt in a day; the officers and men will, however, be subject to all of them; and arrangements must also be made to define the relative rank of the officers of the combined forces. These matters are no doubt capable of solution, but they require careful consideration, and the efficiency of the armed vessels of any colony must in a great degree depend not only on their organisation, but on the constant exercise and training of the officers and men in every branch of their duty.

An inspection of a well-disciplined ship of war by a landsman, or indeed by anyone not thoroughly conversant with naval matters, would give him an impression that the order, regularity, rapidity, and precision with which every operation is carried out are the result of natural causes, or perhaps the application of ordinary intelligence and attention to the performance of daily duties a knowledge of which may be easily acquired, and that when once the machinery of routine is in motion it must go smoothly and with accuracy. There is nothing to indicate that a long apprenticeship, with constant, unflagging training and daily exercise actually at sea, is necessary to enable reliance to be placed on the performance of every branch of the

varied duties which combine to make an efficient ship of war. The management of steam machinery, the repair, maintenance, and use of torpedoes, a knowledge of electricity and magnetism, thorough acquaintance with the working of ordnance, both heavy and light, the navigation and handling of a ship in dangerous localities and in a fleet, the control and discipline of bodies of men, and that self-confidence in actual warfare founded on experience, are all necessary branches of knowledge which must be possessed by the officers, and especially by the captain if he is to take his ship into action with any prospect of success.

It is certain that an efficient and reliable naval force cannot be extemporised: it must be the growth of years, of years during which the *personnel* must apply their whole energies to obtain a knowledge of and practice in their profession.

These points are for the serious consideration of those colonies which at the present time are with much energy and patriotism endeavouring to organise local navies for their own defence.

I will now endeavour to give an outline of the system which I believe those of our colonies, really in earnest in providing for the local defence of their important ports, will sooner or later desire to adopt. As has been mentioned previously in this paper, the protection of trade on the high seas must continue to be the duty of the Imperial Government. We ought not to look to the colonies to take any share of the cost of providing sea-going ships, whether ironclads or unarmoured cruisers; and it would be most unwise to limit the cruising grounds of such cruisers at the request of any colonial Government, so as to hamper the plans of the admiral in command and prevent the concentration of his force for offensive or defensive operations as he thinks desirable.

The Government of each colony which is desirous of supplementing the Imperial forces by contributing towards the provision of a flotilla for the local defence of its seaports, whether it be that of the Dominion of Canada or of any of the Australasian group, might be invited to consider, in conjunction with any naval and military officers they think it desirable to consult, what description and amount of naval force they deem it necessary to provide for the defence of their ports. This should include the provision of submarine mines, gun-boats, torpedo-boats, and any description of force afloat. An estimate can then be formed of the cost of providing and annual cost of maintaining the vessels decided on, which estimate should be approved both by the Imperial and Colonial Governments, and the amount be paid annually by the colony to the Imperial Government, which should then engage to provide the necessary vessels without delay, and to maintain them in efficiency at the several ports *as part of the Royal Navy* under the command of the admiral on the station, on the distinct understanding that neither during peace nor war should they be

removed from the ports they were provided to defend without the consent of the Government of the colony.

This system is similar to that which has been in operation for many years between the Home and Indian Governments for the protection of trade in the Persian Gulf, and has worked to the satisfaction of both Governments and of the Royal Navy. It will insure one uniform system being adopted in all parts of the world: the colonies would thus determine what number and description of vessels they require for each locality; the officers and men would be under constant training, and would be acquainted with every improvement in the art of naval warfare. The navy would be increased, and facilities would be furnished for the entry and training of seamen, boys and officers from the colonies, whether they are enrolled in the active service of the navy, or in the colonial naval reserve to be called out when required.

A remedy would thus be found for all the difficulties which are inherent in the organisation of separate colonial squadrons independently of the Royal Navy, of which the vessels would be perhaps provided with different arms and ammunition; and a true federation for defensive purposes would be established, which would be more efficient and more economical than any combination of colonial forces. No one can doubt the administrative power of colonial statesmen or the energy and high personal qualities of the colonists: they are capable of creating an army and navy which would in time be second to none in the world; but I have endeavoured to show that the creation of a navy requires a long period of training, for which the colonists have not at present the leisure, and they will not be satisfied with a paper force.

Various plans have been proposed for the defence of the trade of the colonies during war, one of which has the merit of simplicity, if it were practicable. It is that we should agree with other maritime Powers to exempt private property from capture or destruction during war. It is scarcely necessary to point out that such a convention would soon be disregarded during a maritime war, and that any nation which trusted to its observance would suffer. War must continue to be a burden and disaster to all the inhabitants of the countries engaged in it, and every individual should be interested in bringing it to a close as soon as possible.

The foreign policy of the Imperial Government is a matter of much importance to the colonies, and is one in which they apparently have no voice; but is it really so? The Government of this country is bound to consider, and doubtless does consider, the interests of the whole Empire; and it cannot be questioned that our foreign policy is *chiefly* dictated—more or less wisely—by considerations affecting the interests of our foreign possessions. These interests are best secured by a powerful navy, one that is represented by an adequate force in

every part of the globe, under one supreme command, a force which should be homogeneous, uniform in organisation and in discipline, not composed of various materials which could never form a compact body.

The time has arrived when the protection of our commerce requires a large increase in the number of fast, well-armed cruisers; it cannot be too forcibly urged that, in view of the great speed of many ships in our own and other mercantile navies, we must provide ships of at least equal speed and coal-carrying capacity, armed and protected so as to be superior in fighting power to any armed merchant ships they may meet.

I believe that the stability of this rapidly extending empire depends in a great measure on the consideration which is given by our statesmen to the interests of our sister States abroad. The proceedings of this year connected with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London will do much to awaken the people of Great Britain to the fact of how large a share of our commercial greatness is due to our colonial possessions; and will induce them to consider that their prosperity can best be insured by a continuance of the policy which has been followed of late years, by which those countries so separated from us by local position, climate, and other circumstances are not only encouraged to manage their own internal affairs, but have free institutions and true liberty secured to them by constitutions guaranteed by the Imperial Government, and are protected from disturbances from without by the navy of Great Britain. The electric telegraph and our lines of steamships have lately brought the colonies into much closer and more rapid intercourse with each other and with the people of these islands; and all classes of society have followed the example of the Queen and the Royal family in showing their appreciation of the high qualities of our colonial brethren, and the value we attach to their friendship.

It is my earnest desire that the union between our colonies and this country should be closer and more firmly established year by year; not bound by any additional legal ties or enactments, but by far more reliable and permanent bonds, those of affection, common interests, and mutual confidence.

A. COOPER KEY.

### THE UNIONIST CAMPAIGN.

THE month which has come and gone, since I wrote in the last number of this Review on the then impending election, has been fraught with grave results. It is needless to say that those results have been very welcome to those who hold, with me, that the maintenance of the Union is a matter of life and death to Great Britain. A great danger has been averted; a great disgrace has been avoided; a great principle has been vindicated. When a battle has been won, there is little to be gained in fighting it over again on paper. Concerning the elections, all I need say here is that they have amply justified the confidence which I ventured to express when last I wrote. There is one person—according to the French proverb—who is always cleverer than all the world, and that is all the world. So it has proved once more. The astute politicians, the clever wire-pullers, and the sharp electioneering agents, as usual, failed to realise the truth that the plain common sense of the great public would carry the day against party organisations, however adroitly worked, and party tactics, however skilfully played. The masses to whom Mr. Gladstone appealed against the verdict of his own Parliament have confirmed that verdict by an overwhelming majority, and have now transferred their confidence to his political opponents.

This, as I read it, is the real lesson of the late elections. The great public, whose judgment is in the end the final arbiter of all our political controversies, has lost confidence in the Liberals, and above all in their leader. In an evil hour for themselves and for their country, the Liberals, as a party, consented, at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, to identify themselves with the Irish Separatists. By so doing they have impaired—and most justly impaired—popular faith in their patriotism and their statesmanship. It is distrust of Liberalism, far more than belief in Conservatism, which has brought about the Conservative reaction. Be this as it may, the existence and the extent of the reaction are not open to dispute. Not only has the Conservative vote increased to an extent almost unknown in our political annals; not only have the great centres of the nation's intelligence and wealth and industry pronounced in favour of Conservatism; but in every part of the United Kingdom, in every nine constituencies out of ten, the Liberal vote has fallen away—the

Conservative vote has increased in numbers. What is more than this, the Conservatives would unquestionably have commanded an absolute and decisive majority in the new Parliament if they had been willing to subordinate the interests of the country to party considerations. It is as certain as any hypothetical event can ever be, that if the Conservatives had chosen to contest the seats held by Unionist Liberals, the latter would in a large majority of cases have been compelled to retire in favour of the Conservative candidates, who, as a rule, would have proved successful. It is certain also that in a very large number of the seats carried by Ministerialists, in which the contest lay between them and Conservative candidates, the result would have been different if the malcontent Liberals, instead of simply staying away from the polls, had given their votes to the Conservatives. The country, to speak the plain truth, has declared for the Conservatives.

There is no good whatever in shirking facts; and the plain fact is that from Lord Hartington downwards the Liberal Unionists who have been returned to Parliament number more Conservatives than Liberals in the majorities to which they owe their election. They are, to speak the truth, Liberals who were returned by Conservative votes, and who cannot hope to be returned again unless they retain the confidence of their Conservative supporters. There is nothing in this of which the Liberal Unionists have any cause to be ashamed; the only reproach to which they have laid themselves open is that of not fully realising the true character of their election.

It is obvious to any one who is prepared to look facts in the face that the Liberal Unionists have no chance of forming a party of their own. The British public, as I wrote in my last article, likes clear colours and has no taste for neutral tints. A number of Liberal members of the late Parliament, who had voted against the Home Rule Bill, retained their seats because they were supported by the Conservative vote. But the number of cases in which a Liberal Unionist who had not sat in the last Parliament secured his election might be counted on the fingers of two hands. The defeat of Mr. Goschen and Sir George Trevelyan, two of the most conspicuous of the Liberal seceders, was doubtless due in the main to local and personal causes. But still, neither of these mishaps could have occurred if the cause they represented had commended itself strongly to popular favour. The people of England may be—and I believe are—Unionists to the backbone; but they attach very little importance to the question whether the defence of the Union is or is not conjoined with a particular shade of Liberalism. What they want is to see the Union upheld; and the political instinct which is so largely diffused amongst Englishmen teaches them that the party most likely to put down all attempts to dismember the Empire are the Conservatives. If the Union is to be maintained it is—as things are—not

the Unionist Liberals, but the Conservatives who have got to do the work. This is the bottom fact of the whole political situation.

I dwell upon these considerations not from any wish to disparage the services of a body of men for whom personally I have the highest respect, and whose political opinions are very much in accordance with my own, but because I wish to point out to my Liberal Unionist friends what in my judgment is the course recommended to them alike by interest, by good faith, and by duty. Before these lines appear in print Lord Salisbury will in all likelihood have formed his Government. It may be taken for granted that previous to forming it he will endeavour to secure the active collaboration of the Unionist Liberals. It would be idle to speculate here upon what precise response will be made to his overtures. Nor is it of much use to lay down any law as to the conditions under which a coalition might or might not be formed with advantage. All these are points on which speculation is, for my present purpose, either too early or too late. It is, however, possible to express a very definite opinion as to the spirit in which the overtures to which I allude should be received. That spirit, if I am right, should be a cordial and sincere desire to meet the Conservatives half-way.

In order to make my meaning clear, it is necessary to recall the general character of the crisis with which Liberal Unionists and Conservatives are now called to deal. The facts stand thus: The repeal of the Union has been demanded by an overwhelming majority of the Irish representatives. This demand has been endorsed by the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party, and at his solicitation has been accepted by the bulk of the party. Home Rule for Ireland is now part and parcel of the programme of the Liberals, and will continue to be so as long as the policy of the party is dictated by Mr. Gladstone. It is idle to ignore the fact that the Home Rule agitation occupies a very different and a far more formidable position than that which it occupied only six months ago. For the first time since the Act of Union a proposal for the repeal of that fundamental law has been seriously discussed in Parliament, and carried through its preliminary stages with the sanction and support of an English Ministry. The proposal has been defeated in Parliament and rejected by the country. But it is not dead for all that. We shall hear of Home Rule again—we shall hear of it very shortly; and Mr. Gladstone may safely be relied upon not to let the agitation die out for want of sustenance. I need hardly say that I do not share the opinion of Mr. Gladstone's statesmanship entertained by his partisans; but it would be absurd to dispute either his activity as a political leader, his personal popularity with large masses of his fellow-countrymen, or his singular astuteness as a master of Parliamentary tactics. We may take it for certain that we shall hear no more for the present of Mr. Gladstone's desire for rest, or of his intention to

devote himself to loftier and more congenial pursuits than those of politics. Mr. Gladstone, to speak the truth, stands irrevocably committed to the principle of Home Rule, and he must either redeem the pledges he has given to his Irish allies, or submit to have his public career as a statesman brought to a close with a colossal and ignominious failure. The latter alternative is one which, to do him justice, he will never accept save under absolute compulsion. We have got, therefore, to reckon with the fact that the agitation for Home Rule will be resumed forthwith, and resumed, too, under Mr. Gladstone's leadership, and with the active support of the great mass of the Liberal party. This is the danger we have got to meet. In the face of such a peril we have now to consider what are the resources which lie at the disposal of the supporters of the Union.

First and foremost, then, we have the staunch and united support of the great Conservative party, numbering as it does now not far short of a majority of the whole House of Commons, and commanding, if the Parnellites are left out of account, an overwhelming majority in the representation of Great Britain. Secondly, we have the Unionist Liberals, who, notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's vaticinations, have returned to the new Parliament not far short of the number they mustered in the old. If the Unionist Liberals consent to co-operate loyally with the Conservatives, then, in as far as Parliament is concerned, all agitation for Home Rule is doomed to certain failure. Whether this co-operation can best be given in the form of an actual coalition or of independent support, is a question of detail. The all-important thing is that the Liberal Unionists should make up their minds to the fact that their first and paramount duty is to keep Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals out of office so long as they remain committed to Home Rule. They can do this easily if they consent to vote with Lord Salisbury on any question which might imperil the fate of the Conservative Government. They may remain Unionist Liberals if they like; but if the Union is to be preserved from future attacks they must be Unionists first and Liberals afterwards.

In speaking of the policy which the Unionist Liberals should pursue, it must be understood that I am alluding to the section of the party represented by Lord Hartington, not to that represented by Mr. Chamberlain. The two sections occupy very different positions. Mr. Chamberlain is beyond all question the future leader of the Radical party. By his bold and high-minded refusal to tamper with the integrity of the Union for the sake of a passing party advantage, he has earned the confidence of the general public, without which no party leader can ever hope to attain high rank in English politics. But he remains for all that a Radical politician, with aims, ideas, and aspirations all of which, whether right or wrong, are in distinct opposition to the views of government held by the Conservatives and the Whigs. Even with regard to Home Rule



Mr. Chamberlain, though he scouted Mr. Gladstone's crude and illogical proposals, is prepared to make concessions which the supporters of the Union would regard with dismay. The time must come—and probably at no remote date—when Mr. Chamberlain will return to the Liberal fold, and return, too, with increased authority and a larger following. For this the Unionists must be prepared. Mr. Chamberlain's assistance is welcome, as long as it lasts. Of its essence, however, this assistance is merely transitory, and all idea of Mr. Chamberlain's ever joining or actively supporting a Conservative Ministry is utterly beyond the question. Indeed the one forcible argument in favour of Liberal Unionists remaining outside the Salisbury Government is, that any distinct coalition would probably drive Mr. Chamberlain and his Radical adherents to take up a position of covert if not of open hostility.

It is to Lord Hartington and his followers that the Conservatives must look for the support of which they stand in need. Of the seventy odd Unionist Liberals, fifty at least acknowledge Lord Hartington as their leader. If the Conservatives can rely upon these fifty votes in case of need we may hope to have for the next few years a strong, stable, and solid Government, powerful enough to uphold the Union against all attacks from within and from without. The Conservatives have close upon three hundred and twenty votes of their own. If they can count on fifty Liberal Unionist votes on any critical division, they will have a majority of seventy as against any possible coalition of Gladstonians, Parnellites, and independent Radicals. The only question is whether Lord Hartington and his followers are sufficiently alive to the gravity of the crisis to realise the fact that the practical maintenance of a Unionist Government in power is more important than the vindication of their abstract title to the name of Liberals.

I have heard that on some occasion when a youthful member of Parliament informed Lord Palmerston that he should always support his Government when they were in the right, the old Premier answered, 'My dear sir, that is not at all what we want. Everybody will support us when we are in the right; what we need are friends who will support us when we are in the wrong.' In the answer, cynical as it may seem, there is a substratum of sober truth. Under our system of party government no ministry can hold its own unless its supporters will stretch a point in case of need to help it over a difficulty. Questions must arise in every administration where the measures and policy of the Government are not in absolute accord with the ideas, or even the convictions, of a large section of its supporters. These supporters have then got to determine for themselves whether the divergence is great enough to justify them in upsetting a ministry of which in the main they approve; if they cannot answer this question in the affirmative they are bound to vote

in favour of the Government and against their individual opinion. To do this is not pleasant even for the nominal and avowed supporters of a Government. It is still less pleasant for unavowed and independent supporters who are nominally attached to another party. Yet unless the Unionist Liberals are ready to vote for the Conservatives whenever the Ministry are threatened by a Liberal coalition, irrespective of the question whether the point at issue is one on which they are in complete agreement with the Conservatives, their support is not of the kind which a Government requires. Of course it must be understood that the Conservative Government will avoid, as far as possible, the introduction of all measures that are likely to prove distasteful to the Unionist Liberals. But still points will infallibly arise on which the Conservatives and the Unionist Liberals are not in accord; and no powerful Unionist Government is possible unless on these points the latter in case of necessity are prepared to give way to the former. In other words, the Unionist Liberals must make it their first aim and object to keep Mr. Gladstone out of office, and in order to do this they must do their utmost to keep the Conservatives in office.

It may be said that if the Unionist Liberals are always to vote with the Conservatives on every question which might give rise to a ministerial crisis, they had better join the Conservative administration. As this is exactly my own opinion, I should find it hard to gainsay the force of the above argument. Still it must fairly be allowed that there are many considerations with regard to the future which militate against the immediate formation of a coalition ministry. The question is one which Lord Hartington and his followers must, and will, decide for themselves. All I contend for is that whether they actually join the Conservative Government or not, they must give this Government, as long as it remains the champion of the Union, the same support as they would under other circumstances have accorded to a Liberal Government of which they were not actually members. If they fail to do this they will stultify themselves and undo the work which they have made such sacrifices to accomplish. The sole justification of the Liberal secession lies in the fact that Lord Hartington and his colleagues honestly believed that the policy proposed by Mr. Gladstone was fatal to the Union, and that the maintenance of the Union was more important than the maintenance of the Liberal party in office. If the Unionist Liberals did not believe this, their secession was simply factious: if they did believe this, and do believe it still, they are bound to keep the Conservatives in office in order to keep Mr. Gladstone out of office. From this dilemma there is no escape. Of all the characters mentioned in the Gospels, the one who has been held up to the most persistent obloquy is that of the man who put his hand to the plough and then turned back. Nor is this reprobation unreasonable. There is no

necessity to put your hand to the plough at all. If you choose to see the land lie fallow sooner than inconvenience yourself, that is your concern. But if you once recognise the duty of seeing that the land is ploughed, and take part in the ploughing, and then grow weary of your labour before the soil is turned up and the furrows set straight, you are not unjustly held up to reproach. So it is with the Liberal Unionists. If having put their hands to the plough they turn back before the work is done, their record will be one of failure without credit.

The warning thus given is not, I fear, unneeded. A certain section of the Unionist Liberals seem, at present, to have nothing more at heart than to show that they are Liberals after all, and that they have nothing in common with the Conservatives. Yet, if they are right in their contention, I fail to see how they can possibly justify their reason of being. If the battle for the Union was over, then there would be no objection to their proving, if they thought fit, that though they had fought and conquered together with the Conservatives, their alliance ended with the attainment of their common victory. But the battle is not over, it is only just begun; and at the outset of a campaign it is indiscreet, to say the least, to remind the allies on whom you must rely for victory that you intend to repudiate their alliance the moment they have served your purpose. It is obvious that within a very short time the informal coalition between the Conservatives and the Unionist Liberals will be exposed to a very severe strain. As soon as Parliament reassembles in earnest, Lord Salisbury will be compelled to formulate his policy about Ireland. Now, for my own part, I utterly disbelieve in the possibility of discovering any compromise which will at once satisfy the Irish demand for self-government, and yet preserve intact the authority of the Imperial Parliament. Either the concessions offered will fail to give the Nationalists increased power in Ireland, and in that case they will be rejected; or the concessions will give the Nationalists increased power, and in that case they will be employed to subvert the Union. This being so, no Conservative Government, with all the good-will in the world, can do anything to satisfy the agitation for Home Rule. Yet, failing such satisfaction, the agitation will be revived with renewed activity; and its revival must of necessity be met by coercive measures. It is quite true that to assert the supremacy of the law, to uphold the authority of the courts, and to protect individual liberty against organised terrorism, can only be called coercion by a shameless perversion of language. But coercion is the term which will be applied by the Gladstonian party to all measures for the preservation of law and order in Ireland; and these measures cannot be carried into effect unless the Liberal Unionists are prepared to support the Government by which they are proposed, and thus to expose themselves to the reproach of being

advocates of coercion. The difficulty of joint action in supporting a policy of so-called coercion will be infinitely greater for the Liberal Unionists if they sit on the Opposition benches, than it would be if they were sitting on the benches of the Administration and voting openly and boldly as its supporters.

Upon Irish questions, however, the necessity for joint action is so manifest and so imperative, that in the end the Liberal Unionists will, I believe, feel themselves compelled, however reluctantly, to go into the same lobby with the Conservatives. The real danger to the continuance of the informal alliance, whose existence is essential to the defence of the Union, will arise upon questions not directly connected with the Irish difficulty. I shall certainly not be credited with placing any unduly high estimate on Mr. Gladstone's ability or statesmanship, but I should be the first to do justice to his astuteness as distinguished from ability, and to his statecraft as opposed to statesmanship. Now it is matter of notoriety that, since his defeat at the polls, Mr. Gladstone has exerted all his influence and ingenuity to hinder the Liberal Unionists from forming an open coalition with the Conservatives, and to keep alive the contention that they have done nothing to justify their being read out of the ranks of the Liberal party. The mere fact that these tactics find favour with Mr. Gladstone and the Home Rulers would lead me to doubt whether the absence of any open coalition can be regarded as an advantage to the cause of the Union. Apart from this consideration we may take it for granted that in the course of the next session the policy of the Opposition will be to bring forward non-Irish questions on which the Liberal Unionists are likely to be more in accord with their old than with their new colleagues. Far less dexterity than that possessed by the 'Parliamentary Old Hand' is required to raise a question on which it will be difficult for members sitting on the Liberal benches and professing allegiance to the Liberal party, to vote with the Conservative Government against the Liberal Opposition. Yet unless they do so vote, the cause of the Union will be endangered.

Whenever such a crisis arises—and it will infallibly be made to arise, if it does not arise of itself—the Liberal Unionists will probably split into two sections. A certain number will vote with Mr. Gladstone, irrespective of what the ulterior consequences of their vote may be. A certain, and I believe a larger, number will feel that the maintenance of the Union is more important than the assertion of their Liberal orthodoxy, and will vote with the Government. The remainder will probably abstain from voting. Now the Conservatives have so close upon a majority of the whole House that the votes of a score of Unionist Liberals would save them from actual defeat. But it is clear that these experiments could not often be repeated, and that a constant struggle between their allegiance to the Union and

their allegiance to the Liberal cause must soon break up the party of which Lord Hartington is the leader.

I am convinced, therefore, that if the Unionist Liberals, as is deemed probable at the time when I write, decline to form any open coalition with the Conservatives, they will only have succeeded in postponing the necessity of making an unwelcome decision. Sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—the conviction will be brought home to the Unionist Liberals that they must join the Conservatives if they desire to preserve the Union. So long as Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party are in favour of Home Rule, the real safeguard for the Union lies in the strength of the Conservative Government; and this Government cannot be strong until it can rely, not only on the casual votes, but on the constant and open support of the Unionist Liberals, as distinguished from the Unionist Radicals.

I was taught as a child that if you have got to jump into the sea you had better jump in at once instead of standing shivering upon the steps of the bathing machine. Subsequent experience has confirmed my belief in the truth of this teaching as a rule both for private and public life. For my own part I think the Liberal Unionists would do more wisely to take the leap at once. This, however, is a matter for their own decision. But if they have any claim to political foresight they should make up their minds to the plain hard fact that sooner or later the leap has got to be made.

I know that many of their members cherish the idea that their secession from the Liberal party is as transitory as a lovers' quarrel, and that whenever Mr. Gladstone, by choice or by necessity, retires from public life the Liberals will be once more a happy and united family, of which Lord Hartington, as long as he has not formally abjured his allegiance to Liberalism, will be the natural leader. The idea to my mind is a complete delusion. Nobody is less disposed than I am to underrate the evil that Mr. Gladstone has inflicted on the country by his sudden conversion to Home Rule. But still Mr. Gladstone could never have carried his party with him unless they had long before been indoctrinated with ideas and principles of policy utterly at variance with the old-fashioned Liberalism of which Lord Hartington and the Whigs are the representatives. The divergence between Radicalism and Liberalism has undoubtedly been accentuated by Mr. Gladstone's ill-advised policy, but this divergence is not due to Mr. Gladstone's personality and will survive the removal of that personality from the scene of public life. Remove Mr. Gladstone, blot out the Home Rule agitation, and the forces which have gradually been bringing about a fusion between the Moderate Liberals and the Conservatives will continue in operation and will act as years go by with increased energy.

The subject is far too wide a one to be discussed here. I can

only say in passing that I fail to see why the prospect of a fusion with the Conservatives should be viewed with apprehension or distrust by any sensible Liberal. To me, as to all thinking men, it is a matter of supreme indifference by what name my party is called, so long as my party is identified with the advocacy of principles I deem true, and the maintenance of institutions I desire to uphold. Now, as a matter of fact, the existing distinction between a commonplace Conservative and a commonplace Liberal is one of name and of name only. I defy you to name any important measure of home or foreign policy on which there is any substantial difference of opinion between the parties represented by Lord Salisbury and by Lord Hartington. I defy you to name any grave reform likely to be proposed by the Radicals which the Whigs are not as much opposed to in principle as the Conservatives. All important reforms consistent with the preservation of our existing Constitution have practically been accomplished. All future reform must be of a revolutionary character, and involve an attack upon some one of our fundamental institutions. Any such attack would be deprecated alike by Whigs and Conservatives. The time is fast coming, if it has not come already, when the two parties in the State will consist of the defenders and the assailants of our Constitution. This is the simple fact; and in the long run names have to give way to facts. Mr. Gladstone's unsuccessful attempt to effect the repeal of the Union has precipitated the fusion between the two great sections of the Constitutional party; but, even without Mr. Gladstone's efforts, this fusion must inevitably have been brought about by the course of events. To fusion Whigs and Conservatives must come at last. Far from deploring this result, to me it seems a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

EDWARD DICEY.

Hawarden Castle, Chester:

July 11, 1886.

MR. GLADSTONE presents his compliments to the Editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, and requests, with reference to an observation by Professor Huxley on Mr. Gladstone's neglect duly to consult the works of Professor Dana, whom he had cited, that the Editor will have the kindness to print in his next number the accompanying letter, which has this morning been sent to him from America.

• Rev. Dr. Sutherland,

• My dear Sir,—I do not know that in my letter of yesterday, in which I referred you to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, I answered directly your question, and hence I add a word to say that I agree in all essential points with Mr. Gladstone, and believe that the first chapters of Genesis and Science are in accord.

• Yours very truly,

• JAMES D. DANA.

• Newhaven, April 16, 1886.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY.

No. CXV.—SEPTEMBER 1886.

*THE MORAL OF THE LATE CRISIS.*

It is a bad thing, as Lincoln said, to change horses in crossing the stream, especially when the stream is a boiling torrent. Threatened with disruption, the nation naturally and rightly rallies round its existing institutions. It is better that the Union should be saved by the most stationary or even reactionary of ministries, than lost by the most progressive. To support the Queen's government against foreign conspiracy and the confederates of foreign conspiracy within the realm is the plain duty of the hour, which every good citizen, Conservative or Liberal, will fulfil, much as the Liberal, at all events, may wish that the government were other than it is. To dismemberment, the people, both of Switzerland and of the United States, rightly preferred civil war, and the British Liberal may well prefer to it any temporary sacrifice of what he deems legislative reform. Commerce universally prays for a few years of firm and quiet government. Nothing else can redeem Ireland from ruin. That which is most to be feared is that the Conservative government may not be Conservative, but may, under the inspiration of unwise ambition and from the desire of outshining the other party, attempt some brilliant settlement of the Irish question, and by so doing throw the country back into the confusion from which it has just escaped. Now that separation has been rejected, no political question relating exclusively to Ireland, of a fundamental character, remains. Nothing remains in the political sphere but to reinstate the national in place of the rebel government, restore order, and place the persons, properties, and occupations of peaceful citizens again under the protection of the law. Questions



respecting the Viceroyalty, the abolition of which was voted thirty years ago by the House of Commons, or the institution of an Irish Grand Committee, are not fundamental, and may be considered without heat or hurry. There are Irish questions, other than political, which may be 'settled' if Acts of Parliament can at once alter the soil and climate of the island, or the character, habits, and religion of its people. The quiet reception of the national decision against separation by the Irish people shows the good effects of firmness, and the futility of the pretence that tranquillity could be restored in Ireland only by a revolution.

But though a Conservative government is the thing to be desired for the present, the late events surely call upon statesmen, with a voice of thunder, to look to the future, and to undertake, before it is too late, a rational and comprehensive revision of British institutions. A party leader, worsted in the Parliamentary fray, suddenly determines to open the way back to victory by taking a plebiscite on a question vitally affecting the integrity of the nation. This he is able to do of his own mere will and pleasure, though the most eminent men of his party have repudiated his policy and left his side. A few weeks are given the nation to make up its mind whether it will consent to the most fundamental of all possible changes. In the electorate there are great masses of people, upon whom political power has just been thrust by the strategical moves of leaders in the party war, untrained in its exercise and ignorant of the question. The question itself is not put distinctly to the people, but is mixed up with all the other questions of the day, and with all those of a local and personal character which enter into the mind of the voter at an ordinary election: so that votes are counted for a separate Irish Parliament when they are really given for Disestablishment, for Small Holdings, for the Abolition of Vaccination, for the popular man of the district, for the G. O. M., or simply for Blue and Yellow. After a confused struggle the nation just escapes irrevocable dismemberment, though we cannot tell exactly how, no two persons agreeing in their analysis of the results, while the defeated party asserts that if the hay had not been out dismemberment might have won. This, I say, is a loud call to a revision of institutions. In democratic America, not the smallest amendment of the Constitution, much less an issue affecting the integrity of the nation, can be put to the vote except in the most distinct and formal manner, after the most ample notice, and by a process such that consent must be the deliberate act of a decisive majority of the entire nation represented by the legislatures of the States.

What had preceded this throwing of dice for the destiny of the country? Scenes which must surely have led anyone but a wire-puller to reflect on the working of party, and to ask himself whether it is the foundation on which government is for ever to rest. The

economical part of the Irish difficulty has deep roots ; but the political agitation was in itself weak, like all those which had preceded it, and which, from O'Connell's Repeal agitation downwards, had come successively to farcical ends. Its strength, which became at length so formidable, was derived from British faction ; the Parties in their reckless struggle for power playing alternately into its hands. Government was thus paralysed in its struggle with rebellion, and the nation was laid at the feet of a despicable foreign conspiracy, while the House of Commons itself ignominiously succumbed to obstruction which a town council would at once have put down. Nor was the Tory party, though presumably most interested in the maintenance of order, more patriotic or scrupulous than its rival. Few things in our political history are worse than the purchase of Mr. Parnell's support for a Tory government by the abandonment of the Crimes Act and the repudiation of Lord Spencer, to which is immediately traceable the origin of the present perilous situation. Every Tory gentleman who had not cast regard for public honour out of his heart, listened with disgust to the speeches of his leaders in the Maamtrasna debate. On the other side we had signs not less portentous. We had the foremost man of the country, full of years and honour, when disappointed of his majority, flinging himself into the arms of what he had himself denounced as public plunder and treason, and assailing what had been designated by the Queen a few months before as a fundamental and inviolable statute of the realm. We had him appealing, deliberately and repeatedly, to class passions and provincial animosities, inflaming disaffection in Ireland by representations of the conduct of England to the Irish people which no man competently informed could in his sober senses believe, and holding up his country before the whole world to unmerited odium and infamy. For the last six months the national government in Ireland has effaced itself, and allowed authority to pass into the hands of a lawless conspiracy, which, without a particle of military force at its command, has been left master of the country ; till at length the police and constabulary, whose firmness long continued to attest to the feebleness and hollowness of the revolution, have begun to be shaken in their fidelity, as they were sure to be when they found that the government which they served had struck its flag to rebellion. Such are the works of faction, which does not shrink even from the thought of employing the national army in compelling loyal men to submit to the will of rebels and of the foreign enemies of the realm. For what greater or more ominous symptoms of political disorganisation does the nation wait ? Does it wish to become the scorn of the whole world ?

'Discriminations between wholesome and unwholesome victories are idle and unpractical. Obtain the victory, know how to follow it up, leave the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness to critics.' Such

is the recorded principle of the present Tory leader of the House of Commons, and he asserts and abundantly proves that it was the principle of Lord Beaconsfield before him. Though seldom so frankly expressed, or so consistently observed, it is the principle of all who subsist by faction; the practice of it has led, under the Party system, to the most brilliant prizes; and as soon as it shall have thoroughly pervaded public life a domination of scoundrelism must ensue.

Parties, moreover, are now splitting into sections, not one of which is strong enough to sustain a government. This tendency is seen all over Europe, and its growth will conspire with morality to seal the doom of party government. No British party returned from the late election with a majority of its own; this, combined with the perilous nature of the crisis, which made a strong executive government indispensable to the country, seemed likely to lead to a coalition, which by moderate and patriotic men was generally and earnestly desired. Supposing the temporary relaxation of the strict Cabinet principle had involved a pause in legislative progress, the nation could have afforded this far better than it can afford to be left without a strong and respected executive at such a moment as the present. But Lord Hartington, it seems, found it impossible to induce his followers to 'cross the House.' If the House had been arranged as an amphitheatre, so as to render this dread formality needless, the country might have had a government capable of extricating it from its peril. It would be difficult to place the party system in a more ridiculous light. Party, however, has once more prevailed, and has given the country in its hour of peril an administration which its own partisans receive 'with groans,' and the weakness of which is too likely to lead to a fresh revolution of the circle of disaster. The union of the party chiefs for the purpose of settling the Redistribution of Seats without a faction fight was the happiest thing in recent politics; but it seems to have been merely a rift in the cloud.

The country has no longer anything worthy of the name of a government; that is the momentous fact which every crisis of peril will place in a more glaring light. Extreme Radicals do not want the country to have a government; they only want it to have an organ of indefinite revolution in a House of Commons elected by universal suffrage. But for the rest of the nation the hour of reflection has arrived. All power, both legislative and executive, is now vested in an assembly far too large for deliberation or for unity of action, distracted by faction, and growing daily more unruly and tumultuous, the new rules having had no more effect than new rules usually have when the root of the evil is left untouched. And this assembly is elected by a method purely demagogic, which imparts its character to every function of government. Diplomacy itself is now demagogism. The vacillations in Egypt, which have cost the nation

so dear in blood, in money, and in reputation, seem to have arisen not so much from the indecision of the government itself as from its endeavours to keep in unison with the shifting moods of the people. After all, what else can a demagogic executive do? It can hope for no support against any gust of unpopularity from a Parliament as demagogic as itself.

What democracy can be more untempered or unbridled than this which is styled a Monarchy? The Ministry, which is supposed to be appointed by the Crown, now resigns upon the popular vote, without even presenting itself at the bar of the House of Commons. Representation itself is being rapidly converted into mere delegation, with a mandate from the local caucus which the delegate dares not disobey. The only Conservative institution left with any practical force is the non-payment of members; and this demagogism has already marked with its axe. When it falls the last check will be gone; for if the existing restrictions on the suffrage are worth much, we may be sure that faction will soon chaffer them away for new votes. To this pass the most practical of nations has been brought by its blind reliance on forms. It has gone on fancying that the government was the Crown, and that, consequently, anything might be safely done with the representation of the people, long after the representation of the people had, in fact, become the governing power. Party leaders have alternately 'dished' each other with extensions of the franchise, and they have never stopped to consider what would be the effect on the constitution as a whole, nor has the constitution as a whole appeared ever to be present to their minds. Nothing can be more devoid of statesmanship than their speeches, which are made up of vague philanthropy and platitudes about popular rights, while the interest of a faction is really at the bottom of the whole; and if forecast is exercised, it is in the interest of the faction alone. Party leaders cannot help themselves; they are the creatures and slaves of a system, and the councils of a faction are not those of the nation.

Mr. Gladstone proclaimed the other day that only by means of party could Parliamentary government be carried on. Curiously enough he proposed himself, by the admission of Irish representatives on reserved subjects, to introduce an element plainly incompatible with the working of the party system.

Of the vast constituencies which have been now called into existence, the units are for the most part as unconnected with each other as grains of sand in a sand heap, and they can be organised for electoral purposes by the wire-puller alone. The wire-puller thus becomes master of the electorate and of Parliament. His power is not yet confirmed, and at the last election, in which strenuous and most praiseworthy efforts were made by independent men to rescue the country from imminent disaster, it was to a considerable extent set aside. But such efforts are made only at a great crisis. The

wire-puller steadily pursues his object, and the constituencies at last fall into the hands of men who turn the noblest of all callings into the vilest of all trades.

There is, as everybody complains, and as the present state of the government proves, a growing dearth of statesmen. The independent statesman is being inevitably superseded by the servant of the caucus. Moreover, the masses must be excited and amused. Stump oratory, therefore, is increasingly in request, and the faculty for it will soon be absolutely essential to political leadership. Canning or Peel would have been horrified if he had been asked to take the stump or to speak at any election but his own. Now public men are released from the fatigue of a protracted session in the House of Commons only to begin their work on the platform. No time is allowed them for rest, no time is allowed them for study or reflection. What is perhaps worst of all, they are continually drawn into committing themselves on questions of state in the exaggerated language of platform rhetoric. Even a stentorian voice will soon become indispensable to statesmanship. It is so already in a great degree in the United States, and unless some sort of speaking trumpet can be invented to redress the balance, sound must finally triumph in public affairs over brain. Upon making that remark to an American friend with reference to the House of Representatives, I was told, by way of reassurance, that a shrill voice was heard as well as a loud one. Drum or fife, it is sound, not brain. These are not the vague complaints of satirists or homilists; they are literal facts and their tendency is certain. We can see as plainly as possible the statesman departing and the platform orator coming in his place.

Optimists comfort themselves by dwelling on the practical good sense of the British people. Let the practical good sense of the British people be as great as it may, it cannot operate without knowledge of the question, nor is it likely to operate long when the people have fallen under the influence of wire-pullers whose business it is, in effect, to lead them astray. So long as you can speak to them directly the response may be good; but the day will come when you will be able to get at them only through the 'machine.'

Another dangerous growth native to a democracy in this condition is the sinister action of special interests or particular movements, such as those of the Liberationists, the Temperance Alliance, and the Anti-vaccinationists, which, putting aside the general welfare of the community, try to enslave the representation for their exclusive ends. Their compactness gives them an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Protectionism and Prohibitionism are formidable disturbing forces in the politics of the United States. Still more noxious is the Irish vote.

The danger would be great enough if the British democracy, like the American democracy, had only its own affairs to manage. But

it has to manage an Empire. I never met with an American statesman who did not admit that to govern an India would be an impossible task for his people, though their average enlightenment is greater than that of ours. Whether the acquisition of India or of other dependencies, and the assumption of an Imperial position and responsibilities generally, were in the first instance moral or conducive to the happiness of the British people, is not now the question. History cannot be undone, and Great Britain is an Imperial Power. Not only has she enormous investments in India and other dependencies; for the fabric of her commerce and her manufacturing industry these little islands are plainly too narrow a basis. The sudden dissolution of the Empire would bring upon her an avalanche of ruin; and the ruin would be irreparable. Smash the American Republic, and the fragments will put themselves together again by political instinct, and under the pressure of the manifest necessity. Smash the British Empire, and smashed it will remain. The good nature of the people is in this case not less dangerous than their ignorance. They are disposed to give anybody, Irish Celt or Hindoo, whatever he asks, and they are as little able to see that in granting the Hindoo independence they would be handing him over to a murderous anarchy, as they are to see that in granting the Irish Celt self-government they would be handing him over to political brigandage. If the democracy, in its present state, nearly lets Ireland go, what hope is there of its holding India? Already British demagogism is spreading to India, and Indian Home Rule rears its mild head as a candidate in British elections, while the people fondle it unconscious of its fang. They might understand it a little better if they could hear its hiss in an American magazine. Who can say that the democracy will not in some sudden impulse of economy or aversion to militarism prematurely reduce the army and navy, and lay the Empire open to aggression from every side?

The British government is now in the weakest condition possible for dealing with rebellion or disintegrating forces of any kind. The American Republican identifies himself with the government of the Republic, and regards rebellion against it as rebellion against himself: this sentiment showed itself with signal force, and gave the administration immense strength, in the struggle against Secession. But the British 'subject,' although the power is really in his hands, blinded by forms, does not identify himself with the government of the Queen: he regards it as something apart from the people, and even as naturally adverse to them, so that all who struggle against it are presumably oppressed and entitled to his sympathy. About the only political sentiment of a large portion of the artisan class especially is a vague sympathy with revolution. With the popular mind in this state and power in the hands of the people, it will not be found easy to hold and rule an Empire.

As has been pointed out before, this political crisis is complicated and rendered more dangerous, like the political crisis of France on the eve of the Revolution, by the simultaneous setting in of strong currents of religious, social and economical change, including what is called the Revolt of Woman, out of which political parties are evidently preparing to make capital. The British mind seems to be breaking loose from its moorings, and that which has hitherto been the most conservative of nations has suddenly become the most open to innovation of every kind. There is even a sort of fatalist feeling that any proposal of change which has made a certain noise and obtained a certain number of votes is the decree of destiny, and that nothing remains but to submit with a good grace to the inevitable; as though anything were inevitable but that which comes when we have done all in our power to avert it. Statesmen have almost renounced any attempt to control events. This is particularly notable with regard to the phantom necessity of conceding a political revolution of some kind to Ireland. An economical accident, the competition of foreign wheat, comes at this critical moment to add to the political and social disturbance by impoverishing and, in many cases, driving from their mansions the governing class of the rural districts, as well as withdrawing the revenues of the Established Church; and the depreciation of home-grown wheat seems not likely to diminish, but on the contrary to increase. Nor are general industry and commerce in a state of assured prosperity. There is even a possibility that widespread distress in the manufacturing districts may be added to the other elements of political disturbance.

These points have been pressed before with the pen, but they are now pressed in a manner unspeakably more effective by the spectacle of a great nation cowering before a mere gang of political banditti, and brought to the verge of dismemberment and shame through its want of political organisation and its lack of an executive government. American statesmen, a hundred years ago, organised their democracy according to the lights which they then had. They gave it an executive independent, during its official term, of popular impulse and of the fluctuations of opinions or faction in the legislature; the Presidential veto, a Senate elected on a conservative principle, a written Constitution defining and limiting all powers, and as the guardian of that Constitution, a Supreme Court, besides the Federal system itself, the influence of which is highly conservative, as it localises the majority of legislative questions and sets bounds everywhere to the tide of change. The time has surely come for British statesmen to organize British democracy in the same manner, though with the improvements, neither few nor unimportant, which American experience suggests. Assuredly the British people are not less in need of everything that wisdom can do to make the action of popular government here that of reason and not of passion.

than are the people of the United States. The consecrated forms of Monarchy which have long ceased to be realities ought to blind practical statesmanship no longer. England has at present no constitution; she has nothing but a vast electorate exposed to the unbounded action of demagogism, and regulated only by social influences the strength of which is apparently declining. That she has stumbled on so far is no proof that she will not fall.

There is an alternative—to restore the old Constitution, which would be done by reviving the political power of the Crown, encouraging the personal intervention of the Sovereign, infusing, if possible, new vigour into the House of Lords, and reinstating the royal and national Privy Council in the place which has been gradually usurped by the party Cabinet. Such is the course to which a reader of Sir Henry Maine's '*Popular Government*' will probably be inclined by the general tenor of that most admirable and important work. Sir Henry perhaps regards the subject from the special point of view of an Indian administrator, and sometimes applies rather too much to modern politics the method which has yielded such memorable results when applied to the investigation of ancient law. Reason, if it does not yet reign supreme, is now awake, and we can no longer explain the actions of men like those of a superior kind of ants or bees. But this does not prevent the book from containing riches of thought. To all that Sir Henry says against the worship of democracy and the insane jubilation over its advent all men of sense will heartily assent. Nothing can be more absurd or dangerous than this frenzy, which, with a good deal besides that is disastrous, has its chief sources in the American and French Revolutions. But I should hesitate to say with Sir Henry Maine and Scherer that democracy is merely a form of government. It seems to me, living in the midst of it, to be a phase of society and of sentiment to which the form of government corresponds. The sentiment pervades not only the State but the Church, the household, and the whole intercourse of life. The cardinal principle of democracy is equality, not of wealth, intellect, or influence, but of status in the community and right to consideration—equality in short as the negation of privilege. To this, with all its outward symbols, American democracy tenaciously clings, and the sentiment is in the republic what loyalty was in monarchies. Fraternity is an aspiration which though most imperfectly fulfilled cannot be called unreal or abortive. The relation of democracy to personal liberty remains undetermined; we have yet to see whether democracy will choose to be Authoritative or Liberal. Among the chief causes of the advent of Democracy appear to be industry and popular education; but together with these must certainly be reckoned the action of Christianity on society and politics, the omission to notice which appears to me to be a defect in Sir Henry Maine's historical analysis. 'That is the best form of govern-



ment which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the State to the common good' would hardly have been said by a man who had not the Christian Church in his mind. Apart from demagogism there has certainly been a religious desire in the minds of the possessors of power to share it, as well as other advantages, with their brethren, which is traceable to the influence of the Gospel.

It is significant, and I would call Sir Henry Maine's attention to the fact, that with the advent of democracy there has certainly been a great advance in humanity generally, and especially in the domain of criminal law. This seems to be connected with the feeling that all the members of a community are of equal value in its eyes. The criminal law of aristocratic England was lavish of the unvalued life of the poor. Even lynching in the United States arises partly from the dislike of inflicting capital punishment in a legal way. Nobody was put to death or very severely punished for the Rebellion. Democratic humanity has even extended its action to theology, and protested with success against the belief in Eternal Punishment. All the legislation in favour of popular education, health and amusement, or for the protection of the working class against neglect or maltreatment by employers, will surely be admitted by Sir Henry Maine to be the characteristic product of the democratic era.

To talk of popular government as divine, and of its gradual approach through the ages as the coming of a political kingdom of heaven, is of course absurd and mischievous. But I must venture to differ from Sir Henry Maine if he thinks that the tendency of civilisation has not been towards democracy. The republics of antiquity, the national polity of Judea, the free cities of the Middle Ages, the Swiss Federation, the United Netherlands, the memorable though short-lived Commonwealth of England, the popular part of the British Constitution, were so many forestalments and presages of that which was in the womb of time, though many centuries and repeated efforts were required to bring it forth. They have been intimately connected with the general progress of civilisation, moral, intellectual, and industrial as well as political. 'Mr. Grote,' says Sir Henry Maine, 'did his best to explain away the poor opinion of the Athenian democracy entertained by the philosophers who filled the schools of Athens; but the fact remains that the founders of political philosophy found themselves in presence of democracy in its pristine rigour, and thought it a bad form of government.' I doubt whether it can be said with truth that Aristotle thought democracy comparatively a bad form of government, though it may not, formally at least, have been his ideal. But, at all events, it was democratic Athens that produced the philosophers, not aristocratic Boeotia, monarchical Macedon, or despotic Persia. The same remark may be made with respect to Dante's condemnation of Florence. A relapse from a popular form of government into one less popular, such as

that of the Italian tyrants or the restored Stuarts, has usually been a general relapse, and has marked, not an effort to rise to a better political state, but the lassitude which ensues upon overstrained effort and premature aspiration. Sir Henry Maine has, however, himself indicated the principal cause of the extinction of mediæval liberties, in pointing out that they succumbed to the power and prestige of the great military monarchies. The centres of a precocious civilisation, in short, were crushed by the overwhelming forces of the comparative barbarism by which they were surrounded. That the Roman empire, the Italian tyrannies, the Tudor aristocracy, the French centralised Monarchy were all hailed with acclamation, is a proposition which I venture to think must be taken with some abatement as to the quantity of the acclamation and still more as to its quality. But in each case it was some special disorder—the overgrowth of the Roman Empire, the turbulence of factions in the Italian cities, the Wars of the Roses, the local tyranny of the French nobles—which made the change at the moment welcome. If, after the military anarchy which ensued upon the death of the Protector, the Restoration came in with ‘cheering,’ it went out again with hissing as soon as the nation had recovered its tone. There has at the same time been a decay, now apparently complete and definitive, of the belief in hereditary right upon which kingship and aristocracy are based. The Italian tyrants, who, Sir Henry Maine says, founded modern government, were not heaven-descended kings, like those of Homer or those of the Teutonic tribes, but dictators, and their power was partly popular in its origin, though it tended to become dynastic. At last, hereditism expired in America, not, as Sir Henry Maine seems to think, merely because there was no king to be had (for a king might have been imported from France), but because the people were determined not to have a king, and were animated by republican aspirations. Democracy now prevails in all highly civilised nations, either in its own name or under monarchical forms. The Bonapartes thought it necessary to found their dynasty on a plebiscite, and the last phase of Toryism styles itself democratic. We are in presence of a fact which, though not divine, is universal, and imposes a universal task.

On the other hand, it seems fallacious to speak of Greek democracy as ‘democracy in its pristine vigour,’ and to say that monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy ‘were alike plainly discernible’ at the dawn of history. The ancient Republics were municipal, slave-owning, and military. Their militarism, which was that of the ancient world, was hardly less baneful to them than were slavery and their exclusively urban character, at once narrow and unbalanced. The Italian Republics, though not slave-owning, were municipal and military: in subjugating Pisa, Florence sealed her own doom. But the American Republic is national and industrial. Its people,

though they fought well at need for their Union, have no military tendency whatever. We cannot read its destiny in the annals of the republican past.

Before, even with reference to the past, we set down republics as specially ephemeral, we must take into account not only monarchies tempered by public opinion, but monarchies untempered, like those of the East, the history of which, as Pym said, is 'full of combustions and of the tragical ends of princes.' The Roman Republic, though it fell at last under the weight of military empire, was not ephemeral; and we cannot tell that those of Greece would have perished by their own vices had they not been crushed by the arms of Macedon. The French centralised Monarchy was founded by Richelieu. It lasted through three reigns, and in the fourth fell by its own corruption. Since the Revolution, if the Republics have been ephemeral the Monarchies have been not less so.

I regard the French Revolution as the greatest calamity in history, and hate Jacobinism and the worship of Jacobins as heartily as M. Taine, though I cannot forget that the Jacobin Republic was, as Sir Henry Maine says, the French king turned upside down, and from the Monarchy inherited its arbitrariness, its cruelty, and its belief that all property belonged to the State, while from the Church it inherited its intolerance. But let us bear in mind what happened. By the collapse of the Monarchy through its own vices, the tremendous task of founding a Constitution was thrown, at a moment of general excitement and distress, into inexperienced though patriotic hands. Yet a Constitutional Monarchy would probably have been founded, and the fatal crash at all events would have been avoided, had not the Queen and her coterie in their madness brought up the army to crush the Assembly. The army broke: but in the meantime the Assembly had been fain to put itself under the protection of armed Paris, of which from that hour it became the slave. Thus the worst mob in the world got possession of the administrative centre and the whole machinery of a despotism which had extinguished in the provinces all power, moral or material, of resistance to its decrees. There naturally ensued a reign of Bedlamites and devils. Thus was generated one of the two forces which have ever since disturbed the course of popular government in France; while the other, military Imperialism, was generated by the inevitable reaction. Each has apparently at last received its quietus, Imperialism at Sedan, Jacobinism in the defeat of the Commune; and the Republic has now lasted nearly as long as any Monarchy since the Revolution. Its Executive, it is true, is fatally unstable; but this in France as in other countries is the result of the fatal system of Cabinet and party government, which, as the example of the United States proves, is no necessary concomitant of democracy. Militarism, the deadly foe, as Sir Henry Maine himself sees, of popular government, has apparently declined under the Republic.

Popular government in America, where alone I must repeat it has been fairly tried, though it has many faults, the worst of which arise from Party, shows at present no sign of instability. On the contrary, it has come forth from the furnace of the most tremendous of civil wars without even the smell of fire upon its garments. The predictions current here of a military usurpation were ludicrously belied, and the suggestion of an Empire to be founded by the successful general was received as a sorry joke.

I am surprised that Sir Henry Maine should found any inference on Mexico and the South American Republics. Republicanism was in this case thrust upon a population consisting partly of the dregs of Spain, partly of uncivilised Indians, and having in it not a spark of political life. The disturbing force here has been mere brigandage, with a political ribbon in its bandit's hat. Yet Chili and the Argentine Republic are much better than anything was under Spanish dominion, and even Mexico is improving at last.

In Spain itself the disturbing force once more is the army, while political life has not recovered from the trance into which it was thrown by centuries of despotism and the Inquisition. But Spain is, to say the least, in a more hopeful state now than it was under Ferdinand, though it lacks like France an executive government independent of legislative parties and cabals.

What has been said of France and Spain may be said of Europe generally. War, or the constant imminence of war, standing armies and conscriptions are the enemies of popular government. One need not be a peacemonger, or blind to the political services rendered by soldiers as preservers of order and by military discipline, to say that difficulties thus generated are different from difficulties inherent in the particular form of government.

Again, I cannot help demurring to Sir Henry Maine's position that the masses of mankind are inherently unprogressive, and that consequently where the masses have power progress will probably cease. His eyes are fixed on Hindostan, in the languid East, and outside the pale of Christianity, the historical connection of which with development, political and general, I would again suggest deserves, altogether apart from theology, a place in Sir Henry Maine's field of speculation. Yet even in Hindostan the case seems one not so much of inherent immobility as of progress arrested, like that of ancient Egypt, by a dominant priesthood. Buddhism was, in its way, progress, to which the victory of Brahminism put an end. Till yesterday it might have been said that Japan was inherently unprogressive. The leading shoot is always slender, though the tree grows. Immobility is certainly not in any sphere the characteristic of the American democracy, upon which science and every other agency of progress operate with full force. Even the power of amending the constitution, restricted as it is by legal checks, has been exercised perhaps about as often as it was required; at least I

have not heard American statesmen complain of excessive conservatism in this respect on the part of the people. Want of respect for intelligence certainly is not the defect of the Americans. Intellectual eminence, on the contrary, is the one thing which they almost worship, though they may not be infallible in their discernment of it. If the people and popular government are by nature conservative, a large part of our fears may be laid aside, but the danger appears to me to be in another quarter.

The rich and privileged have hitherto had things their own way; they will henceforth be obliged to exert themselves in order to have things the right way, and perhaps they will be none the worse or the less happy for the change. Envy is about the most dangerous of all the disturbing forces in a democracy; it has as much to do with socialism as cupidity; and it may be allayed by avoiding ostentation of wealth. There are various engines of influence and leaderships of different kinds. 'The ruling multitude,' says Sir Henry Maine, 'will only form an opinion by following the opinion of somebody—it may be of a great party leader; it may be of a small local politician; it may be of an organised association; it may be of an impersonal newspaper.' It may be also, and in America often is, that of a great writer, like Sir Henry Maine, whose work will, I doubt not, have great influence in the United States, or a great citizen. The newspaper press, in which, rather than in political assemblies, the real debate now goes on, is perhaps in an equivocal state; what is behind it is one of the most serious questions of the hour. In some countries Hebrew exploitation. But Capital, if it pleases, may see that some newspapers at all events shall have honesty and independence behind them, and its resources cannot be better employed. In a commercial society, the leadership of industry is not less influential than that of politics, and it is usually in strong hands, as the general result of labour wars in the United States has proved. The texture of industrial society itself is strong. A man cannot go without his daily bread or break the machine which yields it. There is danger, especially in the cities, of an abuse, at the instigation of demagogues, of the taxing power. But socialism has made little progress in America; among the native Americans, none; nor has Mr. George's torch yet set anything on fire. I assume, of course, that the political institutions are rational; unless they are, mere tendencies or influences, however good, cannot preserve the body politic from confusion.

Let us call the government not 'popular,' but elective, which is its proper designation, as it marks the real contrast between it and the hereditary system; we shall then get rid of the notion that it must be a mere organ of the will of the multitude. We shall become conscious of the fact that there are different modes of election, some of them highly conservative, and various agencies by which the ascendancy of public reason in politics may be maintained.

Sir Henry Maine holds that under all systems of government, under monarchy, aristocracy and democracy alike, it is a mere chance whether the individuals called to the direction of public affairs will be qualified for the undertaking, but the chance of this competence, so far from being less under aristocracy than under the other two systems, is distinctly greater. 'If,' he says, 'the qualities proper for the conduct of government can be secured in a limited class or body of men, there is a strong probability that they will be transmitted to the corresponding class in the next generation, although no assertion be possible as to individuals.' Is this borne out by the history of pure aristocracies, to which, if hereditism is the principle to be vindicated, the appeal must be? Waiving the physical question, Sir Henry seems to forget that while the founder of a line must have won his place by some sort of merit, or at any rate of force, his descendants, under the conditions of modern society at least, are exposed to all the influences of idleness, of unearned distinction, and of membership of a privileged class. In the Middle Ages kings and nobles were held to the performance of their rude duties from generation to generation by the pressure of circumstances, which have now entirely disappeared. The difficulty of inducing hereditary rank and wealth to do their duty without pressure seems to me, I confess, to be fatal to the restoration of the hereditary system. Look at the neglect of Ireland by the Royal Family. No innovation is so arduous as the revival of the past.

When the question is raised, however, as to the retention of the House of Lords, the appeal must be not to probabilities, physical or mental, but to the facts of history. Since the Tudors, when this aristocracy of birth and wealth without the territorial and military duties commenced its career, what practical service has it rendered to the nation? At first, it may have been something of a curb on despotism, though the House of Lords bowed to the will of the Tudors even more slavishly than the House of Commons, and behaved no better under the tyranny of Charles II. In the succeeding period it was led by its vast interest in the Abbey lands, for a quiet title to which it had, under Mary, sold the national religion, and its antagonism to ambitious ecclesiastics, once or twice to rank itself on the side of civil and religious liberty. But since that time what has the House of Lords done? Of what useful legislation on any important subject has it been the source? Has its concurrence or refusal to concur in measures sent up to it from the Commons been determined by its judgment, so as to afford any security for their wisdom, or has it been determined by the interest and prejudices of a class? Is any rational discrimination visible in its repugnance to change? Has it in fact done anything but oppose the blind and unreasoning resistance of a privileged order to innovation of every kind, even to the reforms obviously required by common sense and humanity in

the criminal law? Did it not, after blocking the most necessary improvements, pass without hesitation, in the interest of a faction, that most equivocal of all measures of change, the Tory Suffrage Bill of 1867? Have the mass of its members risen perceptibly above the ordinary character and habits of the rich and unemployed? Have they even shown interest in public affairs or attended in decent numbers at the debates? For my part, living far away from dukes or earls, I have no more feeling against them than I have against hospodars or mikados, and should be perfectly willing to admit their political usefulness if I could see it. I have a good deal more feeling against demagogues, and I am keenly sensible of the fact that while the tomb of a dead ancestor is a bad entrance to public life, a worse is the gate of lies. But having read the history of the House of Lords, I am unable to imagine how such a body can be likely to retain the respect and confidence of a modern nation. Of social servility, rank however factitious will always, to the great injury of its possessors, be the object; but social servility is not political allegiance: social servility is in fact rather apt to indemnify itself by political revolt. Now, too, the territorial wealth which is the necessary basis of aristocratic influence is evidently being withdrawn. Sir Henry Maine hints at reform, of what kind he does not say. It will not be easy to put a patch in the old garment of hereditary privilege. Life peerages may be introduced, and the insensate resistance of the Lords to their introduction was a signal instance of the obstinacy with which privileged orders prefer suicide to reform. But the operation of such a remedy would be far too slow for these times.

Sir Henry Maine evidently thinks that the plan of a Single Chamber must be conceived in the interest of revolution, and with a view of giving uncontrolled sway to the sheer will of the sovereign people. He compares its advocates to the Caliph who destroyed all books except the Koran, saying that if they agreed with the Koran they were needless, and if they did not agree with it they must be heretical. He is not aware that the Single Chamber has been advocated not from the revolutionary but from the Conservative point of view, on the ground that Second Chambers had failed, and had either, like the Upper House in Victoria, produced deadlocks and convulsions, or, like the French and Canadian Senates, sunk into impotence; that power, after all, would inevitably centre, perhaps after a struggle, in the popular House, and that the sense of responsibility in that House was only diminished by the shadow of control. He does not answer the vital question of what special materials the Upper House is to be composed, or tell us, if it is a Chamber of Wealth, how it can escape odium; if of age, how it can escape feebleness; if of eminence, how it can fail to take from the popular House those who ought to be its leaders. In deprecating the abolition of the House of Lords he has curious allies in the extreme Radicals,

who perceive that it is an ostracism of Conservative forces. It takes Lord Salisbury, and it may any day take Lord Hartington away from the real council of the nation. The American Senate is not a Second Chamber or a counterpart of the House of Lords; it is a representation of the separate States as opposed to the United Nation, and was a compromise with State independence. The fancy for Second Chambers generally, however, has arisen from a misconception as to the nature of the House of Lords, which is not really a Senate, but an estate of the old fental realm, and an organ of territorial wealth, in the interest of which it has always acted. Even the American Senate sometimes shows, in its relation to the House of Representatives, the liabilities of the Double Chamber system: there is at this time a paralysis of legislation, caused by the collision between a republican majority in the Senate, and a democratic majority in the House. I would submit once more that the truly conservative, and in every way the better plan, may be to recognise the fact that power, under a democracy, will centre in the popular assembly, and instead of trying to impose a check upon it from without, to regulate and temper its action by instituting forms of procedure such as will secure deliberation, by subjecting it to a suspensive veto, by requiring rational qualifications for the electorate, and, as I should say, by introducing, if possible, in place of direct election by the people at large, elections by local councils, which would both act as a filter and keep demagogism within bounds. The American Senate, which really, if party could only be eliminated, would be pretty much all that could be desired in a governing assembly, is an earnest of the good results of such a method of election. A stable executive, independent of the fluctuations of party in the legislative assembly, would crown the edifice of a popular yet conservative constitution.

To me, looking to the general tendencies of the age, to the necessity of keeping government in unison with the spirit of society, and to the pronounced and universal decadence of the hereditary principle, it seems that the more hopeful course is to organise democracy, in other words so to regulate the elective system that it shall yield a government of public reason. But either on this line, or on that of restoring political monarchy with the Privy Council, British statesmen will apparently before long find it necessary to move, if they mean the country to have a constitution or a government. There are, as has been already said, those who do not wish it to have either, but desire simply Universal Suffrage and a popular assembly with uncontrolled power, and elected by a purely demagogic method, as an organ of indefinite revolution. It is in this direction that the nation, in its present condition, moves.

GOLDWIN SMITH.



## COLLAPSE OF THE FREE TRADE ARGUMENT.

THE oracle has spoken. 'At the special request of the Committee of the Cobden Club' Mr. Medley has undertaken to expose my errors and fallacies, and expound the true doctrine of what is called Free Trade. This is as it should be. The questions involved in the controversy are of vital importance to the nation, and have been raised by me with the sole desire to arrive at the truth. I therefore hail with satisfaction the work of an able and accomplished writer, thoroughly acquainted (as his previous publications show that he is) with all the arguments by which our present system can be upheld, well able to disclose to view those merits of that system which do not meet the eye of the ordinary observer, and give full force to every consideration which tells in its favour. In controversies it often happens that the disputants waste much time and energy in asserting, refuting, proving, and disproving propositions that are either not really in issue between them, or, if they are in issue, have little to do with the subject of contention. After reading with much care and interest Mr. Medley's paper, 'The Lion's Share of the World's Trade,' I am well content to find that this is not the case here, and that what I put forward as the two main arguments by which our present system of Free Trade is maintained are accepted by him as such.

In so stating the case, of course I do not intend to pass over the obvious merit, and, as it seems to me, the sole merit, of a system of free imports which consists of rendering many things cheaper than they would otherwise be—to what extent cheaper is a matter of much controversy. The extent of the benefits conferred on the community by this cheapness is also a matter of controversy. In the case of food and raw materials these benefits are not to be doubted, though they may be and have been exaggerated; but passing by, for the moment, this merit of cheapness which the system of free imports is calculated to secure, I first addressed myself, in the remarks which Mr. Medley has undertaken to answer, to the proposition that every import of foreign goods 'necessitates' a corresponding export of British goods to pay for it, a proposition which I asserted lies at the very foundation of the Free Trade contention. I next addressed myself to the argument that the system of 'Free Imports' must be a sound one because the country has prospered so greatly since the time when

our Legislature adopted it, and I added that in refuting these two propositions the 'main, if not the sole, support of a system of free imports would be withdrawn.' Mr. Medley, I am glad to see, finds no fault with this statement. He accepts my view of the cardinal importance of these two arguments, and, in answer to my challenge to point out any merits or advantages connected with the system of 'Free Imports' beyond those to which I had addressed myself, he has nothing to say.

This is very satisfactory. It clears the ground of mystery; we know what it is we are discussing—we can proceed to the discussion with the consciousness that we have the whole merits of 'Free Imports' before us—that nothing remains unsaid which can be said in support of them, and that in dealing with these two arguments or propositions, we are really dealing with the reasoning, except, as I said before, the obvious benefits of cheapness by which, if at all, our English system, which is at variance with that of the rest of the world, must be upheld.

It will conduce to clearness and brevity if I take these two arguments separately, and in the order in which I presented them to the reader.

First, then, has Mr. Medley, in answer to my objections, succeeded in establishing his grand proposition, that every foreign import brings about—'necessitates,' I think, is his word—an export of British goods? An export of British goods means a market for the produce of British labour, and so say the Free Importers, How dull you are not to perceive that by taking off all duties on foreign manufactured goods you are stimulating and fostering the import of them, and by thus increasing these imports you are making it necessary for the foreigner to buy more of your own manufactures in return. For this is the only way in which he can practically be paid for the goods he sends you. And so you get a double benefit: first, the opportunity of buying what you want to consume at a cheaper rate than your own people can supply it to you; and next, you secure a purchaser for your own manufacturing produce, and thus find employment for your own people. How very dull—'ignorant' is, I think, Mr. Medley's favourite word—you must be not to see this. Indeed he called it, I think, the 'Pons Asinorum.'

Well, if it is indeed true that the foreigner must of necessity take payment for the goods he sends us by taking ours in return, I confess I think it would be rather dull not to see the merits of the system. Even I, of whom Mr. Medley evidently entertains but a poor opinion, can see that; but is it true? This is what I ventured to ask in the first paper I offered to the readers of this Review, and this is what I venture to ask again, after being enlightened by reading the 'Lion's Share.' I venture to question the fact that an import of foreign goods necessarily causes an export of British goods to pay for them,

or that, in point of fact, such imports were accompanied by such exports, and I gave my reasons.

It seemed to me that if the proposition was true, we should find over a number of years, if not in each year, that the amount of imports was balanced, or about balanced, by an equal amount of exports (of course I speak of value, not quantity), whereas the returns of the Board of Trade showed exactly the reverse. In some years, when the imports went up largely, the exports advanced very little; in others, when the imports advanced largely, the exports actually decreased; and *vice versâ*, when the imports fell off, the exports, instead of sympathising, increased in value. In the returns of fifteen years there were only two years, I think, in which the imports and exports stood in anything like an approach to equality.

I further pointed out that the causes by which foreigners were led to purchase the produce of our labour were entirely independent of the extent to which we have bought theirs, that the two things could have no connection, and could not possibly stand to one another in the relation of cause and effect, and I thought I proved this by asserting that nobody buys a thing unless he wants to consume it or sell it again, and that in commercial operations the purchases of the importing merchant are dictated and regulated in amount by the wants and demands of the consumer, whose needs it is his business to supply, and in no degree by the amount of goods which his countrymen may have previously sold to us.

I further attacked the chain of reasoning by which this proposition of every import necessitating an export was supported, by denying the assertion that we did not pay the foreigner in money, although we did not export bullion to do so; for I asserted that the practical course of a transaction of importation was this: That the British purchaser gave his acceptance on a bill of exchange in payment, and that this acceptance, when it fell due, was paid in actual cash at the bankers' or elsewhere where it was made payable, and that if the foreigner or his agent did not receive this cash, it was only because he had already received the value of it in money when he negotiated or sold the bill, and thereby entitled the holder or purchaser to receive the money in his place.

Now, what says Mr. Medley to all this? Does he point out where the error lies in these propositions, or the conclusions which, to the ordinary mind, would seem to flow from them? He can speak freely of 'ignorance' and want of 'knowledge of political economy,' but when he finds these to exist, why does not he take compassion and enlighten us? I have read his handiwork, the 'Lion's Share,' &c., with much interest. I find some things put into my mouth which I have never said, and other things which I have said so disfigured that I recognise my offspring with difficulty; also I find many suggestions of ignorance on my part, and lofty superiority on the part

of Mr. Medley, but I declare that I have been quite unable to find a single word in answer to the above observations. He does not deny the great, the paramount importance which I ascribed to this proposition, that every import necessarily brought about an export, and does not qualify or find fault with my statements on that head, such for instance as the following :—

‘But this belief, that by importing largely we are by some mysterious law inevitably securing to ourselves an outlet for our manufactures by an increase of our exports, lies so universally at the root of the faith in Free Imports, and as it seems to me constitutes so entirely the basis of all reasoning in favour of that belief, that I may be pardoned if I pursue the subject a little further.’

But what does he say to it? He shall speak for himself. What he does say is this :—

Lord Penzance, however, is of a totally different opinion. He thinks that the competition of the foreigner in the importation of manufactures is an injury to home production and to the employment of our dense population, because the Free Trade argument, which maintains that every import necessitates an export, is unsound in theory and false in fact, the truth being, according to him, that these importations are paid for in actual money, as may be seen by the inspection of our Board of Trade returns, in which the actual results of a system of Free Imports are recorded for us.

The above is the substance of Lord Penzance’s argument, which is spread over several pages. It is brimful of fallacies. In the first place, he asserts that we pay for these importations in actual money, but what does he mean by the term? He cannot mean bullion, for in the very next line to that, in which he says that we pay in money, he writes ‘it is plain that we do not pay by sending bullion abroad.’ He thus draws a distinction between money and bullion, but in international dealings there is none. A nation cannot pay another nation in money except by the transmission of bullion; if bullion be not sent, no money is sent.

In the first place, then, Mr. Medley says, he wants to know what I mean by money, when I say we pay for these importations in actual money. I am at a loss to know how to make my meaning plainer. This is the passage which Mr. Medley says he does not understand :—

‘How then do we pay? I know how the actual importer in any case pays. He does pay in money, that is, he gives his acceptance at two or three months, or whatever prompt is customary in the trade, and when the bill falls due, he pays it. When and how is it then that this money payment, before it arrives in the foreigner’s hands, is converted into goods as the Free Importers say that it is? What becomes of the acceptance? We know that it is or may be transferred from hand to hand by endorsement in this country, or sold and sent abroad.

‘It is impossible to conjecture into whose hands it may have found its way whilst running, or to whom it may ultimately be paid, but whoever may be the holder, unless the purchaser of the goods becomes insolvent (in which case the foreigner’s goods are never paid

for at all, either in goods, or money, or anything else), the price of the foreign goods is paid in actual money when the bill falls due.'

I see no ambiguity in this—I meant exactly what I said—that the purchaser gives his acceptance for the goods, and that when the acceptance falls due it was paid in actual money over the counter at a banker's, as any other bill of exchange is paid, and I am not aware that payment is ever made except in gold or bank notes, and that is what I call money. Does not Mr. Medley also call that payment in actual money? I suppose that he would, but then it appears he has a difficulty. I could not mean bullion, he says, because in the very next line to that in which I said that we pay in money, I wrote, 'It is plain that we do not pay by *sending bullion* abroad,' and, says Mr. Medley, 'he thus draws a distinction between money and bullion.' This would have been, I think, a very silly distinction to draw, and why I am to be charged with drawing it I am at a loss to know. If I had said we did not send bullion abroad in payment, but did send money abroad for that purpose, Mr. Medley's charge of drawing a distinction between them would have been intelligible, but I said nothing about *sending anything* abroad in payment; on the contrary, what I said was, that the money was paid *here* at the banker's or elsewhere where the bill of exchange was made payable, either to the foreign seller of the goods himself, or to some one to whom he had transferred the bill.

And this delusion of a distinction between money and bullion, which no man in his senses would draw, is the sole answer which Mr. Medley makes to my statement that the individual importer of foreign goods pays his vendor in actual money. 'A nation,' he says, 'cannot pay another nation any money except by the transmission of bullion.' I will not stop to question this, though I do not agree with it; for I was not discussing what nations did—I was talking of the way in which an individual purchase is carried out. It is not nations who purchase goods, but individuals; and after showing how an individual purchase was carried out by a money payment, I added:—

'Surely this closes the transaction, and if all imports are paid for in this way, saving as I have said in the case of bad debts, what room is there for the assertion that they are paid for in goods, and goods of British manufacture?'

How then, I ask again, does Mr. Medley deal with this? He makes no attempt to explain how, consistently with this money payment, it can still be asserted with truth that the foreign import is paid for with British goods, but first manufactures a delusive distinction between money and bullion, and then puts it into my mouth.

Utterly insufficient as this suggestion is by way of answer to me, it would have been well for Mr. Medley if he had rested content with it; but he was tempted to go further, and in doing so he has met with a catastrophe and fallen into the terrible misfortune of entirely admitting and proving his adversary's contention.

If the reader will forgive me, I should like to quote the entire passage without the omission of a word. Having said (as quoted above) that if bullion is not sent, no money is sent, he goes on thus:

Something else may be sent. It may be money's worth, but it is not money. The moment this is admitted, however, the bottom of the argument, to use Lord Painsane's own words, tumbles out. Money's worth can consist only of two things, merchandise or securities; and if either of these be transferred to the foreigner, it constitutes the 'export' which balances the import.

'Money's worth,' he says, 'may be sent in payment of foreign goods, but that is not money,' and now comes the fatal admission: 'Money's worth can consist of only two sorts of things, merchandise or securities, and if either of these is transferred to the foreigner it constitutes the export which balances the import.'

The export, then, which is 'necessitated' by the import may consist of securities, and is not necessarily an export of goods. Alas, Mr. Medley, where have you got to now? Is this what you have been meaning all along when you preached the doctrinal faith that every import necessitates an export to pay for it? If you had only made that plain when you inculcated in the Cobden Club pamphlets the import and export doctrine, who would have cared to dispute it? But, no; the export hitherto spoken of as balancing the import, and brought about by it, was an export not of securities but of British goods. In no other sense had the proposition any value or sense as an argument in support of the modern doctrine of Free Imports, and in no other sense has the word 'export' been used in any passage of any one of the voluminous writings on this subject for the Cobden Club, either by Mr. Mongredien or Mr. Medley himself. I do not trouble the reader with many instances, it will be enough indeed if I refer to the single passage which I quoted in the article to which Mr. Medley is replying.

The trade of a country consists of the aggregate operations of individual traders, which are always equal, co-ordinate, and self-balancing, and which necessitate to a mathematical certainty, excepting bad debts, an import to every export, and vice versa.

And again:—

Now, if the country imports articles X, Y, Z, it necessarily exports in exchange for them (for every increase of imports necessitates an increase of exports) other articles of native production, which we may call A, B, C, and thus further channels of employment are created.

'Other articles of native production.' Could the writer by these words have meant securities, and foreign securities? If the import is paid for by the transmission of a security (say an Egyptian bond), of what benefit is that to the British producer? Is that an article of 'native production,' and does it create 'further channels of employment?' It was vaunted as the magical merit of 'Free Imports,' that by freely importing we were infallibly securing an export of our own produce in return, and were thus doubly gainers; first by having

bought what we wanted in the cheapest market, and then, in addition, by securing a market for an equal amount of our own produce. This was the faith of the true Free Trader, as explained, with some contempt for the stupidity of those who did not embrace it, by Mr. Medley, and with much faleness and lucidity by the other exponent of the views of the Cobden Club, Mr. Mongredien. In Mr. Mongredien's pamphlet, entitled *Free Trade and English Commerce*, he says:—

All are agreed as to the great advantage it is to a country to export largely, only it has been, and should not be, overlooked that those exports must be paid for in goods, since, as we have seen, specie is not used for that purpose, except sometimes provisionally, and to a fractional extent. If, therefore, you import little you can only export little; if you want to export largely you must import largely. You cannot curtail your *bête noire* imports without curtailing to just the same extent your pet exports. For every pound's worth of foreign articles which, by protection or prohibitory duties, you prevent coming into your country, you prevent a hundred pounds' worth of your own articles of production from going abroad. It cannot be repeated too often, because it is at the very root of the question, that to restrict imports is, by the inexorable law of logical sequence, to restrict exports to the same extent, and therefore to that extent to restrict foreign trade.

The question narrows itself into a few simple issues, on which plain common-sense is quite competent to deliver a verdict. We propose to show, first, that for every export of goods that is not sent to pay a previous debt, there must be an import of goods to the same amount, and *vice versa* for every import of goods that is not received in liquidation of a previous debt, there must be an export of goods to the same amount.

But what becomes of this comforting belief when Mr. Medley informs us that the export which was so inevitably secured for us by every import of foreign goods need not be an export of British goods at all, but may be an export of 'securities'?

All honour to Mr. Medley's sagacity in perceiving this truth, though somewhat late in the day, and to his candour in admitting it; but it is none the less the fact that when Mr. Medley once admitted that the foreigner was paid by securities, instead of British goods, he surrendered the entire position which he and Mr. Mongredien had previously laboured so hard to establish. Hard driven by arguments which he found himself unable to answer, and loth to resign his favourite shibboleth that every import necessitates an export, he has clung to the words at the expense of their meaning—that is, of the only meaning which supports the doctrine of Free Imports or makes it worth the while of any disbeliever in the doctrine of modern Free Trade to dispute it. But here, again, I say it would have been well for Mr. Medley if he had stopped even there, but he hastens on his downward course. Lightened and invigorated in having thrown off the weight of the arguments he had in vain been struggling to meet—a result which he achieved by this device of a new meaning to the word 'exports'—he has been fairly run away with by his new proposition, over which he has no more control than Mr. John Gilpin had over his holiday nag, and stop he cannot till he is

landed fully and fairly in the camp of the 'Fair Traders.' For this is how he goes on. Having stated that if the foreign import is paid for by merchandise, there is no injury to our home production, he proceeds to the case in which these imports are paid for by securities, and he takes the case of a foreign security.

There remains (he says) the case where a foreign security is taken off the market, but that foreign security could only have been obtained by us by means of some previous export on our part, and so we come round, as we must always do, to the fact that, sooner or later, directly or indirectly, an import is either the cause or the effect of an export.

'Either the cause or the effect.' Here is another new proposition, but I pass it by, only begging to be allowed to ask why must a foreign security (say an Egyptian bond), with which the import has been paid for, have been obtained by a previous export? Is the export of goods the sole means of acquiring wealth? Is the harvest of this country, for instance, worth nothing to us? Is the labour of our people, except that portion of it which produces an export, worth nothing? Are the dividends or interest payable to us yearly, on the accumulated wealth which we have invested at home and abroad, no source of wealth to us? But I pass by this astounding assertion also, because I wish to fasten upon the great truth to which Mr. Medley has unwittingly given the weight of his authority. If paid for by an export at all, it is, he says, by a *previous export*, that is to say, the Englishman acquires his Egyptian bond by his skill or labour as embodied in goods exported at some previous time; weeks, perhaps months, perhaps years before—in short, by his savings, by his previously acquired wealth. But this is precisely what the Fair Traders have complained of. They have complained, as I understand it, that instead of purchasing what you consume in the shape of imports by the sale of your current labour as embodied in manufactured goods, the great difference between the amount of your imports and your exports tends to show that you are largely paying for your purchases out of your savings, out of your previously acquired wealth, and that to arrange your legislation so as to encourage the purchase of imports paid for in this fashion is to encourage the gradual dissipation of wealth previously acquired, instead of stimulating the production of fresh wealth by the sale of your own manufactures.

In the result, then, Mr. Medley must be held to have obtained a great victory in establishing on a firm footing his doctrine that every import necessitates an export, but it is a victory gained at the expense of refuting the system which he has been enlisted to support; for his proposition is only true by understanding it in a sense which tends to condemn the practice of 'Free Imports,' and, so understood, he may hold it, and proclaim it in peace, for no one will be found to contest it with him. Imports are paid for, he says, either by the export of merchandise, or by securities. Be it so. In the word 'security' he includes, I presume, bills of exchange, which I have



shown to be the ordinary method of payment in point of fact, and then what does it all come to? Why, nothing but this: that imports are paid for somehow, either by goods, or securities, or something of value.

All this is plain and simple enough as a matter of reasoning and experience, but let me imagine a state of things which will illustrate it in a practical light. Suppose the great American millionaire, Mr. Vanderbilt, had been able and willing to buy the entire Isle of Man, and had built himself a palace there, and lived a life of opulence and luxury, importing everything that such a life demanded from England, or from abroad. If he had lived there to the age of Methuselah, what was there to prevent his spending his vast income in the purchase of foreign imports without exporting a single bale of goods, paying his way by bills drawn on America, representing the earnings of the New York Central Railroad?

Once admit that imports are paid for by securities, and there should have been no controversy at all; but so fixed is the belief in Mr. Medley's mind, that those who do not believe in 'Free Imports' are either ignorant or deficient in intellect, that, after having wholly altered his own proposition, and thereby enabled himself to run away from a position he could no longer defend, he proceeds to lay the blame of the controversy upon the dulness of his opponents.

It is in the use of the word 'export' (he says) that Lord Penzance and other protectionist writers involve themselves in fallacies. They seem to think that an export must consist of some material thing, and that it must also appear in the trade returns.

'They seem to think'! Is not this somewhat bold and just a little cruel? Why, who told them to think so, but Mr. Medley and his companion in arms, Mr. Mongredien? And who is it that 'seem to think' that the word 'export' means something material? Why—everybody, not only Mr. Medley and Mr. Mongredien and all the writers of the Cobden Club, but everybody, Free Trader and Protectionist alike, who has ever used the word 'export' in this controversy. What is the meaning of this battle which has raged about exports and imports until the reader is I fear nearly sick of the words, unless exports means exported goods? In no other sense have we any account of them; we know nothing of the securities that cross the Channel in parcels and post-bags, and the talk about imports exceeding exports is all nonsense except upon the understanding that exports means exported goods. Let us see what Mr. Medley himself 'seems to think' upon this subject. In his pamphlet entitled *England under Free Trade*, he says: 'Of this trade our imports amounted to 411,000,000*l.*, and our exports to 286,000,000*l.*, leaving an excess of imports over exports of 125,000,000*l.* Now, let me remind you that it is in regard to this excess of imports over exports that the Fair Trade battle most hotly rages, the Fair Trader maintaining that this excess of 125,000,000*l.*

is the measure of our national loss for 1880, while the Free Trader ridicules this view and maintains on the contrary that it may more justly be considered the measure of our national gain. In a little pamphlet called the *Reciprocity Orace* which I had the honour of writing for the Cobden Club, I made the assertion that this question of imports and exports was the *pons asinorum* or asses' bridge of the Fair Trade controversy. I reiterate that assertion, and with your permission we will endeavour to pass over this bridge hand in hand as it were.'

I venture to express the hope then that we may hear no more of imports necessitating exports, but before quitting the subject let me shortly point out the result which with Mr. Medley's assistance has been made clear by its discussion.

The import of foreign goods testifies to wealth, because it represents expenditure. So far as it consists of raw material bought for the purpose of employing upon it the labour of the population, it is an expenditure which is returned to us in the sale of the manufactures it has enabled us to produce, and thus plays a part in the produce of wealth. So far as it consists of articles of mere consumption it is the dissipation of wealth previously acquired. These imports may be paid for, and are paid for, in any way in which wealth or value is capable of being transferred. They may extinguish a previous debt either of the seller or of some one else to whom he has transferred his claim. They may be paid by a transfer of the current or permanent obligations either of individuals or governments, or by the transfer of the labour of man as embodied in manufactures or the produce of the mine, the field, or the ocean. They involve and testify to the acquisition of wealth in whatever form or from whatever source it may be produced, but they do nothing whatever to create it. On the contrary, so far as they are consumed without the expenditure of fresh labour upon them, they signify its dissipation and nothing more.

So much then for the substance of the controversy. But in Mr. Medley's confused and rambling production there is a great deal besides that offers a tempting mark for refutation and exposure, full of interest to his adversary, but not likely to interest the reader. I cannot wholly forbear comment, however. It was Single-speech Hamilton, I think, who pointed out that the most brilliant passages of a speech or essay were generally the weakest in argument, and I set myself to inquire whether this was so or not in Mr. Medley's case. I am not quite sure that I know which is the most brilliant part of the 'Lion's Share of the World's Trade,' but after some vacillation I have settled upon the following passage:—

To suppose that, by taxing foreign imports, foreign competition will be killed, and home production and home labour stimulated, is an idea compared with which that of taking a pill to ward off the danger of a threatened earthquake is sanity itself.

It requires a pretty stout effort of the imagination to picture the

importation of say French woollen goods as an earthquake, and still greater to look at a tariff in the light of a pill, but this difficulty surmounted, and in possession of what it is that Mr. Medley means to assert, namely, that the imposition of a tax on foreign manufactures will not stimulate home manufacture, I think I shall best answer him by recounting the experiences of a country that took the pill, and did thereby avoid the earthquake.

It is well known that in Canada the protective system has been largely tried of late years and with great success. Here is the account given of it by Sir John MacDonald :—

I am largely responsible for the national policy of Canada, a policy which has been, and perhaps is now, severely criticised on this side of the sea, a policy of revenue secured by tariff. There is nothing to show that this policy has in any respect failed in its intention. The balance of advantage has been largely in its favour; indeed, high as party feeling runs in Canada, even the Opposition have ceased to attack the protective policy, or, as both parties have agreed to style it, the national policy of our Government. Our policy is to protect such staple industries as are capable of a practically unlimited expansion, and to admit raw material free which cannot be produced at home. When we commenced to tax cotton and woollen goods we were assured that the consumer would be ruined and driven out of the country by high prices. What has been the result? Our manufacturers of cotton and cloth are in a position of increasing prosperity, and to-day the consumer is able to buy his goods more cheaply than when Canada was upon a Free Trade basis. Formerly our industries were at the mercy of the manufacturers of the United States, who recognised that our mills, once closed, were never likely to re-open, and that it was therefore prudent and profitable to sell goods in Canada for a short time even at a loss for the sake of controlling Canadian markets later at their own prices. This was actually being done. We found that the cotton operators of the United States were sending us goods at less than the cost of production, and were collecting the amount of that loss by levying an assessment on their Manufacturers' Association.

One more sample of the way in which Mr. Medley reasons, and I have done. Having given a definition of his own of what constitutes the difference between a tariff for revenue only and one which is protective, and having defined me as the most 'simple-minded of men,' which I regard as a high compliment after some fifty years' contact with Westminster Hall, he goes on thus :—

If Lord Penzance had borne this definition in mind, he would not have penned the contradictory and mutually destructive propositions contained in numbers 2 and 3. It is impossible to carry out number 2 without setting aside the directions under number 3, whilst it is impossible to act on number 3 without violating the principle contained in number 2.

What were these propositions which were so mutually destructive and contradictory? They were as follows: Number 2.—That no duty should be imposed save for purposes of revenue. Number 3.—That in selecting the articles upon which duty should be imposed, it is advantageous to the community, *ceteris paribus*, that the duty should fall upon any article in which the foreigner competes in our markets with the labour and skill of our own people. It is impossible, says Mr. Medley, to carry out number 2 without setting aside the directions under number 3; whilst it

is impossible to act on number 3 without violating the principle contained in number 2. To Mr. Medley's mind it is impossible then that a Finance Minister should determine that it is expedient to lay a duty upon some article of general consumption with a view of taxing the class which consumes it, and, at the same time, in determining what article of general consumption it should be, to endeavour to find a fit subject for such taxation among the articles the like of which we produce at home.

The sole object of the Minister in imposing the tax at all may be to equalise the incidence of taxation by reaching classes whom he cannot reach by any direct impost through the medium of a tax on the class of articles they consume. In what way would he act inconsistently with this object if he should select for taxation, out of that class of articles, the particular article the taxation of which will encourage home production? I am quite unable to suggest what confusion of ideas has led Mr. Medley to imagine this inconsistency, and I doubt, therefore, whether any further exposition of the subject will elucidate it to him; but it sometimes happens that an apposite illustration will succeed when reasoning fails, and I will suggest a very homely one. Let me imagine that Mr. Medley lived in a village in which there were two bakers, one highly enlightened and a Free Trader, and the other dull, ignorant, and stupid, and, like Prince Bismarck and the American Government, a Protectionist; and let me suppose that the Free-trading baker should press not only for Mr. Medley's custom, but that the latter should buy twice as many loaves as he needed in order to advance the baker's prosperity. Might not Mr. Medley, without inconsistency, lay down the following rules for the governance of his household?—

First.—No bread shall be bought for the benefit of any baker, but only so much as is needed for the purposes of consumption.

Secondly.—In selecting the baker from whom it shall be bought, the preference shall be given to him whose interests I desire to further—to the enlightened man who understands political economy as I do; in other words, I will not allow bread to be bought to benefit the baker, however enlightened he may be—that would be like coddling his trade with a protective duty—but what bread is bought (and that shall be only so much as shall be required for consumption) shall be bought from him. To that extent I am justified in giving him an advantage. If Mr. Medley finds any inconsistency here, I have nothing more to say. I would not have troubled the reader with this, but I wished to show the way in which Mr. Medley reasons. I have spoken of him as an able and accomplished writer, and I should be very sorry to say less; but, as a reasoner, I confess he seems to me to leave something to be desired.

I now pass to the second branch of the controversy—I mean the evidence of the soundness of the Free Trade system which is to be

found in the prosperity of this country since that system has been acted upon. What I have to say about Mr. Medley's observations in respect of this will be very short, for it will be confined to the exposure of a single fallacy which runs throughout that entire portion of Mr. Medley's essay which deals with this branch of the subject, and indeed has given the article its name, 'The Lion's Share of the World's Trade.' Mr. Medley seems to forget what it is we are discussing when reference is made to the commerce of other countries. I had asserted that, great as our progress has been since Free Trade was adopted, other countries which adopt the opposite system of Protection had progressed as fast or faster, and from this I drew the conclusion that our prosperity was not due to the Free Trade system, and I quoted a table from Mr. Mulhall's *Progress of the World*, which Mr. Medley has reproduced, and in which the commerce of thirteen different communities is set down and contrasted at two different epochs. The rate of advance in commerce in each community after an interval of forty-eight years is thus exhibited:—

	1830	1878	Increase
	£ In millions	£ In millions	
United Kingdom	88	601	7 fold
British Colonies	21	322	14½ "
France	42	368	9 "
Germany	39	319	8 "
Low Countries	30	275	9 "
United States	35	225	6½ "
Austria	12	100	13 "
Russia	24	128	5½ "
South America	14	101	7 "
Italy	11	98	9 "
Scandinavia	8	66	8 "
Spain and Portugal	11	39	3½ "
Turkey and the East	15	85	6 "
	350	2,787	8 fold

This table shows that the rate of advance made by this country is only sevenfold, whilst the average advance made by the other twelve communities is as much as eightfold. It would be a mistake, however, to take this comparison as proving more than it really does. Let me point out what such a comparison is really worth.

We find two systems in operation among the thirteen nations which Mr. Mulhall enumerates. Twelve of them act in different degrees upon the system of Protection, whilst one only acts upon that of Free Imports, and denounces Protection as injurious. It is natural that we should turn to the practical results—I will not say caused by, but which have accompanied, the operation of these two opposite systems during the last thirty or forty years.

We must not accept these results as a positive proof in favour of either system, for it is obvious that the commerce or prosperity of any individual country may be, and no doubt is, more largely

affected by other causes than it is by the scale of duties which they impose on imported goods. To so great an extent is this the case that a comparison instituted between the commerce of any two individual countries alone could be little trusted as an exponent of soundness in any fiscal system. But with a number as large as twelve such a comparison is worth something. If a marked advance appears in the commerce of twelve different communities, absolutely dissimilar in their forms of government, with populations of dissimilar aptitudes, with dissimilar climates and natural products, and if the rate of this advance during the same period of time exceeds the rate at which we ourselves, one of the richest and most energetic of nations, have been advancing, this, though far from conclusive, says something in favour of the system of Protection. But as an answer to the conclusion in favour of 'Free Imports,' which is sought to be drawn from the prosperity of this country since it adopted that practice, this comparison with other countries is worth a great deal more. Indeed, it is almost, if not quite, a complete answer. For if, disregarding the operation of all other causes, you attribute the prosperity of this country to free imports alone, if, fixing your eye upon this one possible cause of prosperity alone, you treat it as a proof of the soundness of your system, I am justified in doing the same thing with respect to other countries, and in whatever degree your argument is cogent or conclusive in favour of free imports, my argument, standing on precisely the same basis, is equally cogent or conclusive in favour of Protection. It is thus that I made use of Mr. Mulhall's table in the article which Mr. Medley has undertaken to answer; and how has he answered it? I am afraid I here must note a confusion of thought similar to that upon which I have already commented. Institute a comparison with foreign nations by all means, he says, but institute it properly. Take the actual figures which show the actual value of the commerce of each country and see which country has the best of it—which has the 'Lion's Share.' Do not compare each country with itself at two different epochs. Do not take the commerce of any given country at a given time, and compare it with the commerce of the same country after a lapse of forty years, and, observing the rate at which that commerce has advanced, draw a conclusion favourable or otherwise to the system upon which it has regulated its fiscal laws, but compare the commerce of one country with that of another, and whichever country has the largest commerce must be proceeding on the best system. In other words, his argument is this: Whatever nation has the greatest wealth, the largest territories and population, the greatest energy and ability, and the greatest natural advantages, will in all probability command the greatest commerce, and if it enjoys the 'Lion's Share' of the world's commerce, it follows as a matter of course that its affairs are, in the matter of taxes and tariff, conducted on the soundest system. The wealthiest community, then, is necessarily the wisest; and the

most successful nation, no matter what is the extent and character of its territories or the qualities of its population, must needs act upon the wisest system in the matter of tariff, or it could not enjoy the 'Lion's Share.'

To characterise this argument I must borrow a phrase of Mr. Medley's, 'It is brimful of fallacies.' Its absurdity, however, may be demonstrated in a single sentence, and refuted by a single fact. If the preponderance of Great Britain over other nations in commerce is a proof of the soundness of the Free Trade system, how is it that that preponderance existed before Free Trade was invented, and existed even in a greater degree? And yet such is the fact. This very table of Mr. Mulhall's shows it. In 1830 our commerce stood at 88,000,000*l.*, and that of France at 42,000,000*l.*, being less than half ours. In 1870 our commerce stood at 601,000,000*l.*, and that of France at 368,000,000*l.*, being much more than half of ours. If you take Germany in 1830, her commerce stood at 39,000,000*l.*, again less than half that of Great Britain. In 1878, the figures stand at 390,000,000*l.* for Germany, and 601,000,000*l.* for Great Britain, showing German commerce to have advanced to more than half that of Great Britain. The commerce of Great Britain, therefore, bears a less favourable comparison with that of other countries in 1878, after thirty-two years of Free Trade, than it did in 1830. It is less comparatively in advance of them. So far, therefore, as increase of commerce is to be imputed to Free Trade or Protection, the verdict must be in favour of Protection. But this is not the way in which Mr. Medley reasons. 'You are at the head of nations,' he says; 'you have the lion's share—what more do you want as a proof of the blessings of "free imports"?' It is in vain to point out to him that you had this lion's share before you began your disastrous experiment of 'free imports.' He is unable to see the bearing of it, but, what is rather hard, Mr. Mulhall's name is invoked by him in favour of this confusion of ideas. 'Mr. Mulhall,' he says, 'would be one of the most surprised to learn that any such deduction could be drawn from his table.' Mr. Mulhall, then, must be a very inconsistent man, for he drew the deduction himself. Mr. Mulhall's table was drawn up not to exhibit the comparative commerce of one nation with another, but the relation which the commerce of each nation at one time bore to its commerce at another time, bringing out as a result the rate at which the commerce of each nation has advanced; and the proof that it was so is to be found in the last column of it, which is headed 'Increase.' Under the heads of the different countries he compares each country with itself at the two periods indicated, and states the increase to be sevenfold, or eightfold, or ninefold, as the case may be, bringing out at the foot an average advance of eightfold. What does he mean by sevenfold or eightfold except that the commerce of the country specified has increased to eight times the amount at which it stood before?

I will now, in my turn, invoke Mr. Mulhall. This same writer, when speaking of manufactures, has a still more discouraging tale to tell. 'Forty years ago,' he says, 'Great Britain produced two-thirds of the total dry goods in the world; at present her manufactures are barely one-third, although her factories turn out twice as much as in 1840.' (*Progress of the World*, p. 60.)

This condition of things, this sad falling-off of our manufacturing supremacy, is unimportant in Mr. Medley's mind, I presume, so long as we continue to manufacture more than any other individual nation and possess the comforting lion's share. But the question Mr. Medley has to consider is this: Will the lion always continue to possess his share? Does not that depend on how he conducts himself? The advance of other nations into those regions of manufacture in which we used to stand either alone or supreme, should make us alive to the possible future. Where we used to find customers we now find rivals, and with a magnanimous disdain for all rivalry we sell to all comers our coal, the source of mechanical power, and our machinery, the means by which that mechanical power may be profitably exerted. Prudence is not alarm, and prudence demands a dispassionate inquiry into the course we are pursuing, in place of a blind adhesion to a discredited theory. That such an inquiry can be long delayed I do not believe.

At any rate, let us hope that we have heard the last of the shibboleth that every import necessitates a corresponding export of British goods. The advocate of the Cobden Club has abandoned it as untenable, substituting for it the undeniable truth that all foreign goods are paid for by something of equal value.

In like manner must be abandoned the belief that our prosperity since 1846 is due to Free Trade; for this belief can only be supported upon the assumption that, because we are still at the head of nations in commercial prosperity, as we always have been, therefore the system of free imports which we have acted upon for the last forty years must be sound, although we enjoyed the same pre-eminence at a time when we acted upon the opposite system of Protection.

On these two questions, then, the Free Trade contention as expounded by the chosen champion of the Cobden Club is a complete collapse. Does the Committee of the Cobden Club offer us anything else in support of the Free Trade faith? Absolutely nothing. There is no mysterious merit in the background, or surely their able champion, Mr. Medley, would have disclosed it. Let the artisan, then, who suffers from the injury or extinction of his industry—let the employer of labour who suffers from a system under which large portions of our wealth, as fast as it is acquired, are poured into the lap of foreign countries in the shape of wages for the support of their populations, while our own people are craving for work, look this system in the face.



Let them bear in mind that neither Europe nor America—monarchies nor republics—contains a community which does not repudiate it. The injuries it inflicts are patent and notorious and are forced under our eyes alike in the statistics of trade and the records of the daily press.

What are the benefits that counterbalance them?

The supporters of 'Free Imports' have been challenged to point them out, and, so far as Mr. Medley's essay is concerned, have miserably failed to do so.

Is it anything short of infatuation, then, to defer inquiry until the mischief is done? It takes a long time to displace the commerce and established manufactures which have been built up by the patient energy of past generations, and are still upheld by the wealth and industry of such a country as Great Britain; and the inroad made upon us under the shelter of our own laws may not as yet have reached formidable dimensions. But is that a sensible reason for refusing to inquire whether our system is sound or not? The road you are travelling may be the wrong one, though your foot is not yet in the morass to which it leads. Your mode of life may be unhealthy, though your health is not yet seriously impaired. Many causes, and notably the civil war in America and the Franco-German struggle in Europe, have combined to sustain our commerce since Free Trade was adopted by checking the progress of those who are now our rivals, and reducing the effects of competition. But these countervailing incidents are little likely to be repeated. All prudence then points one way, but unfortunately two great national characteristics point the other. First, that noble tenacity of purpose which makes us hold fast to whatever position we have taken up; that refuses to acknowledge defeat, and elevates persistence into a virtue; and next, the curse of Ethelred the Unready, which ever tempts us to defer the moment of defence to the moment of actual disaster.

I will conclude by the suggestion of a danger and the expression of a hope. An article appeared not long ago, by Mr. Moreton Frewen, on the 'Displacement of Nations.' I have not left myself room to quote it at any length, but what he said in substance was this:—The Government of the United States, as is well known, have for some time enjoyed a revenue far greater than the demands of the country require. What the artificial system of government bounties acted upon by France and Germany has done for our sugar trade is notorious. Mr. Frewen suggests that a similar policy is not unlikely to be adopted by the United States, and carried out by means of their great surplus revenue, in an attack upon other industries in which we now hold a high place. 'This I believe,' he says, 'to be the future fiscal policy of the United States. Already we are hearing the first mutterings of the storm that is to break. Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, the veteran wirepuller of the Democratic party, wrote re-

cently to his nominal chiefs that the surplus revenue could be most profitably expended in bonusing the construction of a mercantile marine. Ten millions sterling thus invested would transfer all the skilled labour of the Clyde and the Tyne to the Hudson, and would destroy all the fixed capital invested in British ship-yards; and when this branch of native industry has succumbed, the next departure will be a heavy export duty levied on American raw cotton, and a handsome export bonus on all manufactured cotton goods.'

If such a thing as this should come about, might it not go hard with us if it found this country still worshipping the tyrannical dogma that no duty is to be imposed on foreign manufactures, and thereby incapacitated from even considering, much less adopting, any fiscal changes which might operate in our defence?

But after all, this is but a fear. Let us hope that it may turn out, as many fears do, to be groundless.

The hope I spoke of is already, I believe, on the road to fulfilment. We cannot shut our eyes to the fast-growing desire which has lately sprung up for the welding of our magnificent colonies into a real Empire with these islands. The time is opportune, the colonies are favourable, and we have a statesman at the head of affairs who has given effective proofs that he regards the national welfare above the miserable interests of party warfare—a statesman whose commanding genius is capable of grasping this vast question and guiding these national aspirations to a fruitful end. How long, then, after these islands and our colonies become knit together for offence and defence, for mutual dependence and support, shall we be content to draw our supplies of food from Russia, from Spain, or the United States? How long, indeed, shall we be able to refuse to our brethren and fellow-subjects whatever advantage over the foreigner our fiscal laws can secure to them without laying an undue burden on the consumer in this country?

And a further question—Is it not to be expected that treatment of this kind may be demanded by our colonies as the reasonable basis upon which alone they will be content to unite their fortunes and their future with ours?

There is strong ground for belief that it would be so. One great colonial leader, whose name, if I were at liberty to give it, would command full respect and confidence, on being questioned as to the probable success of this desire for federation, thus expressed himself:

It would seem to me that a policy of give and take is needed for this purpose, and this will involve the entire question of what is known in England as Free Trade. I may say at once that if you are determined in England to accept implicitly the postulates of latter-day economists, then you cannot count upon the support of the colonies.

**PERALACE.**

### BEFORE BIRTH.

If we except the adherents of Positivism and some allied schools of thought, there is a pretty general belief in some conscious existence for each one of us after death. But speculation which ventures into the future rarely wanders into the dark realms of the past. There has been plenty of theorising as to the nature of the life to come, but the possibility of an antenatal existence gets far less attention and far less credit. It is natural, perhaps, that interest should centre chiefly in the hereafter, since we are more practically concerned with our future than our past. But there is no conclusive reason why the idea of previous existence should receive less credit. On the contrary, there is at least one weighty reason for accepting it. If we assume that that something in us which is to survive our bodily death came into existence for the first time with our bodily birth, we are confronted by the difficulty of a something which is eternal at one end only—the difficulty, in fact, of supposing that something which is to have no end in the future, has nevertheless had a beginning in the past. This difficulty may not be insuperable, but it is serious. If, on the other hand, we incline to a belief in the pre-existence of the soul, we seem driven back upon some form of metempsychosis, with all its attendant difficulties. However, as a preliminary to all discussion, let us try to make out more clearly what we actually mean by our ‘souls.’

At the first step we shall possibly be startled by the vagueness of our ideas on the subject. ‘Soul’ is a counter of language which long custom allows us to handle freely, but only so long as we refrain from prying into its composition. The slightest examination reveals this vagueness at once. We shall find soul to be variously identified with consciousness, spirit, and reason. Principal Tulloch<sup>1</sup> says, ‘Soul is only known to us in a brain, but the special note of soul is that it is capable of existing without a brain, or after death.’ This may be true enough, but it does not throw much more light on the soul’s nature. The ordinary theology, avoiding the question of the soul’s composition, is content to regard it as that something within us, or forming part of us, which is destined hereafter to eternal happiness or eternal perdition.

If none of these views are completely satisfactory, they each

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion*, p. 323.

contribute something, and we may gather from them that, whatever else our conception of the soul may include, we certainly conceive it as something conscious, rational, and, above all, personal. It is not like the spiritual monad of Buddhism, an impersonal individuality; nor is it merely an impersonal consciousness. Nor, again, is it merely an emanation from some Divine soul, which, though bound up during man's life with his personality, casts it off at death, and returns to the bosom of the Absolute. But, as most of us conceive it, it is something which is not only inseparable from, but which comprises the essence of, our personality; it is, in fact, the religious interpretation of the philosophical conception of the 'ego.' Accordingly, I do not think that I shall do violence to prevailing ideas on the subject if I define the soul to be 'that permanent something by which each individual's personality is constituted, and which we believe to persist after our present life and its transient attributes have disappeared.'

Having thus got our permanent soul or 'ego,' let us try to trace its history. Three questions confront us at the outset:—

1. Does the soul spring into being for the first time with the birth of our physical body?
2. Has it existed before such birth, either from eternity, or as an antenatal creation?
3. Assuming its pre-existence, under what conditions has it pre-existed?

It is obvious that in dealing with such problems as these certainty is out of the question, and probability is the utmost that we can hope to reach. We cannot know, we can only guess; and if we are to guess at the character of the unknown, it must be by inference from the character of the known.

Now, whatever the character and whatever the origin of the soul may be, it is at any rate a constituent part of the universe. Accordingly there is a *prima-facie* presumption that its growth and development will follow the same processes of growth and development which prevail, so far as we can see, throughout the cosmic system. Therefore, until the contrary is proven, it seems to me that we are entitled, if not bound, to regard the soul as a natural product—a natural product no more and no less than any other of God's works. In this case it may help us to guess what soul is if we look for guidance to the character and origin of the universe.

Speaking broadly, there are two views on this point:—

1. The theological view, which insists on the miraculous character of the creation, and many, if not most, of God's dealings with the universe.\*

\* Principal Tulloch repudiates this as the theological view, declaring that 'theology knows nothing of a conflict between order and will. If there is a Divine Will at all, it must be a Will acting by general laws, by methods of which order is an invariable

2. The scientific view, which, whether accepting, or shelving, or denying the existence of a creating Deity, insists that the universe now is an orderly whole, whose processes exhibit inflexible law, and wherein no place for miracle can be found.

Each of these views is saddled with a special fallacious tendency. Theology is prone to explain what it cannot understand by a miracle. Science is apt to discredit what it cannot explain as miraculous, and therefore impossible. Miracle, in the sense of a violation of natural law, no doubt must be excluded from any rational account of the universe. But it need not follow that the unexplainable is in this sense miraculous. For, though 'natural law' is commonly described as an *observed* uniformity of process, it is at least possible that natural uniformities may exist which are not known to us, and these, though unknown, would be as actual as any others. Accordingly, in dealing with what may seem to be mysteries of nature, we are not entitled either to discredit them offhand as violations of natural law, or to account for their presence by the expedient of a miracle.

If miracle, however, be eliminated from the universe, it follows that all development must be an orderly evolution of its subject-matter. Direct investigation of such evolution is necessarily confined to this earth of ours; but since the earth is but a part of the universe, though the springs of its development be chiefly contained in itself, cosmic as well as mundane forces may help in the work.

What, then, is the subject-matter of the universe? It is popularly said to consist of matter and force; and though this division will not really stand scrutiny, it furnishes a convenient working hypothesis, which it may be useful to accept for the present under protest.

Now force and matter show a development which proceeds on the strictest economical principles. Nothing is either lost or added, nothing is either created or destroyed. In this lies a serious objection to the theory of specially created souls, for if an entirely new soul is created for each child that is born, every birth witnesses a violation of natural law. Something has appeared on one side of the equation which is not accounted for on the other. Even if the presence of this something be due to extra-terrestrial energy, the difficulty still remains.

The soul that rises with us, our life's star,  
Hath had elsewhere its setting,  
And cometh from afar.

This in a sense is possible enough. I do not say that soul is merely an earth-product; I only insist that it is a product of some

characteristic. But with all the respect due to so high an authority, I am quite unable to adopt this explanation. Prayer for recovery from sickness, for change of the weather, and similar requests for Divine interposition usually encouraged by theologians, imply a belief in a breach of causation somewhere, which no ingenuity can get rid of, unless prayer be robbed of its voluntary character, and the Divine Will of its freedom.

sert, not a new creation, seeing that the whole testimony of nature is against such a conclusion.

Not so, may be the reply. Life presents just such another apparent anomaly. No doubt, according to the doctrine of Biogenesis, all life comes from some antecedent life, and so far the chain of causation is unbroken. But when research pushes back to the lowly organisms which fringe the brink of animate nature, it finds beyond them a great gulf fixed. On the hither side of this gulf appears the new presence, life; on the far side there is a realm of order, but it is a realm of the dead. All efforts to bridge the gap have failed. Up to a certain point matter may develop or differentiate under the impulse of molecular energy. But with animate existence, a new factor is added which cannot be evolved from the forms of force which we know in the organic world.

This may be true enough so far as it goes, but accuracy requires the addition of a single word which may prove fatal to the whole objection—'now.'

It may be perfectly true *now* that life springs only from antecedent life,<sup>3</sup> and that the theory of spontaneous generation must yield to the triumph of Biogenesis. But in this case we cannot infer the past from our experience of the present, because the conditions have altered enormously. What is true of the earth of the nineteenth century need not by any means be true of the earth of, say, the Silurian age. The thermal conditions under which life first appeared upon the globe certainly differed widely from those of the present day, and this difference alone suffices to restore possibility to the evolution of life.<sup>4</sup>

It will be necessary for my present purpose to go somewhat deeper into this question of the beginnings of life, for if soul be a natural product, soul life, like all other life, must conform to natural law.

The gap between dead and living nature is no doubt sharply defined, but the excessive stress sometimes laid upon this distinction gives rise to an impression that the two kingdoms differ *toto celo* in their character and laws, and proceed upon different lines of development. It would probably be more accurate to compare their development to a chain, one of the links of which is hidden or lost. By examining the frontier cliffs of the two countries, geologists are able to declare that England and France were once united, notwithstanding the sea that now flows between them. And in like manner, if we look honestly across the ancient gulf which severs dead from living matter, we may yet find evidence that this gulf represents not an original

<sup>3</sup> This, however, can hardly be considered as completely proved.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Temple (*The Relations between Religion and Science*, p. 128) seems inclined to admit as possible, what he quotes as a scientific belief, 'that such properties are inherent in the elements of which protoplasm is made, that in certain special circumstances these elements will not only combine, but that the product of their combination will live.'

division, but a breach of original continuity. In both orders alike there appears an evolution from a low simplicity to a high, or comparatively high, complexity. But this by itself is insufficient to prove that the two orders form part of one continuous chain; since such a similarity might belong to two distinct, though parallel, orders of development. We must look rather to the edges of the gap for evidence that once the two orders were connected. To pursue this investigation properly would require a knowledge of chemistry and physiology to which I cannot pretend, but I may mention a few cases which seem to point to some connection.

The most highly fashioned product of dead matter is the crystal; the lowest product of living matter is an apparently formless colloid (jellylike) lump. There seems little enough in common between these two stages, and throughout the earlier forms of life the dissimilarity remains. This might well be expected. Short of a certain degree of stability, the rigid processes which mould the crystal could not be utilised by life. But after this point has been reached, it seems more than doubtful whether such processes are rejected or excluded by vitality. Moreover the distinction between crystal and colloid is not so rigorous as at first appears. Even now some minerals appear both in colloid and crystalloid forms, and flint is a familiar instance of a crystal which has passed through a colloid stage. One of the chief characteristics of colloid as opposed to crystalloid matter is its mobility. But the stability of the crystal is by no means immutable. In some substances the forms of crystallisation vary under difference of conditions, especially conditions of temperature, and even the character of a crystal already formed may be so altered.<sup>5</sup> But the analogies of crystal and colloid may be brought closer still. Dr. Hughes Bennett (quoted by Dr. Bastian) found *cellular* forms of crystalloid matter in the pellicle formed on the surface of lime water. Dr. Bastian himself found similar forms in a solution of ammoniac sulphate with potassic bichromate;<sup>6</sup> and globular formations of carbonate of lime were found by Mr. Rainey where this substance had been introduced into a viscid solution.<sup>7</sup> If we turn to the crystals of a simple substance like water, the patterns of frost on a window-pane often reveal, even to the naked eye, the closest resemblance to feathers, leaves, &c.; and under the microscope similar crystals display faithful, if too symmetrical, copies of the flowers and foliage of plants.<sup>8</sup> Again compare with some of these crystals the star-shaped forms which the spores issuing from the *Protomyxa aurantiaca* sometimes assume;<sup>9</sup> the quasi-crystalline grouping of some of the organisms which appeared in a solution of iron and ammoniac citrate,<sup>10</sup> and the more perfect stellar forms of some monads from a *Nitella*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Bastian, *Beginnings of Life*, vol. ii. p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> See plate, Tyndall, *Forms of Water*, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> *Beginnings of Life*, vol. i. p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 483.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 379, 403.

It is possible that such similarities may be mere coincidences, but surely it is more reasonable to suppose that life in its operations may utilise, though it modify, the molecular affinities which produce the crystal. Life did not spring from crystallisation, but both alike sprang in due order from natural antecedents; and if the spontaneous evolution of life, unlike crystallisation, no longer occurs, it is only because the requisite conditions of the former have passed away, while those of the latter have survived.

If we seek to know what the conditions of archebiosis, or life-beginning, were, we must realise broadly what was the course of the earth's development chemically. In the earth's infancy chemical combination was rendered impossible by the intense heat which kept terrestrial matter in a state of dissolution. It has been calculated that the earth's temperature when it first started on its course as an independent planet was something like 3,000,000 degrees Fahrenheit, or about 14,000 times hotter than boiling water. As the mass grew cooler the affinities of certain molecules became just strong enough to overbalance the disruptive influence of heat and its allied forces, and the first and simplest chemical combinations then took place. It is obvious that such combinations would at first be very unstable, and would so continue till a cooler stage rendered them practically permanent, and called new combinations into being. At each repetition of the process a similar instability would attach to the newest combinations, while these combinations would gradually become more complex. Clearly, therefore, the stage of terrestrial formation from the earliest chemical combinations down to the hardening of the earth's crust must have been a period of enormous chemical activity. Nor is this all; for under the thermal conditions which heralded the appearance of life on the earth, many substances may, indeed must, have possessed properties which they no longer display. Experiment, even under present limitations, verifies the marvellous effects of heat, cold, and pressure. Heat will drive iron into vapour; cold will solidify or liquefy oxygen and other gases; and even hydrogen, the lightest of known substances, when subjected to a pressure of 650 atmospheres (about 9,533 pounds to the square inch), issued as a steel blue substance, and fell to the ground in solid drops which rang like a metal.<sup>12</sup>

But here we must bear in mind that absolute stability is unknown. The molecules of the most compact body are incessantly swinging to and fro, though the rate of their vibrations may vary. Now heat increases the impetuosity of this molecular rhythm till the point is reached at which cohesion is overpowered and disruption ensues. Any compound therefore under a temperature close upon the disruption point is in a very unstable or mobile condition. Now we are not in any way bound to conclude that the lowest forms of life discoverable at the present day are necessarily identical with the forms

<sup>12</sup> Experiments by M. Raoul Pictet, of Geneva, in 1876.



which first appeared. But even protoplasm as known to us possesses a chemical constitution of considerable mobility.

And now, gathering up the threads of the argument, is it not possible to conjecture that life may have arisen in some such way as this? Colloid, no less than crystalloid, matter depends ultimately for its coherence on the polar groupings of its molecules. Given, therefore, colloid matter of a certain complexity, and a high mobility caused by the thermal conditions of its environment, we may well suppose that under such circumstances the polarities of its molecules might fluctuate to a degree which would produce corresponding modifications of its character; and this, with the motion supplied by molecular vibration, would constitute a moving equilibrium almost sufficient to bridge the gap between animate and inanimate existence.

Regarding life as a process of adjustment of inner to outer relations, matter in such a state would possess the mobility of constitution without which life-adjustment would be impossible, and it would also possess the motion without which such an adjustment could not be carried into effect. But it is clear that these are not quite sufficient. Mere capability of chemical modification by its environment will not turn dead into living matter. However elastic such a capability might be, it could not provide for the complex adjustments involved in nutrition and growth. Something more is needed to change this passive capability of modification by, into a capability of active response to, external stimuli, and thereby to give the process of adjustment that purposive and selective character which seems to be of the essence of life. It is obvious what this something must be. It must be some form, however faint, of sentience.

Since, therefore, life can find its necessary mobility in matter, can it not also acquire its necessary sentience from the same source? I think the answer to this question may be found in the late Professor Clifford's doctrine of 'Mindstuff.' A full account of this is given in an article by him on 'The Nature of Things-in-Themselves,' in *Mind*, vol. iii. (1878), p. 57. But his conclusions, so far as they relate to the present subject, may be summarised as follows:—

1. A feeling can exist by itself without forming part of a consciousness.
2. That element of which even the simplest feeling is a complex he calls 'Mindstuff;' and these elemental feelings which correspond to motions of matter are connected together in their sequence and coexistence by counterparts of the physical laws of matter.
3. 'A moving molecule of inorganic matter does not possess mind or consciousness, but it possesses a small piece of mindstuff. When molecules are so combined together as to form the film on the under-side of a jellyfish, the elements of mindstuff which go along with them are so combined as to form the faint beginnings of sentience.

When the molecules are so combined as to form the brain and nervous system of a vertebrate, the corresponding elements of mindstuff are so combined as to form some kind of consciousness. . . . When matter takes the complex form of a living human brain, the corresponding mindstuff takes the form of a human consciousness, having intelligence and volition.' <sup>13</sup>

Such in brief is the theory of mindstuff, and though I do not think it can be accepted unreservedly, it lends great help to the present inquiry. Clifford's premature death prevented any further elucidation of the subject by him, and some of its points are left in unwelcome uncertainty. *Prima facie* we should suppose that mindstuff was something material, but Clifford seems to evade this conclusion, and to treat mindstuff, first, as something distinct from but inseparably connected with matter, and, later, as the one absolute reality of which matter is only a manifestation. However, I think there can be little doubt that, according to his original idea, mindstuff was something in its nature material. A moving molecule of inorganic matter possesses, he says, 'a *small piece* of mindstuff.' These words can mean nothing unless mindstuff is to be credited with quantity and extension. But that which has quantity and extension we can only regard as matter; and this view I am prepared to adopt. With respect, however, to the association of matter and mindstuff, I do not think that we can regard this combination as consisting of a double atom of matter and mindstuff. I think rather that we must distinguish matter proper and mindstuff as two forms of matter, diffused in their original condition separately through the universe; though this apparent duality of substance will disappear, as will be seen later, under a somewhat different analysis.

But this primitive sentience which comes in as the crowning factor of life is something more also: it is the first germ of soul. There is a tendency in force, pointed out by Dr. Maudsley, to develop upwards, and consequently a tendency in organic substance, even when life has fled, to resist, as he puts it, 'the extreme retrograde metamorphosis of material and force before being used up again in vital compounds.' <sup>14</sup>

Let us see how this will apply to the growth of soul. For the convenience of discussion I retain 'matter' and 'mindstuff' as distinctive terms, but it must be clearly understood that mindstuff is in its nature material.

It is possible, perhaps, that mindstuff can cohere mechanically with simple matter; but I do not think that it could combine physiologically, except with matter of a certain complexity. The

<sup>13</sup> In a note to this article Professor Clifford remarks that he had found traces of his theory in other writers, mentioning particularly Kant and Wundt. To these may be added Spinoza, Schopenhauer, and perhaps Herbert Spencer.

<sup>14</sup> *Body and Mind*, p. 282.

earliest forms of life present such a combination, and from such forms soul growth, as well as physical growth, originates. Where living matter has only assimilated mindstuff enough to give it mere sentience, when physical life ceases, the mindstuff may perhaps be released from combination in its original simple condition. But as physical life mounts higher, soul-life follows in its train. Every advance in physical complexity brings with it higher mental needs and higher mental possibilities. The simple mindstuff which suffices to supply unmodified protoplasm with its feeble sentience is replaced in the higher organisms by mindstuff grouped into a mental structure. When such a higher physical organism dies, the mental organism belonging to it does not forthwith decompose back into simple mind-stuff, but normally retains its organic unity, and in this state can be appropriated again by a physical organism, but only by an organism at least as highly developed as its last. In the order of purely physical development we find that the lower organisms commonly draw the materials for their growth and nutrition from inorganic nature.<sup>13</sup> Thus the plant depends for its nourishment on a proper supply of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, &c., and these inorganic materials it works up within itself into protoplasm. But higher organisms, such as the vertebrates, depend for their nutrition on a proper supply of formed protoplasm. The ox, for instance, is nourished by the formed protoplasm of the grass which it assimilates, as the man, in turn, may be nourished by the formed protoplasm of beef. Similarly in the order of mental development. As in due course of evolution higher and higher organisms appear, these cease to draw solely upon simple mindstuff for their mental needs (though probably enough they may use it for some lower sentient purposes), but in virtue of their greater complexity require, and are able to appropriate, the formed mindstuff structures fashioned by lower organisms, and gradually to group them into mental structures of a higher complexity. Thus the whole mental fabric of a lower form of life may be merely one of the molecules, as it were, which compose the consciousness of a higher form. This process continues till some mental structure is reached upon which *self-consciousness* dawns; with *self-consciousness* arises for the first time the 'ego' or soul; and at this point we may safely assert that no known organism can group it any further.

It would be as rash to declare that a mental organism never undergoes the extreme of decomposition as it would be to make a similar assertion of a physical organism. But what is true of the latter is probably true of the former, and we are entitled to think that a mental organism *tends to cohere as such*, instead of sinking back into simple mindstuff.

But how does *self-consciousness* spring from mere consciousness?

<sup>13</sup> Certain fungi, I believe, can assimilate organic matter.

How can a mere capability of apprehending sensations furnish the idea of an 'ego' that apprehends? In some way or another consciousness becomes able to turn from the perception of sensations as such, to a cognition of the sensations as states of itself. And how is this brought about? The question is not an easy one, but I believe the explanation is to be found in the *structure* of the mental organism. At first sight it may seem unwarrantable to treat our highest human quality as a mere product of structure, but a little consideration will show how closely quality and structure are connected. We are bound to regard matter in its simplest form as homogeneous; how, then, did it come by its present diversity of qualities? These are clearly the results of various molecular groupings—in short, of structure. A striking proof of what diversities of quality structure can produce is shown by the 'isomerism' of chemistry. Substances composed of the same elements, and in the same proportions, are chemically described as isomeric. But the properties of isomeric bodies often differ widely, as may be seen in the case of starch, gum, and a certain form of sugar. These are all isomeric, and their differences depend simply on the different arrangement of their component molecules. And be it observed, the more complex the structure, the higher as well as the more numerous will its properties be.

In the case of a mental organism, the very fact that, with all endeavour, we cannot get at the back, so to speak, of our self-consciousness strongly suggests that this self-consciousness is not an independent entity, but a property of structure. If we still press for some mechanical account of how self-consciousness operates, we may arrive at some such conclusion as this. Consciousness is a mental structure which responds more or less perfectly to nerve-stimuli. If this response be translated into terms of matter, we must regard it as being in itself a sort of thrill. Indeed psychologists describe the ultimate unit of consciousness as a 'psychical shock' or 'tremor'—a view which seems to me to imply necessarily the materiality of the consciousness in which the shock or tremor takes place. But these units are not themselves objects of consciousness, they are only the elements of which conscious states are composed; and thus, paradoxical as it sounds, every state of consciousness is built up of unconscious or subconscious elements. Accordingly, in the mind-structure of an animal incapable of *self*-consciousness, a conscious state is just a responsive thrill. Now to every such thrill there must naturally be a recoil, and in such a mental structure as we are now considering, this recoil would either pass off in some of the commoner forms of force,<sup>16</sup> or its units, if affecting the mind-structure at all, would never rise above the subconscious level. But in the more sensitive and complex mind-structure of the man, the recoil might, partly at any

<sup>16</sup> Professor Lombard has succeeded in measuring the heat given off by the cerebrum during mental operations.

rate, pass back into the mind-structure, and this absorbed recoil constitute consciousness of *self*. So far, then, it would seem that a state of simple consciousness is the mind-structure's thrill to nervous stimuli; a state of *self-consciousness*, a thrill to its own thrills. But we may venture yet a step further. Even our present imperfect knowledge of the correlation of forces enables us to perceive the Protean facility of transformation with which force is endowed. Consequently it is not impossible that the recoil in being absorbed may be transmuted from a thrill into some special, but hitherto unanalysed, form of force.

Again—approaching the subject from another side—wherein does the unity of the 'ego' consist? Clearly not in identity of individual self. The self of the child, of the man in his prime, and the man in his old age are *not* identical. Mr. Galton states, as the results of some introspective experiments,<sup>17</sup> that our self is 'by no means one and indivisible,' and that irresolution is due to our disinclination 'to sacrifice the self of the moment for a different one.'

We feel, indeed, that there is a continuity of self through all these changes, but this is because we can recognise connecting links between each of the several 'selves;' and these links are successive modifications of the mental whole—faculties, emotions, appetites, and aversions—of which self is composed. *Pari passu* with these we find structural modifications of body and brain. This does not, perhaps, amount to demonstration, but it does amount to a strong inference of some structural connection between the two sets of modifications; and consequently that the unity of self is preserved through all its variations by the mind-structure of which self is a property.

But there is a closer parallelism yet. Whatever be the nature of the conscious 'ego,' its physical organ is the brain. And it is of course notorious as a matter of fact that the capacities of consciousness are, speaking generally, connected with complexity of brain-structure. Nobody would believe that the 'ego' of a Spencer could be found in combination with the brain of a bushman. Nobody, on the other hand, will deny to the bushman an 'ego' of some kind, however low. 'Egos,' then, vary in quality. But, if so, how can they be absolute spirit? And since their quality varies with the complexity of their brain-organs, must not their differences of quality depend on differences of structure, corresponding to the structural differences of their respective brain-organs?

Again, it seems to me that only on the structure hypothesis can the facts of heredity be explained. It is obvious that mental, no less than physical, peculiarities are transmitted hereditarily. In fact, the transmission of both is habitually relied on, and manipulated by, breeders of animals. Among the lower forms of life the parent characteristics are almost exactly reproduced in the new growth. What

<sup>17</sup> *Mind*, vol. ix. p. 409.

is it, then, that the parent plant transmits to its seed, or parent animals to the fertilised ovum? Certain structural tendencies of development. In the case of transmitted mental qualities, even in mankind, though we are apt to evade a definite explanation, the hereditary character of these qualities is readily admitted. 'He has his father's taste for music,' &c. is a form of expression common enough even among those who deny the evolution of the 'ego.' But how are we to account for heredity in mental qualities if these do not come from parents and ancestors, but are created specially for us? One answer of course is just possible. It may be said that these similarities, though confessedly hereditary in the case of physical qualities, in the case of mental qualities are due to a special creation. In short, that a man may derive the shape of his nose in a due course of nature from parental sources, but that his taste for painting does not come from an artist father, but is conferred on him by a miracle. After admitting the possibility of this explanation for those who do not believe in an invariable natural law, it is hardly necessary to argue upon its probability. But if mental qualities are transmitted hereditarily, either man's soul must be partly derived from an hereditary source, or we must be prepared to sever the soul from the mind.

Even the apparent failures of heredity do not overthrow the structure hypothesis. In an interesting article on 'Idiosyncrasy,'<sup>18</sup> Mr. Grant Allen points out that though an ancestral quality may not be displayed visibly in the descendant, its apparent absence is due to a rearrangement of the elements transmitted by the ancestor. The quality is present, but it has undergone a change of grouping. In like manner, the glistening sugar-crystal put into the teacup at breakfast shows no apparent trace of carbon. Add a little sulphuric acid, and the ugly black presence is instantly revealed. In the grouping called sugar, the carbon was concealed. Disturb that grouping by redistributing the molecules, and it comes out of bondage at once. Mr. Grant Allen illustrates his argument by comparing the ancestral qualities which go towards the endowment of an individual to a number of red and white beans shaken up together and poured upon a table. The collection of beans, of course, does not exactly resemble a collection of ancestral qualities. The former is a mechanical mixture; the latter, an organic combination. The organic combination tends to reproduce its type; but there is, of course, no question of reproduction in the case of the mechanical mixture. In this, however, they are strictly alike, that neither bean nor ancestral quality is lost. Every antecedent will be accounted for in the consequent, even though its presence be obscured by the alterations of grouping.

With respect to the evolutionary origin here claimed for the human soul, I may point out that, unless the soul be regarded as a product of

<sup>18</sup> *Atlan*, vol. viii. p. 487.

development, the difficulties presented to us by the lower animals are enormous. Consider for a moment how the problem stands, especially with respect to the higher vertebrates. We find consciousness, volition, and, within limits, reasoning; we find also emotions, passions, and quasi-moral qualities, such as the affection and courage of the dog, and that trustworthiness which appears to arise from a sort of sense of responsibility. The highest apes come within a measurable distance of humanity; indeed, as a mere matter of brain-capacity, there is less difference between the gorilla and the non-Aryan Hindu than between the non-Aryan Hindu and the European, the difference of cranial capacity being 11 inches in the one case, and 68 inches in the other.<sup>19</sup>

Yet we are forbidden to give immortal souls to the beasts that perish, and rightly enough. Quite apart from any theological doctrines, we cannot bring ourselves to believe in glorified animals, as such, finding a place in any final hereafter. But the doctrine of specially created human souls bars the only other path of progress possible to animals. Therefore we are driven by this doctrine to maintain that animal consciousness, however complex, however laboriously built up, is annihilated at death, and, though it may be resolved back into simpler forms of force, it is lost as consciousness to the universe for ever. It might seem possible to escape this conclusion by supposing that the consciousness of a dead animal served again in the living body of a similar animal, e.g., that a canine consciousness would pass on from dog to dog. But, omitting a host of minor objections, this view firstly requires an original fixity of species which we know did not exist; and, secondly, it does not provide for any species becoming extinct. What has become, for instance, of the consciousnesses of the extinct ichthyosauri, pterodactyls, &c. of the early world, or the great auks of our own day? If they have been utilised, my theory is affirmed. If they have been annihilated, my objection remains. Obviously no such difficulty attends any system of soul evolution. The mind-structure of the animal passes upwards in an orderly course, and towards the same goal as the souls of men.

In connection with this question of animal souls, some forms of idiocy deserve remark. A relapse towards animalism generally is not all uncommon amongst idiots; but some cases of theroid idiocy show a relapse to *specific animals*. Dr. Maudsley gives some instances in his lectures on *Body and Mind*, pp. 47-53. Ape-faced and ape-natured idiots are moderately frequent, but relapses in this direction are less remarkable, because they might be a recurrence along the direct line of ancestry. But with idiots who resemble sheep and geese this explanation fails. An ovine idiot girl, referred

<sup>19</sup> Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature*, pp. 77, 78. The actual figures are: Highest European, 114 cubic inches; lowest Hindu, 46 cubic inches; highest gorilla, 84½ cubic inches.

to by Dr. Maudsley, refused meat, but took vegetables and water greedily. She expressed joy or grief by the words 'be,' 'ma,' 'bah,' she would try to butt with her head, and displayed other ovine propensities, while her back and loins were covered with hair two inches long. Still more curious is the case of the anserine idiot girl which he mentions. This poor creature had a small head scantily covered with hair, large and prominent eyes, a lower jaw projecting more than an inch beyond the upper jaw, the whole of the lower part of the face presenting the appearance of a bill. Her neck was very long, and so flexible that it could be bent backwards till it touched her back between the shoulder-blades. She uttered no articulate sounds, but displayed pleasure by cackling like a goose, and displeasure by screeching or hissing, and flapping her arms against her sides. Such facts as these can scarcely be accounted for by atavism; for though man, sheep, and goose have a common ancestral origin, the branches which they represent must have diverged from the common line long before the appearance of any such specialised creature as a sheep or goose. In short, the relationship between man and the other two being collateral only, the above facts cannot be explained as a back strain to a direct ancestor. On the other hand, they do seem to point to the undue prominence in a human organism of a specific animal element, and this is exactly what we might expect to occur occasionally if my theory of soul evolution should be correct. According to this view the materials of the human soul are drawn largely from lower mind-structures, which under ordinary circumstances are individually combined into a due subordination to the organic unity of the whole. But where from any reason such organic combination should be imperfectly carried out, it seems highly probable that some one of the animal mind-structures appropriated by the organism might be left in a position of undue predominance, and this would exactly meet the case of the theroid idiot. Finally, the fact that the animal mind of the theroid idiot is accompanied by appropriate animal peculiarities of body points to a much closer *natural* connection between mind and body than any that the special creation theory admits of.

After this general sketch of soul-growth, it will be necessary to retrace our steps and examine the stages of the process more minutely. When the lowest forms of life die they may possibly give up their mindstuff unaltered. But upon the death of higher organisms part, at any rate, of the mindstuff which leaves them has been worked up into more or less complex groups, which may be called mind-molecules. As we get higher in the scale of existence, the constant regroupings of these mind-molecules into higher and larger aggregates result in the formation of mind-structures of very considerable complexity. And with regard to these some interesting questions arise. The self-conscious structure of the human soul cannot conceivably, as I have



said, be subsumed into a higher unity by any organism at present known to us. Excluding humanity, however, for the moment, I suppose that the totality of animal life on the earth does not diminish, if indeed it does not increase. Also bearing in mind the continual process of absorption going on, it seems probable that the higher mind-structures are not often for long together out of active employment. But it is clear that certain intervals must occur after the death of each physical organism when they are left without an organic tenement; and it is possible that in some cases such intervals may be comparatively long. And here the question arises, how are these disembodied mental structures occupied during such intervals, and what are the conditions of their existence?

In the first place it seems to me that the process of their development as well as the sphere of their utilisation need not be confined within terrestrial limits. It is impossible to suppose that this earth of ours is the only seat of life and mind in the universe; and if there be more worlds than one, there is no conclusive reason why mind-stuff and mind-structures should not pass freely between them, though we cannot detect the laws which these migrations follow. But a still more interesting consideration lies before us. Since the human soul is the product of a long line of development, the process, like every natural process, must be extremely gradual. Consequently the mind-structures immediately below the human soul in point of development must have reached a complexity which only just falls short of self-consciousness. What follows is obvious. Besides the incarnate mind-structures of visible life, we must reckon on the existence of a fluctuating body of similar structures diffused through the universe. Whether the form which immediately precedes the human soul be developed upon this world or elsewhere matters little. It may be that the mind-structures of the higher animals, or some of them, when grouped into a higher complexity suffice for the formation of a human soul. Or it may be that the 'missing link' would be found in some other sphere of existence. We are only concerned to recognise that it is to be found somewhere.

Personality is so inexpugnable a factor of our own consciousness that we can with difficulty conceive the idea of a consciousness which lacks it. We may test this in a simple case by trying to frame a clear conception of the character and contents of the consciousness of some lower animal to whom we do not ascribe an 'ego.' But the difficulty becomes very much greater when we try in imagination to separate such a consciousness from the bodily organism through which its impressions are received. We must conclude, however, that in the absence of a nervous system, sensations of external things in the ordinary sense would be impossible. In this case the only impressions possible to an unembodied mind-structure would be those derived from other mind-structures; and upon the quality or method

of such impressions we cannot, of course, pronounce with certainty. But, assuming that communication between mind-structures is possible, there is no reason why communication should not take place between embodied and unembodied mind-structures; and some such supposition seems to me a possible explanation of a very puzzling class of so-called spiritual phenomena. I must observe that in speaking of spiritual phenomena I exclude all the supernatural associations of the term, and refer only to certain phenomena of consciousness and volition, which are not the less orderly because they are imperfectly understood.

In spite of the ridicule which has been thrown upon the Society for Psychical Research, I think that, after criticism has done its worst, and cleared away the more doubtful parts of the mass of information collected, there still remains a considerable residue of unexplained matter, the facts of which seem to be conclusively established. Some forms of telepathy are good instances of what I mean, and on the current theories of the character of mind these present a perfectly hopeless problem. If mind be non-material, then every act of perception—say my perception of the inkstand before me—is a non-material interpretation of certain material changes in my brain. And how such a non-material interpretation can be transferred across the Atlantic (or, for the matter of that, across the room), and presented as an object to the consciousness of some one else, is extremely difficult to understand. But half the difficulty disappears if we regard mind as a material structure situated in an environment of mindstuff and mind-structures. This combination of organic structures and the raw material of which they are composed may be regarded as analogous to the combination of nerves and neuroglia, and may possibly resemble it in some of its properties. Through a mindstuff medium of such a kind as I have suggested mental states might well be transmitted from one consciousness to another. Are we, then, to suppose that space is perpetually traversed by conscious ideas hurrying to and fro? By no means. The changes or impressions produced on the transmitting medium by the transmitted idea certainly need not be faithful reproductions of that idea as present to the consciousness at either end of the chain of transmission. Telephony supplies us with an excellent analogy. The spoken words produce waves in the air, which produce vibrations in the plate, which by a magnetic contrivance sets up a corresponding electric action in the wire, which in its turn produces vibrations in the hearing plate at the other end of the telephone, which again produce air-waves, which finally render up to the hearer the words originally spoken. Here there are words at each end of the chain, but assuredly none in the middle; and a like explanation may apply to the transmission of ideas. How this mental chain becomes established is less easy to determine, but the

simpler realms of science offer some helpful suggestions. Chemical affinity is fully as mysterious as any of the seeming mental affinities, which are either dismissed with ridicule, or regarded with superstitious awe. Chemical affinity is, in effect, a state of *rapproch* which binds distinct molecules into a unity, but the nature of the combining power is quite beyond our ken. Yet the belief in chemical affinity is not usually regarded as impious or absurd, and there is no valid reason why a belief in mental affinity—a belief to which some of the phenomena of hypnotism seem to point directly—should be treated worse.

We now have to consider what is the composition of the human soul. The difficulty of this is very great, because, so far as can be judged, we are in the first stage of 'egohood.' We have no past experience nor the possibility of past experience to go back upon. We have seen that the 'ego' is a mental whole of some sort, but the question is, wherein precisely does its unity consist? On the one hand, the whole of our mental equipment seems to form part of our present personality. On the other hand, it seems incompatible with any considerable progress in future stages of our existence that the greater part of this equipment should be an essential part of the 'ego.' This question belongs in a special degree to theology, but theology does not help us much to a solution of the difficulty. By theologians as by most people the soul is identified somehow with our personality. How much then of the individual personality is supposed to go to heaven or to hell? Does the whole of the mental equipment, good and bad, noble qualities and unholy passions, follow the soul to its hereafter? Surely not. But if not, and something has to be stripped off, how and where are we to draw the line? If, on the other hand, the soul is something distinct from all our mental equipment except the sense of self, are we not confronted by the incomprehensible notion of a personality without any attributes?

Perhaps, however, the difficulties of the question really spring from a misconception of the true nature of these attributes. The components of our mental equipment—appetites, aversions, feelings, tastes, and qualities generally—are not absolute but relative existences. Without going too deeply into the psychology of the matter, I think they may be correctly described as mental states, or capacities for mental states. Hunger and thirst, for instance, are states of consciousness which arise in response to the stimuli of physical necessities. Unless consciousness were capable of responding to such stimuli, hunger and thirst would be unknown, and our bodies might perish from inanition. A similar, though, of course, not identical, account must be given of love, anger, selfishness, benevolence, sight, smell, taste, and so forth. All alike either conduce to some present utility to ourselves, or are survivals from some obsolete utility in the past. But all alike are mental states produced in consciousness by the

stimuli of our environment, and as such are not absolute, but relative; they are not inherent and necessary elements of the soul, but are the joint products of consciousness and environment, and will disappear or become modified by the alteration of either of these.

If this be so, then our present qualities will not cling to us unaltered in any future existence, unless the conditions of such an existence be identical with those which surround us here; and this we ought not to expect. Therefore, the only part of our personality that can survive into the future is the self-conscious mind-structure, denuded of its present positive qualities, but retaining its capacities for response and its structural predispositions to certain kinds of response; and this only is the true soul. From the remote past the development of the mind-structure on its upward path has been a process of modification by its environment, and if soul-evolution continues at all, similar fashioning influences must take up the task. In a new and higher environment, some of the responsive capacities and predispositions which the human mind-structure now possesses will disappear from disuse, while new ones will be evolved by necessity. And thus the soul will pass onward and upward through purer and nobler stages of existence, till personal perfection be attained, or perhaps personality itself be merged in something which is higher.

These speculations have now carried us from before the cradle to beyond the grave, and I must return within the bounds of my present inquiry to some objections not yet fully dealt with.

I have implicitly touched on some of the chief difficulties which encounter the supposition of a non-material soul in remarking on the facts of heredity, and the concomitant variations of mental power with cerebral growth and complexity. I will here add another. If mind is non-material, it must be independent of space. It cannot matter to an immaterial something whether its locality (if, indeed, local position can be predicated of such an entity) be large or small. Yet, speaking generally, we find not only that the mind shows variations in power with the size and complexity of the brain, but also that any given mind becomes incapable of operating at all, or operating properly, under sufficient pressure upon the cortex. How, then, can the mind be something independent of spatial conditions; in short, how can it be immaterial?

It may be said—indeed it is said, expressly or implicitly, by what I may call orthodox evolutionism—that the soul may be regarded as a structural product of evolution, educed in the orderly course of natural law, without being regarded as a material product. Mind, it is said, is in matter, but not of matter. So far as man is concerned, it is indeed limited by material conditions; its operations correspond strictly with material modifications in its physical organ, the brain, and depend on laws which are the counterparts or correlates of the laws of matter. But, nevertheless, it is in itself something distinct

from matter; its unity is a mental, not a physical, cohesion, and as a structure it is neither material nor in any way partaking of matter.

I do not say that this account is impossible, but I do say that it is beyond the possibility of conception, and I say further that appearances are against it. It may be, indeed, that mind is a complex whose nature is beyond the grasp of our intelligence, but I dissent from this view, not because it is inconceivable, but because the weight of evidence is opposed to it. The dependence of mind (of course, I am speaking only of mind as known to us) on material conditions is admitted; the correspondence of its laws to physical laws is also admitted. Accordingly, when we find ourselves in the presence of a something which requires for its operations space, cohesion of nerve-tissue, nutriment for and certain chemical conditions of this tissue; and when we further find that the laws of its operations are linked generally with the laws of matter, then I say that the balance of probability favours the conclusion that this something is itself matter, and not any mysterious analogue of matter. Nor is this conclusion the least affected by the mere fact that we cannot lay our finger upon mind, for the same objection would then extend to such forms of matter as ether, which is quite inaccessible to us, though its materiality is never questioned.

Any theory which makes the soul material has to encounter the repugnance which is felt to any attempted fusion between spirit and matter. Matter is commonly regarded as something mean and degraded. Plotinus described it as a deep darkness, and identified it with evil. The epithet 'material' is often used as a term of reproach; and a materialist thinker is still considered by many to be a sort of moral pariah.<sup>20</sup> This view of matter has no special claims to admiration, and it certainly is not, as some seem to think, a sacred and universal instinct of humanity. The earliest philosophers were hylozoists, i.e., they placed the ultimate source of the universe in some form of life-endowed or spirit-endowed matter. Even the world-ordering intelligence of Anaxagoras was only 'the finest and purest' form of matter. But this original unity split up later into a dualism, which constantly tended to the exaltation of mind and the degradation of matter, and culminated in the Alexandrine schools, whence it was absorbed by theology.

But, quite apart from the esteem in which matter may be held, the notion of spirit is open to serious objection. Spirit, as ordinarily used, has no intelligible content whatever, and apart from some connection with matter it is absolutely inconceivable. As a name for

<sup>20</sup> Professor Fiske mentions a case of a theological lecturer on Positivism, who informed his audience that materialists were men who led licentious lives. 'It would be hard,' he observes, 'to find words strong enough to characterise the villany of such misrepresentations . . . were they not obviously the product of extreme slovenliness of thinking, joined with culpable carelessness of assertion.'—*Cosmic Philosophy*, vol. II. p. 433.

some of the mental activities manifested in matter, spirit or spirituality may do well enough, but as an independent immaterial existence it is quite unintelligible. I do not say that because we cannot conceive spirit as an independent entity, therefore it cannot possibly so exist; but I do say that it is idle and misleading to treat it in discussion as if it were a known and intelligible existence.

It seems, then, that in dealing with the soul we have only two courses before us. We may pronounce the soul to be pure spirit, but then we must remove it forthwith to the realm of the unknowable; or we may retain it within the realm of things knowable, but then we must treat it as something in the nature of matter.

But we are not yet at the end of our difficulties. For it may be said that if such a dualism as that of Matter and Spirit, wherein one factor is known and the other unknowable, be illegitimate, the objection is not really disposed of by introducing spirit under another name, i.e. mindstuff, and calling this material; and that such a monism is purely fictitious and unable to withstand the first touch of analysis. It may further be urged that if unknowableness be a fatal objection to spirit (so far as discussion is concerned), the same objection really extends to matter also. No doubt we know matter phenomenally as a state of our consciousness, but as a state of our consciousness only, and commonplace as it may seem to us, we are yet unable to give any intelligible account of it in itself. Are we to regard it as absolutely solid? Then motion must be impossible. Is it on the other hand porous? Then how does it cohere? If to explain cohesion we introduce attraction between the atoms of matter, we have next to explain what this attraction is. If it is material, all the difficulties of matter attach to it. If it is non-material, it is not to be distinguished from spirit. Again, the very notion of atoms is inconceivable: for we cannot imagine anything hard enough to resist compression by infinite force, nor anything so small that it cannot conceivably be divided. Thus it seems that, strive as we may, we cannot get rid of the dualism that is inherent in Nature; and that whether we describe this dualism as Matter and Spirit, Matter and Mind, Matter and Force, makes no difference at all.

This indictment looks formidable, but I think that its strength really depends on a mistaken view of matter. I have already said that the current distinction between matter and force must be taken as provisional only, and I shall attempt to show shortly why it is invalid.

We have seen that we cannot abolish dualism by absorbing force into matter, but it may be found possible to reach the desired unity by referring matter to force. As I have just pointed out, though matter is apparently a self-evident existence, our notions of it, when analysed, lead only to hopeless contradictions. It may be well, therefore, to unravel our notions to their head, and detect, if we can,

the original experience on which they rest. If we do this we shall find that our primary notion of matter is simply of something which offers resistance to muscular energy. Now, a force energising in an otherwise forceless vacuum would meet with no resistance, and under such conditions no conception of matter could arise. The moment resistance appears the case is altered; but what does resistance imply? That which opposes force must be itself force. And therefore we can only conclude that matter is but the name which we give to a state, or a series of states, of our consciousness produced by the collision of opposing forces. Here let me interpose that of the nature of force in itself we are absolutely ignorant. We can only regard its effects subjectively as manifestations of the unknowable; and matter, as we know it, may be compared to a spark struck out in the darkness from the collision of two invisible flints.

Hence we perceive that the popular dualism of matter and force is apparent only, and the real substance of our universe is variously manifested force. And this conclusion bears directly on the difficulty before us. Whether we regard mind as having a miraculous origin or as arising in the orderly course of evolution, we must in either case regard it as a form of force. It may be set apart as a special form, and distinct from all other forms known to us, but force in some form or another it must be. So long as we looked upon matter as something in its nature and essence irreconcilably opposed to mind, it seemed an impossibility to conceive of the soul as material. But when once we perceive that no such fundamental antithesis between mind and matter really exists—each of them being alike manifestations of one force—then there ceases to be any insuperable difficulty in supposing that the mindstuff of which the soul is fashioned is a force-manifestation akin in character to those manifestations which we describe as material, though it differ from the matter of our senses in tenuity and mobility of substance, and complexity of structure.

It may be said that, even if this theory be adopted, we are no better off than before. We have only substituted force for spirit, one unknowable for another. But we have really done more than this, for we have reduced two unknowables to one. Dualism presents us with two separate inconceivable entities, mind and matter. Monism offers us unity, either by merging mind in matter or matter in mind, or, as I have here attempted, by referring both to a single unknowable principle, of which each is, as known to us, a manifestation.

There seems, then, as I have suggested, to be some truth in each of the three theories of the soul to which I have alluded above. The soul, as such, does truly arise for the first time in man. But its elements have pre-existed, originally as simple mindstuff, and at a later stage as lower mind-structures; and finally, so long as we bear

in mind the material character of mindstuff, we may in this sense correctly speak of the soul as a product of universal spirit.

So far I have endeavoured to present this account of the soul with as little reference as possible to religious doctrines. But I must here point out that the evolution of soul, like all evolution, may well proceed under the guidance of the Deity, though, of course, not the Deity of ecclesiastical dogma. Evolutionism, indeed, does not require such a belief, but, so far from banishing, it directly suggests it. Evolutionism expressly declares its inability to define the Infinite, or to describe the Unknowable; but, though we cannot know, and therefore cannot properly predicate, anything of the Divine Power in Itself, we can pronounce upon Its manifestations in relation to ourselves, and, so far as we are able to interpret these manifestations, they reveal to us a system of inviolate order.

To ascribe, therefore, to the Deity the commission of a miracle seems from this religious standpoint positively impious, and thus the evolutionist is constrained by the double claims of religion and science to reject any theory of the soul which involves a miracle at every birth.

But if we are compelled to regard the soul as conforming like the rest of the universe to natural law, are we not entitled to presume, in the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, that its origin and growth must be referred to that great natural order of evolution which, so far as we can discern, is universal in its range?<sup>21</sup>

To many excellent people the idea of a universe left by the Deity to work out its own development without the aid of miracles will still seem intolerable, because, from education and surroundings, they cannot help regarding every form of energy which is not miraculous as somehow unworthy of Divine Power. We are bound to deal respectfully with this, as with all honest belief. But we need not hesitate to declare that the conception of a universe harmoniously evolving, under Divine control, by fixed laws, is incomparably higher than that of a universe whose life and development can only advance with any semblance of harmony by perpetual miraculous interventions.<sup>22</sup>

We have to a great extent got rid of the anthropocentric theory of creation, which, in variously pronounced forms, regarded the

<sup>21</sup> I understand Dr. Temple (*Religion and Science*, p. 225, &c.) to consider that the freedom of the will is evidence against the complete uniformity of Nature. But he seems to ignore the fact that at least half of the current philosophies stoutly deny that the will is free.

<sup>22</sup> Since this passage was written I have been glad to find that Dr. Temple supports the same view. He says (*Religion and Science*, p. 115), 'It seems in itself something more majestic, more befitting to Him to whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years, thus to impress His Will once for all on His creation, and provide for all its countless variety by this one original impress, than by special acts of creation to be perpetually modifying what he had previously made.'



universe, or at any rate this world, as created exclusively for man's benefit; but some relics of this narrow belief still support the reluctance to concede the derivative character of man's soul.

A similar and hardly less vehement opposition was offered to the idea that our physical characteristics came to us through the anthropoid apes. But now that we are ceasing to resent our physical ancestry, can we logically refuse to acknowledge that our mental powers are also a heritage from the past? Science has widened the domain of consciousness, and neither man nor the higher animals can claim it any longer as their exclusive gift. The old barriers of thought which shut off the animal from the vegetal kingdom are rapidly being broken down. If we go back to the beginnings of life we find the same protoplasm in the simplest animal and vegetal organisms; and even in their higher forms striking similarities still appear. Taylor<sup>22</sup> reproduces a plate showing the resemblance in growth and development between a plant, a zoophyte, and a colony of aphids. Amœboid movements are found in plant-tissues; and the locomotive powers of moss antherozoa show a still closer approach to animal functions.

Seeing, then, that life in all its diverse forms can thus be traced back to a single source, it is surely not unreasonable to suppose that the mind which accompanies it has had a similar history, and that the pedigree of the soul itself may reach back to a simple mindstuff unit.

But, be this as it may, scientific authority supports the belief that mind, in some form, always accompanies life, and has accompanied it from the first. Romanes tells us that the discrimination between stimuli, which is the germ of mind, is found in a rudimentary form even in protoplasmic and unicellular organisms.<sup>24</sup> Darwin declares that the sensitive radicle of a plant acts like the brain of an animal;<sup>25</sup> and in insectivorous plants, like the sundew, we find something closely resembling a selective consciousness.

As knowledge widens, thought widens also; and the cosmogonies which may have suited the knowledge and ideas of the past barely suffice for the present, and assuredly will not suffice for the future. Science and philosophy may not have reduced phenomena to a viable unity, but they have at least gone far to reveal their solidarity. Development must be the law of the whole universe; we can no longer regard it as the exclusive privilege of any part. Still less can we believe that the history of the universe is the history of a struggle between the goodness of a Divine mind and an evil and antagonistic matter. Philo, the Alexandrine, taught that God, even in the act of creation, abstained from contact with His work, for 'it was not meet that the Wise and Blessed One should touch chaotic and defiled

<sup>22</sup> *Sagacity and Morality of Plants.*

<sup>24</sup> *Mental Evolution in Animals*, p. 62.

<sup>25</sup> *Movements of Plants*, p. 573.

matter.' Dr. Temple, in the widening spirit of to-day, declares that 'we cannot tell, we never can tell, and the Bible never professes to tell, what powers or gifts are wrapped up in matter itself, or in that living matter of which we are made.'<sup>26</sup>

Early religion took delight in exalting the Creator at the creature's expense; the religion of science prefers to regard all nature as sanctified by the Deity made manifest therein. With this happier recognition that the whole universe works together, as it were, for its own salvation, and that no single atom is common or unclean, it is time that we should free matter from its old burden of reproach. To degrade matter is not really to glorify God, for the baseness imposed upon it seems to cast a shadow even upon Divine grandeur itself. Surely it is at once truer and more reverent to regard matter, not as inherently evil, but as a manifestation of good, believing, in the words of Carlyle, that 'This fair universe, were it in the meanest province thereof, is in very deed the star-domed city of God; that through every star, through every grass blade, and most through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams.'<sup>27</sup>

NORMAN PEARSON.

<sup>26</sup> *Religion and Science*, p. 187.

<sup>27</sup> *Sartor Resartus*, Book III. ch. viii.

*THE HINDU WIDOW.*

THERE is hardly a class of living beings whose wretched condition appeals more strongly to the humane feelings of charitably disposed persons, and in whose woeful state there is more scope for the display of philanthropic efforts, than the widows among the Hindus in India. Very few people in Europe have even the remotest idea of the miseries and horrors which Hindu women undergo after the death of their husbands. The Hindus themselves do not fully know the sufferings of their widowed sisters and daughters, much less do they care to alleviate the hardships of their bereaved country-women, or to improve the general status of the female population of India. It is a hopeful sign of the times that many benevolent Englishmen in England and in India and the few enlightened Hindus are now devoting their attention to the improvement of the condition of women in the latter country. Schools have been opened to teach young girls the rudiments of knowledge, zenana teachers have been appointed to give lessons in the common branches of learning to women at their own homes, and medical ladies have been taken from England to treat ailing Hindu women, who would not be treated by medical men. All this, and much more, has been done to make the life of an Indian woman more comfortable and happy than before, but up to this time the miseries and hardships of Hindu widows have been almost overlooked. The cries of the hapless creatures who are doomed to lifelong widowhood hardly find an echo beyond the four walls of the Indian zenana.

It is certain that the prohibition of the marriage of Hindu widows has from a very ancient time been prevalent in India. The great Hindu lawgiver Manu, who flourished about five centuries B.C., enjoins the following duty on widows :—‘ Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to only one husband. A virtuous wife ascends to heaven, if, after the decease of her lord, she devotes herself to pious austerity; but a widow who slights her deceased

husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord.' Whether the Vedas (the Hindu scriptures) and the Vedic commentaries expressly lay down, that a widow after the death of her husband must not marry again, has been disputed by many a modern Pandit; but it is clear from the above quotation that the cruel custom has reigned supreme in India since the time of Manu, whose injunctions have been literally obeyed by all Hindus. And as time passed on the merciless law of Manu has not only been rigorously carried out, but its evil effects have been immensely aggravated by many additional and not less cruel customs imposed upon the widows by the priestly class in India, which is, *par excellence*, the land of customs and ceremonies. Even Manu would have shrunk from making so inhuman a law, had he known that it would be so barbarously abused and would be the source of the unutterable sufferings and heart-breaking woes to which Hindu widows are in modern times subjected.

The evils of widowhood in India are manifold, and the system of early marriage makes them tenfold intense. Among the Hindus, a boy who is hardly out of his teens is married to a girl who has barely passed twelve summers; and it often happens that a wife loses her husband soon after her marriage, and then she is initiated in the horrors of a widow's life ere she has passed her very girlhood. Even if the would-be husband, after the formal engagement has been made, dies before the ceremony of marriage, the girl is condemned to widowhood for all her life. The mischievous tendency of Manu's law is then at once perceived. Notwithstanding the watchfulness of their elders, the restrictions of the zenana system, and the inculcations of doctrines of moral purity in life and manners, many young widows yield to the irresistible impulse of passion. Do what you will you cannot conquer nature; and the utter futility of man's efforts to beat nature has been proved over and over again, by the numerous instances of deviation from the path of virtue and its attendant vices and crimes, among the widows in India. It is difficult to say whether the existing system is more cruel than pernicious, but that its extreme hardships give rise to much of the degradation and corruption of female society in India will be apparent to every reader of the following pages.

A Hindu woman's period of temporal happiness ceases, irrespective of her rank or wealth, directly she becomes a widow. When a young man dies, his parents and friends are in deep mourning for him, expressing the greatest grief for his untimely loss; but few people understand or care to comprehend the utter wretchedness in which he leaves his young wife, who is yet too tender and inexperienced to bear even the commonest hardship of this world. No sooner has the husband breathed his last than the young wife is

made to give up all tokens of the married state, and to forego all pleasures and luxuries as utterly unsuitable for her present condition. The iron bangle round her wrist, and the red powder on the parting of her hair, which she so proudly wore but a few days ago, she must now give up for ever. The ornaments which were never off her person during her husband's lifetime, she herself removes one by one from her limbs and puts them away, unless somebody else, without taking any heed of her grief-stricken heart, snatches them off her body. Fine or attractive clothes she must not wear, she has to be contented with a plain, simple, white *sári*. The very appearance which her bereaved and helpless condition presents would make you stand aghast. It is hardly possible even to recognise her now, who, only a few days ago, was radiant with her youthful bloom, and glittering with her picturesque costume and brilliant ornaments. The most outrageous customs are imposed on her, and she must observe them or lose her caste, which, among the Hindus, virtually amounts to losing her life. Alas! the custom of man is more cruel than the decree of Providence.

I shall give, as far as possible, an exact description of the actual state to which a Hindu woman is reduced after the death of her husband; and as some people assert that the widows in Bengal are not ill-treated at all, I shall first put forward the milder case, and then endeavour to sketch the horrors of Hindu widowhood in the heart of Hinduism, the North-West Provinces of India.

The formal period of mourning for a widow in Bengal lasts for one month with the *Káyasths*, the most numerous and influential class in that part of India,—the Brahmans keeping only ten days. During this time she has to prepare her own food, confining herself to a single meal a day, which consists of boiled coarse rice, simplest vegetables, *ghí* or clarified butter, and milk; she can on no account touch meat, fish, eggs, or any delicacy at all. She is forbidden to do her hair and to put any scent or oil on her body. She must put on the same cotton *sári* day and night even when it is wet, and must eschew the pleasure of a bed and lie down on bare ground, or perhaps on a coarse blanket spread on it; in some cases she cannot even have her hair dried in the sun after her daily morning ablution, which she must go through before she can put a particle of food in her mouth. The old women say that the soul of a man after his death ascends to heaven quickly and pleasantly in proportion to the bodily inflictions which his wife can undergo in the month after the death of her husband. Consequently the new-made widow, if not for any other reason, at least for the benefit of the soul of her departed husband, must submit to continuous abstinence and excruciating self-inflictions.

A whole month passes in this state of semi-starvation; the funeral ceremonies, which drag on till the end of that period, are all performed, and the rigid observances of the widow are a little relaxed,

if it may be so termed, since the only relaxation allowed to her is that she need not prepare the food with her own hands, and that she can change her clothes, but always using only plain cotton *sáris*. The real misery of the widow, however, begins after the first month. It is not enough that she is quite heart-broken for her deceased husband, and that she undergoes all the above-mentioned bodily privations, she must also continually bear the most galling indignities and the most humiliating self-sacrifices. She cannot take an active part in any religious or social ceremony. If there be a wedding in the house, the widow must not touch or in any way interfere with the articles that are used to keep the curious marriage customs. During the *poojās*, or religious festivals, she is but grudgingly allowed to approach near the object of veneration, and in some bigoted families the contact of a widow is supposed to pollute the materials requisite for the performance of marriage ceremonies. The widow is, in fact, looked upon as the 'evil one' of the house. If she has no son or daughter to comfort her, or if she has to pass her whole life, as is often the case, with her husband's family, her condition truly becomes a helpless one. During any ceremony or grand occasion she has silently to look on, others around her enjoying and disporting themselves; and if some kind relation does not come to relieve her tedium, she has hardly anything else to do but to ruminate on her present sad, wretched condition. Every female member of a family, whether married or unmarried, can go to parties, but a widow cannot; and if she expresses any wish to join the family on such occasions it is instantly repressed by the curt rebuke of her mother-in-law, or some other relation, that 'she is a widow, and she must not have such wishes.'

The most severely felt injunction of custom upon the widows is that of fasting for two days every month during the whole period of her widowhood, that is, till the last month of her life. This observance is called *ekādasī*, which is a Sanskrit word meaning 'the eleventh,' so called from the fact that the widow abstains from all food on the eleventh day of each of the two fortnights into which the Hindu lunar month is divided. This *ekādasī* is a strict fast, nothing in the shape of liquid or solid can be touched by the widow; even a drop of water is forbidden to her for the whole of twenty-four hours on those two days of the month. There is no trace of this stringent rule anywhere in the Vedas or in the ancient literature of the Hindus. As I have shown above, Manu enjoins a system of frequent abstinence, but nowhere in the Hindu books of old on laws and observances is it ordained that a Hindu widow must pass two days in every month without touching, even at the risk of her life, any food or water. It is an innovation of later date, as are a great many of the present customs and ceremonies observed by the natives of India.

Under the joint family system of the natives of India there are very few Hindu houses where either a widowed daughter or daughter-in-law cannot be found, and the sufferings of these young widows on their *ekādasī* days are simply beyond description. In the middle of the fasting day you will find the young widowed daughter writhing in agony of thirst and hunger, her aged mother sitting silently by her and shedding tears at the pangs of her bereaved child, who cannot, for fear of shame and ridicule, even give vent to her feelings by the only way left to her—by weeping; her face is deathly pale through want of food, her eyes are bleared with racking pain, and her lips parched with terrible thirst. Perhaps she hears the noise of dropping water; she at once turns her eyes towards it, she looks hard at it, but she dares not utter a word. She longingly watches the course of the water as it reaches the courtyard; a dog passes by and drinks of it, but she cannot touch it. She draws away her eyes from it and mutters to herself, ‘Oh! what sin have we committed that God has made us widows even worse than dogs!’ She casts a look of despair at her mother. But the mother is helpless. The ordinances of custom must be rigidly followed. Her heart breaks at the sight of her daughter’s agonies, but the rules of *Shāstras* cannot be broken. They say that it is written in the *Shāstras* that the widow who drinks water (not to speak of taking any food) and the person who gives her water on the day of *ekādasī*, are both damned to eternal perdition. The timidly superstitious Hindu mother cannot dare the risk of the perpetual condemnation of her soul to hell for the sake of alleviating the sufferings of her widowed daughter.

In many houses you will see an aged, invalid widow, lying down prostrate on her fasting day, haggard and emaciated, her daughters sitting around her. It is the middle of Indian summer, everything is blazing with torpid heat. The poor widow can hardly get up through age and illness, and there on so scorching a day she goes through her fast without touching a particle of food or a drop of water. The daughters are trying their best to soothe and comfort her, but she lies almost in an insensible state. All at once her eyes open, she looks hard at one of her daughters and most beseechingly asks for a little water. They look at her helplessly and tell her—‘Dear mother, to-day is *ekādasī*, water is forbidden.’ The wretched widow is in a state of delirium, she has lost her memory. Again and again she implores her daughters for a drop of water, saying, ‘I am dying, pray give me water.’ They cannot bear this sight any more, they burst into tears—but they dare not grant their mother’s prayer; they only try to comfort her by saying that directly the night passes away she shall have water. But, alas! the night may not pass away for the widow; perhaps she succumbs to her mortal thirst in a few hours, and thus dies a victim to the custom of man.

The widows of Bengal, notwithstanding the barbarous custom which imposes on them such miseries and inflictions, are not purposely ill-treated by their relations and friends; on the contrary, in respectable families they are greatly pitied and comforted in their state of abject wretchedness and despair. Widows of a mature age are very much respected, and though they cannot take an equal share with others in certain festivals and ceremonies, their counsel and criticism are earnestly sought for in all important domestic events, and very often they personally superintend the household affairs of everyday life as well as on grand occasions. In Bengal it is not the treatment of relations and friends that the widow suffers from; it is the cruel custom of the land, which is more obligatory on her than the most stringent written law, and which binds her down to a continuous course of privations and self-inflictions. A distinguished Bengali gentleman, the Rev. Lal Behari Dey, says on this point:— 'There are no doubt exceptional cases, but, as a general rule, Hindu widows are not only not ill-treated, but they meet with a vast deal of sympathy. Old widows in a Bengali Hindu family are often the guides and counsellors of those who style themselves the lords of creation. We had the happiness of being acquainted with a venerable old Hindu widow who was not only the mistress of her own house, consisting of a considerable number of middle-aged men and women, but she was often the referee of important disputes in the village of which she was an inhabitant, and her decisions were received with the highest respect.' This description is quite true, and we ourselves know of many cases of great respect shown to old widows; but a person may be respected and venerated and at the same time she may, especially in a land of superstitions and prejudices like India, be continually harrowed by the most merciless mental and bodily torments.

In the North-West Provinces of India widows suffer treatment far worse than that to which their sisters in Bengal are subjected. The heartless customs are strictly enforced among all the castes, but as you ascend to the more well-to-do and richer classes they assume a more relentless and virulent form.

A widow among the respectable classes in this land of rigid Hinduism is considered and treated as something worse than the meanest criminal in the world. Directly after the death of her husband she is shunned by her relations and friends, and, as if her breath or touch would spread among them the contagion of her crime—the natural death of her husband—they do not even approach near her, but send the barbers' wives, who play an important part in all Hindu ceremonies, to divest her of all her ornaments and fineries. These mercenary persons often proceed to their task in a most heart-rending manner; but that is the command of their mistresses, and they must obey it. No sooner has the husband breathed his last,



then these hirelings rush at their victim and snatch off her ear-rings and nose-rings:

Ornaments plaited into the hair are torn away, and if the arms are covered with gold and silver bracelets, they do not take the time to draw them off one by one, but holding her arm on the ground, they hammer with a stone until the metal, often solid and heavy, breaks in two; it matters not to them how many wounds are inflicted, neither if the widow is but a child of six or seven, who does not know what a husband meant, they have no pity.

At the funeral the relatives of the deceased, male and female, accompany the corpse, and all, rich or poor, must go on foot. The men lead the procession, the women, with thick veils drawn over their faces, following, and last comes the widow, preceded by the barbers' wives, who take great care to keep her at a respectable distance from the main body of the mourners, shouting out as they go along to warn the other people of the approach of the detested widow. Thus she is dragged along, wild with grief, aghast at the indignities heaped upon her, her eyes full of bitter tears, mortally afraid to utter a single syllable, lest she should receive a more heartless treatment from the very people who, but a few days ago, held her so dearly. Soon after the party reaches the river or tank, near which the cremation takes place, the widow is pushed into the water, and there she has to remain, in her wet clothes, away from all the other people, until the dead body has been burnt to ashes—a process occupying, in India, several hours—and the whole company have performed their necessary ablutions. And when all of them have started for home, the widow is led along by the barbers' wives, her clothes soaking wet, and she mutely bearing the rudenesses of her barbarous guides. This custom is rigidly observed in all seasons and all circumstances. It matters not whether she has been laid up with fever or suffering from consumption, whether she is scorched by the burning rays of the midday sun of Indian summer or frozen by the piercing winds blowing from the Himalayas in winter, the widow must be dragged with the funeral party in the preceding manner. There is no pity for her. It sometimes happens that if she is of delicate health she breaks down in the middle of her journey, and falls dead. And death is her best friend then.

When she returns home, she must sit or lie in a corner on the bare ground in the same clothes, wet or dry, which she wore at the time of her husband's death. There she has to pass her days of mourning unattended by anybody, except perhaps by one of the barbers' wives, who, if not well paid, does not care to give her kind offices to the widow. She must be content with only one very scanty and plain meal a day, and must often completely abstain from all food and drink. Her nearest and dearest relations and friends shun her presence, as if she were an accursed viper, and if ever they approach near her it is only to add fresh indignities to her miserable lot. They

make her the butt of the vilest abuses and the most stinging aspersions. She is a widow, and she must put up with her lot; and thus she drags on her miserable existence, with no ray of comfort to cheer her sad soul and no spark of pity to lighten her heavy heart. Hope that comes to all comes not to her.

On the thirteenth day after the funeral the widow is allowed, after necessary ablutions, to change the clothes that she has worn since her husband's death. Her relatives then make her presents of a few rupees, which are intended as a provision for life for her, but which are often taken possession of and spent in quite a different way by some male relative. The Brahmans, who have been continually demanding money from her ever since she became a widow, come again at this stage, and make fresh requests for money for services which they have not rendered. Her head, which was covered with black glossy hair only the other day, is completely shaved, and the Brahmans and the barbers' wives have to be paid their gratuities for this cruel ceremony. But even then the wretched woman has no respite. Six weeks after her husband's death the widow has again to wear those clothes—the very sight of which sends a shudder through her inmost soul—which she had put on for the first thirteen days. She can change them only on one condition, that she must go on a pilgrimage to the holy river Ganges (which is often impossible on account of distance), and perform ablutions in its purifying waters. After that she has to wear the plainest cotton dress, and live on the simplest single meal a day, only varied with frequent fasts.

The year of mourning, or rather the first year of her lifelong mourning, thus slowly passes away. If she happens to live with her own parents, and if they be tenderly disposed towards her, her miseries are a little lightened by their solicitude for her health and comfort. She is sometimes allowed to wear her ornaments again. The kind mother cannot perhaps bear the sight of her daughter's bare limbs, while she herself wears ornaments and jewels. Kind mother indeed! She cannot bear to see her daughter without ornaments about her body, but she can bear to see her soul crushed with the curse of lifelong widowhood. The very kindness of the mother often turns into the bitterest gall for the daughter. For many fond parents by thus encouraging their young widowed daughters to wear ornaments and fineries, and to indulge in little luxuries, have paved the way for their future degradation and ruin. For a young widow it is but an easy step from little luxuries to fanciful desires, and how many young, neglected, uneducated, and inexperienced women can restrain their natural instincts?

The widow who has no parents has to pass her whole life under the roof of her father-in-law, and then she knows no comfort whatever. She has to meet from her late husband's relations only unkind looks

and unjust reproaches. She has to work like a slave, and for the reward of all her drudgery she only receives hatred and abhorrence from her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law. If there is any disorder in the domestic arrangements of the family, the widow is blamed and cursed for it. Amongst Hindus, women cannot inherit any paternal property, and if a widow is left any property by her husband she cannot call it her own. All her wealth belongs to her son, if she has any, and if she has nobody to inherit it, she is made to adopt an heir and give him all her property directly he comes of age, and herself live on a bare allowance granted by him. Even death cannot save a widow from indignities. For when a wife dies she is burnt in the clothes she had on, but a widow's corpse is covered with a coarse white cloth, and there is little ceremony at her funeral.

I cannot conclude this description of the treatment of Hindu widows in the North-West Provinces of India without quoting some of the burning words of one of them, which were translated by an English lady and published in the *Journal of the National Indian Association* for November 1881:—

Why do the widows of India suffer so? Not for religion or piety. It is not written in our ancient books, in any of the *Shāstras* or *Mahābhārata*. None of them has a sign of this suffering. What Pandit has brought it upon us? Alas! that all hope is taken from us! We have not sinned, then why are thorns instead of flowers given us?

Thousands of us die, but more live. I saw a woman die, one of my own cousins. She had been ill before her husband's death; when he died she was too weak and ill to be dragged to the river. She was in a burning fever; her mother-in-law called a water-carrier and had four large skins of water poured over her as she lay on the ground where she had been thrown from her bed when her husband died. The chill of death came upon her, and in eight hours she breathed her last. Every one praised her and said she died for love of her husband.

I knew another woman who did not love her husband, for all their friends knew they quarrelled so much that they could not live together. The husband died, and when the news was brought the widow threw herself from the roof and died. She could not bear the thought of the degradation that must follow. She was praised by all. A book full of such instances might be written.

The only difference for us since *sati* was abolished is, that we then died quickly if cruelly, but now we die all our lives in lingering pain. We are aghast at the great number of widows. How is it that there are so many? The answer is this, that if an article is constantly supplied and never used up it must accumulate. So it is with widows; nearly every man who dies leaves one, often more; though thousands die, more live on.

The English have abolished *sati*; but, alas! neither the English nor the angels know what goes on in our houses, and Hindus not only don't care but think it good!

And well might she exclaim that 'neither the English nor the angels know what goes on in our houses, and Hindus not only don't care but think it good;' for, Hindu as I am, I can vouch for her statement that very few Hindus have a fair knowledge of the actual sufferings of the widows among them, and fewer still care to know

the evils and horrors of the barbarous custom which victimises their own sisters and daughters in so ruthless a manner; nay, on the contrary, the majority of the orthodox Hindus consider the practice to be good and salutary. Only the Hindu widows know their own sufferings; it is perfectly impossible for any other mortal or even 'the angels,' as the widow says, to realise them. One can easily imagine how hard the widow's lot must be in the upper provinces of India, when to the continuous course of fastings, self-inflictions, and humiliations is added the galling ill-treatment which she receives from her own relations and friends. To a Hindu widow death is a thousand times more welcome than her miserable existence. It is no doubt this feeling that drove, in former times, many widows to immolate themselves on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands. Thanks to the generosity of the British Government this inhuman practice of *sati*, or the self-immolation of widows, has now been completely abolished in India. There is only one thing to be said on this point, and that is that the British Government lopped off the outward and more flagrant part of the pernicious system, but did not strike at the hidden root of it.

The English have done many good things, they can do more. They need not, by passing laws or issuing public proclamations, directly interfere with the domestic customs of the Hindus; but they can make their influence bear indirectly upon the enlightened heads among the natives of India, and, by the steady infusion of the spirit of European culture and refinement, bring about the elevation of Hindu women and further the progress of the country at large. The English, by the peculiar position they enjoy in India, possess a distinct vantage-ground from which they can exert great influence on everything appertaining to the Hindus. Besides, the natives themselves are, under the benign influence of English education, awakening to the horrors of their vicious system. They have already begun the forward movement; all that they want is a sympathetic and effective impulse from outside to push them on in their course of improvement.

DEVENDRA N. DAS.

## A VISIT TO SOME AUSTRIAN MONASTERIES.

BESIDES the solid, historic investigation as to 'what has been,' and the philosophic inquiry as to 'what will be,' there is the, if less practical yet ever interesting, speculation as to 'what might have been'—a speculation to which exceptional circumstances may give an exceptional value.

As the 'advanced' Radical programme now avowedly includes the disestablishment and disendowment of the National Church, and as (to our very great regret) such a step seems to approach nearer and nearer to the area of practical politics, the phenomena presented by the very few remaining churches which yet continue in the enjoyment of their landed property can hardly be devoid of interest to those who really care about matters either of Church or State.

A Teutonic land, such as Austria, admits of a more profitable comparison with England than do countries which are peopled by the Latin races. Moreover, the Austrian Church, like the Church of England, still survives in wealth and dignity, and thus strongly contrasts with the Churches of Spain, Italy, and France, as well as with those of Northern Germany.

But not only is it thus exceptional, but it is yet more so in the possession of monastic institutions of extreme antiquity, which still retain possession of large domains, even if their possessions may have been somewhat diminished. The vast and wealthy Austrian monasteries which are to be found in the vicinity of the Danube may enable us to form some conception of what our St. Albans and St. Edmunds, Glastonbury and Canterbury might now be had no change of religion ever taken place in England, and had our abbey lands continued in the possession of their monastic owners.

Besides such considerations of general interest which induced the present writer to visit these rare examples of ecclesiastical survival, there were others of a personal nature. When a mere boy he had found in his father's library and read with great interest a presentation copy of Dibdin's charming account of his antiquarian tour in France and Germany.<sup>1</sup> Therein were graphically described his

<sup>1</sup> *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Pictorial Tour in France and Germany.* By the Reverend Thomas Frognell Dibdin, D.D. Second edition. London, published by Robert Jennings and John Major, 1829. In three volumes.

visits in August 1816 (in search of manuscripts and early printed books) to the great monasteries of Kremsmünster, St. Florian, Mülk and Göttwic, as also to Salzburg and Gmunden, with vivid pictures of their artistic and natural beauties. The strong desire kindled in a youthful imagination to follow Dibdin's footsteps and see sights so interesting and so rare having, after persisting undiminished for thirty years, at length been gratified, it may not be uninteresting to compare what the traveller saw in 1885 with Dr. Dibdin's observations made exactly sixty-seven years before.<sup>1</sup>

The centre from which these monastic visits can best be made is the bright, clean, busy city of Linz, and to Linz accordingly we went after passing at Würzburg, Nuremberg, Regensburg, and Passau by the way. The Danube journey, from Passau to Linz, was performed on the 19th of August, a day which felt more like November, so great was the cold. To one who comes fresh from the Rhine, the wildness of the Danube is very striking. The latter river, with its long stretches of forest intervening between the rare and scanty signs of man's handiwork, still presents much of the aspect it must have worn in the days of Tacitus, especially its lofty frowning left bank, the old *Frons Germaniæ*.

At Linz the Erzherzog Karl Hotel is pleasantly and conveniently situated close to the steamers' landing-place, and its windows command a pleasant view of the Danube and the heights on its opposite shore. Good carriages and horses can also be hired at the hotel; and one was at once engaged to take us next day to pay our first monastic visit—namely, that to the great monastery of St. Florian,<sup>2</sup> the home of some ninety canons regular of St. Augustine.

The day was delightful, the open carriage comfortable with its springs and cushions in good order, and a very civil coachman, with a smart coat and black cockade, drove our pair of spanking bays briskly along a pleasant road which, after for a time skirting the Vienna railroad, turned south and began between fields and woodlands to ascend the higher ground whereon the distant monastery is perched. The greensward of a picturesque wood we traversed was thickly spangled with brilliant blossoms of *Melampyrum nemorosum*. This lovely little plant requires more than most others to be seen alive to be appreciated, as its coloured leaves become invariably and rapidly black when preserved for herbaria. Nor can it be a very common plant, as, though we repeatedly looked for it, we never saw it in any of our country rambles save in this one wood. The true flower is a brilliant yellow drooping tube, while the blossom is made up of several

<sup>1</sup> See vol. III. pp. 317-376.

<sup>2</sup> St. Florian is said to have been a soldier and martyr of the time of Diocletian, who was thrown from a bridge with a stone tied about his neck. He is a popular saint in Bavaria and Austria, though not nearly so much so as St. John Nepomuk. He is usually represented in armour pouring water from a bucket to extinguish a house or city in flames, and is popularly esteemed an auxiliary against fire.

spires surmounted by a crown of lighted flames or gilded buds—  
and in modified foliage leaves.

In a short time the spires and cupolas of the church began to appear above a distant wood; they were again lost to sight as we descended a declivity, but soon the whole mass of the vast monastery came gradually into view during the last ascent. Though its community celebrated five years ago the thousandth anniversary of their foundation, none of the buildings, save some fragments of the crypt, are even of mediæval date, the whole having been rebuilt during the reign of the Emperor Charles VI., who reigned from 1710 to 1740. To English ideas it has rather the character of a palace than a monastery, and indeed within it are apartments destined for imperial use, to lodge the sovereign and his suite when visiting this part of his dominions.

Passing the small village immediately without the monastery walls, we drove within the first enclosure, and, having sent in our letters of introduction, were conducted into the church, wherein vespers had just begun.

It is a stately edifice, rich in marble and gilding, and provided with handsome pews (carved seats with doors) throughout its nave. The choir is furnished with stalls and fittings of rich inlaid woodwork, while at the west end of the nave is the celebrated organ, which has more stops than any other in Austria, and three hundred pipes, which have now, just as at the time of Dibdin's visit, completely the appearance of polished silver. The woodwork is painted white, richly relieved with gold. 'For size and splendour,' he remarks, 'I have never seen anything like it.'

The office was but recited in monotone by less than twenty of the canons, each having a short white surplice over his cassock.<sup>3</sup> It was no sooner finished than a servant advanced to invite us to see the Herr Prelat, or abbot, whose name and title is Ferdinand Moser, Propst der reg. Chorherrenstifter St. Florian. We found him in the sacristy, a man of about sixty, of pleasant aspect, with a manner full of dignified but benevolent courtesy, such as might befit an Anglican bishop or other spiritual lord of acres. Ascending a magnificent staircase to the richly furnished abbatial range of apartments, we were soon introduced to the librarian, Father Albin Cxerny, a venerable white-haired monk who had been for three-and-forty years an inmate of the monastery. Our first visit was to the library, consisting of one

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> It should be recollected that these religious are not Benedictines but Augustinians. Part of their ordinary dress consists of a singular garment which, by a zoological analogy, may be termed an ecclesiastical 'redimentary organ.' Over the black cassock is worn a long and very narrow slip of white linen hanging down in front and behind, and united by a tape round the neck. This odd appendage is, we were told, a much diminished survival of an ordinary monastic scapular of a white colour which was worn by them in former ages.

incubated principal mass with smaller chambers opening out from it, and full with 20,000 volumes, many having been added since they were gazed at by the English bibliographer, our predecessor. We were greatly interested to find that there was yet a lively tradition of Dr. Dibdin's visit, and were shown first the portrait, and afterwards the tomb, of the abbot who had received him; and, to our great satisfaction, the librarian at once took down from their library shelf the three volumes of Dibdin's tour (which had been presented to the monastery by their author), and, turning to his description of the scene around us, spoke with just admiration of its engravings, and with touching kindness of his predecessor in office—the Father Klein (now long since deceased) who had received with so much docility the bibliographical doctrines<sup>6</sup> of his English visitor. Amongst the books of the library is an elaborate German flora in many quarto volumes with a coloured plate of each species, as in our Sowerby's *English Botany*.

There is a very fine refectory and large garden and highly ornamental conservatory—or winter garden—for the abbot's use, but thrown open to the public except on great feast days. The imperial apartments are richly and appropriately decorated, and the banquetting hall is magnificent. The bedrooms were strangely mistaken by Dibdin, as the librarian pointed out, for monastic 'dormitories.'<sup>7</sup>

By the kindness of the superior the very same treat was given to us as had been given to our predecessor in 1818. We were taken to the church, where seated in the stalls we listened for the best part of half an hour to a performance upon their world-renowned organ. Our experience was much like that of Mr. Dibdin, who wrote: <sup>8</sup>

To our admiration the organ burst forth with a power of intonation (every stop being opened) such as I had never heard exceeded. As there were only a few present, the sounds were necessarily increased by being reverberated from every part of the building; and for a moment it seemed as if the very dome would have been unroofed and the sides burst asunder. We could not hear a word that was spoken; when, in a few succeeding seconds, the diapason stop only was opened . . . and how sweet and touching was the melody which it imparted! A solemn stave or two of a hymn (during which a few other pipes were opened) was then performed by the organist . . . and the effect was as if these notes had been chaunted by an invisible choir of angels.

Our last visit was to the spacious crypt, around the interior of which lie (above ground) in bronze sarcophagi the bodies of the abbots and of a few of the monastery's benefactors, while in its centre are the remains of the other members of the fraternity, each in a cavity closed by a stone engraved with a name and date, and reminding us of the catacombs of Kensal Green. Here lie all those whom Dibdin saw. In another sixty-seven years will this monastery be still enduring, and another visitor in 1952 be shown the resting-places of those on whose friendly faces we ourselves have gazed?

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 257.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 242.



Austria certainly shows a marvellously tenacious power of endurance, and in spite of many political changes has been so far singularly exempt from revolutionary destruction. No lover of antiquity, no one who rejoices to see yet surviving social phenomena elsewhere extinct, can fail to exclaim *Eto perpetua!* The convent<sup>\*</sup> of St. Florian still possesses, as we have already said, its old landed property. This property it does not let out either on lease or by the year, but it is its own farmer, all the work, whether of arable land, pasture, or forest, being performed by hired labour exclusively.

Though the community is so large, yet the number within the monastery is almost always much less. This is because the convent possesses not only its lands, but also (as did our own monasteries) the right of presentation to various livings. These are still no less than thirty-three in number, and members of the community are sent out to serve them, but they are liable to recall at any moment. A considerable number of the canons are also sent out to act as professors in different places of education. Upon the death of an abbot his successor is freely elected by the members, who assemble from all parts for the occasion. Neither the Pope nor the government has any right of nomination, or even of recommendation, but the government can veto the election of an obnoxious individual. This right of veto, however, has been, we were told, very rarely exercised.

The abbey farm has a large supply of live stock. We saw sixty-seven cows in their stalls, and they seemed very well looked after. The abbot has his own private carriage and horses, and we saw twenty-six horses of different kinds in the stables. The collection of pigs was very large, and included some which had recently arrived from England. They were shut up in four dozen pens, the whole of which were enclosed and roofed over by a very large and solid outhouse.

It was with some surprise that I found the superior of this great abbey was as unable to converse either in French or English as was his predecessor when visited by Dibdin. He and the librarian were both, however, well up in English politics, and we were playfully reproached with our late Prime Minister's sentiments towards Austria, nor could we but feel surprised at hearing Mr. Gladstone's questions as to 'where Austria had done good' quoted in this secluded monastic retreat.

After cordial farewells, a rapid drive soon carried us back to Linz, in time to escape a storm which had been threatening us, and to enjoy in security the long-continued reverberations of thunder which sounded amongst the mountains, and to see the city lit up by rapidly repeated flashes of extreme brilliancy.

The next day was set apart for a visit to our first great Benedictine house—that of Kremsmünster.

Although material progress enabled us for this purpose to dispense

<sup>\*</sup> The word 'convent' properly denotes the community, whether male or female, which inhabits a religious house. The word 'monastery' denotes the dwelling-place itself.

with the use of horses, yet we rather envied the conditions under which Dfbdin had visited that monastery. 'By eleven in the morning,' he tells us,<sup>10</sup> 'the postboy's bugle sounded for departure. The carriage and horses were at the door, the postboy arrayed in a scarlet jacket with a black velvet collar edged with silver lace; and the travellers being comfortably seated, the whip sounded, and off we went uphill at a good round cantering pace.' Our pace, on the contrary, was of the slowest which a stopping-at-every-smallest-station train could be credited with. We had to start from our inn at Lins at a quarter past six, and we did not accomplish the whole journey from door to door in much less time than that in which the about equally long journey to Kremsmünster from Gmunden was made by road sixty-seven years before.

As we approached Krems, the mountains of the Salzkammergut stood out boldly on the horizon, but more striking to us was the prodigious monastery, with its Babel-like observatory tower, the whole mass of its buildings rising from an elevated hill overhanging the small townlet of Krems at its base.

By good fortune, close to the station, we overtook a monk on his road home, who kindly escorted us by a short cut through the monastic gardens, of which he had the key, up to the monastery and to the Prelatura, when, after a short wait in an anteroom, the abbot, Herr Leonard Achleitner, came and invited us into his study (an elegant apartment furnished in crimson velvet), where he read our letters of introduction. Again we were forced to use our little store of German. The courteous prelate lamented that official business called him away from home, and, after inviting us to dine and sleep, consigned us to the care of a pleasant and healthy-looking young monk, by name Brother Columban Schiesflingstrasse, who was careful that we should fail to see and learn nothing which it interested us to inspect or to inquire about.

The huge abbey—an eighteenth-century structure, though its foundation dates from the eighth—consists of a series of spacious quadrangles and a large church similar in style to that of St. Florian, save that the choir is a western gallery and that the decorations generally are not so fine.

This great house is the home of one hundred monks, three hundred students, and many servants. As was the case with the Augustinians, so here many of the monks are non-resident, being appointed to serve the twenty-five livings to which the abbot has the right of presentation. The abbot is freely elected for life by the community. An applicant for admission amongst its members need not be of noble birth or the possessor of any fortune, but if he is the owner of property he must make contribution therewith on his admission. The novitiate lasts for a year, and for four years longer the newcomer is free to leave if he likes. After that he is held

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 216.

morally bound, but not legally so, as now the arm of the law cannot be employed to force back any monk who may desire to leave. The youngest members are provided with one cell for each pair, but when more advanced each has a room to himself. The monks who act as professors have each two rooms, the prior has three rooms, and the abbot a whole suite of apartments. They have much land, none of which is let to farmers, but is entirely cultivated by hired labour, except of course their forests. These are to be seen from the abbey windows extending up the sides of distant mountains, and our host assured us they were richly stocked with deer and roebuck, pheasants and partridges.

As to their church services, they do not rise at night nor extraordinarily early. All their office is but recited in monotone, and the matins of each day are said the evening before, not in church, but in a room set apart for that purpose. They do not have high mass even on Sundays, but only on great festivals, when each wears a cowl in choir. On all other occasions they only wear their ordinary black cassock and scapular without any hood, nor have they, any more than the Augustinians, a large monastic tonsure.

The abbot, in spite of his stately lodgings and his importance, ordinarily dines with the community in their refectory, and no special dishes are served at the high table, but only those of which all are free to partake.

At the time of our visit the students and most of the professors were away for their vacation, and we could but inspect the means and appliances of learning.

The immense tower, at the summit of which is the observatory, has each story devoted to a scientific collection of a different kind. Thus there is a large collection of fossils and minerals; another of chemical materials and instruments; another is a cabinet of physics, and there is besides a moderately good zoological gallery, and also some skeletons and anatomical preparations. Lining the whole staircase, and also in other parts of the tower, are some hundreds of portraits in oil of former students, each one with his powdered wig, and all anterior to 1799. Every portrait is numbered, but unfortunately in the troubles of the Napoleonic wars the list was lost. It was to me a very sad sight to see this multitude of young faces about whom no one now knew anything, not even a name—lifelike shadows of the forgotten dead!

At Kremsmünster, as at St. Florian, there are royal apartments and also a picture gallery, a gallery of engravings, and other galleries of old glass, china, and objects of *vertu*. In the church treasury are many relics, much plate, and expensive vestments—some given by the Empress Maria Theresa. There is, however, hardly anything mediæval, except a very large chalice of the time when communion in both kinds was partaken of by the laity.

The library contained, we were told, no less than eighty thousand volumes, but to our regret we had no time to properly inspect even a portion of its contents, though some things in it are very curious and others beautiful. There is an elaborate manuscript treatise of magic with illustrations, and another on astrology. A book of the Gospels of the eighth century is wonderful for its most beautiful writing, and there are various ancient missals admirably illuminated. The works treating on the different physical sciences were, we were told, not in the general library, but in separate departmental libraries for the use of each professor. I did not succeed in ascertaining that there was any record or recollection of Dr. Dibdin's visit. The librarian, however, was away for his vacation.

The gardens are attractive, with many interesting plants and various greenhouses, but the most interesting object external to the monastery was what at first sight might be mistaken for a sort of *campo santo*. This consisted of a large space, in shape an elongated parallelogram, bounded by a sort of cloister with an open arcade of pillars and round arches. This space was traversed at intervals by passages similarly arcaded on either side, and these passages connected the two arcades on each longer side of the parallelogram. In each rectangular space, thus enclosed by arcaded passages, was a large fishpond abundantly furnished with large trout or gigantic carp. The walls of the quasi cloister were hung round on every side with deer's heads and antlers, and the venerable monk who went round this place with us assured us they had all been shot by members of the community, he for one having been a very keen monastic sportsman in his younger days, as were many of his younger colleagues now, who found good sport in their well-stocked forests.

From the fishponds we were conducted to the monastic lavatory, and thence to the refectory, with many hospitable regrets that our visit should have taken place on a Friday, with its consequently restricted table.

In the refectory we were received by the prior, Father Sigismund Fellöcker, a monk devoted to mineralogy.

The party having assembled, all stood round and repeated the ordinary monastic grace, after which, being placed at the prior's right hand at the high table, we all fell to amidst a lively hum of conversation, no one apparently being appointed to read aloud during an obligatory silence, as is usually the case in monasteries.

The feast consisted of maigre soup, omelettes, sauerkraut, excellent apple turnovers, and cray fish. Before each monk was a small decanter of white wine, made at one of their houses in Lower Austria, for at Krems the vine will not ripen enough for wine-making. Dinner being over and grace said, the prior and most of the monks retired, but the sub-prior invited us and another guest and two monks to sit again and taste some choicer wine, white and

ted, which we did willingly, for the rain was pouring in torrents and we could not leave. Droll stories and monastic riddles went round till coffee came and also the hour at which we had intended to depart. Not liking, however, to begin our long and tedious railway journey to Linz wet through, we accompanied our kind young guide Brother Columban to his cell, where, at our request, he played with skill and taste air after air 'upon the zitta till the clouds cleared and he was able to escort us, as he kindly insisted on doing, to the outside of the ample monastery's walls.

Much interested with our first experience of the Austrian Benedictines, we looked forward with pleasure to our visit next day to their far-famed monastery of M $\ddot{u}$ lk.

Leaving Linz by steamer at half-past seven on the morning of the 22nd of August, we reached in four hours our point of disembarkation. Long before our arrival there the magnificent palatial monastery was a conspicuous object, with the soaring towers and cupola of the abbey church, the whole massed on the summit of a lofty cliff very near the right bank of the river. This commanding position was in the later part of the tenth century a fortified outpost of the heathen Magyars, from whom it was taken in 984 by Leopold, the first Markgrave of Austria, the founder of the present monastery, who, with his five successors, is buried in the conventual church. Centuries afterwards it had again to do with Hungarians, who besieged it for three months in 1619. When visited by Dr. Dibdin it had also recently suffered from war. The French generals had lodged in it on their way to Vienna, and during the march through of their troops it was forced to supply them with not less than from fifty to sixty thousand pints of wine per day.

In spite of the antiquity of its foundation, the monastic buildings are all modern, having been erected between 1707 and 1736.

A walk of about a mile from the landing-place led us (after passing round beneath the walls of the monastery and ascending through the town of M $\ddot{u}$ lk) to a gate, passing through which, and traversing a spacious quadrangle, we ascended a stately staircase to the Prelatura, or abbot's lodgings. The community were at dinner, but we ventured to send in our letters, and the first to come out and welcome us was the prior, Herr Friedrich Heilmann, a monk who had inhabited the monastery for forty years, but who was as amiable as venerable, and full of pleasantry and humour. He introduced us to the Herr Prelat, Herr Alexander Karl, who then came up conversing with the monks who attended him on either side.

Rather short in stature, he wore his gold chain and cross over his habit, and on his head a hat, apparently of beaver, shaped like an ordinary 'chimney-pot,' except that the crown was rather low. He displayed at first a certain stiffness of manner, which made us feel a little ill at ease, and which seemed to bespeak the territorial magnate,

no less than the spiritual superior. This uneasy feeling, however, was soon dissipated, for nothing could be more cordial and friendly than the whole of his subsequent demeanour to us throughout our visit. As we were too late for the community dinner, the abbot consigned us to the hospitable care of the prior, and sent word to ask the librarian to show us whatever we might wish to see after dinner. Since many of the ninety monks who have their home at Mlk were now away, the community had not dined in their great refectory, but in an ordinary, much smaller apartment. To the latter the genial prior conducted us, and sat beside us, chatting of the good game which stocked their forests—their venison, partridges, and pheasants—while we, nothing loth (for the river journey and walk had given us a hearty appetite), partook of soup, boiled beef, roast lamb, salad, sweets and coffee, which were successively put before us. The prior had been a keen sportsman, and still loved to speak of the pleasures of earlier days. Invigorated and refreshed we set out to see the house, and our first visit was to the adjacent refectory. It is a magnificent hall, worthy of a palace, with a richly painted ceiling and with pictures in the interspaces of the great gilded caryatides which adorn its walls.

Passing out at a window of the apsidal termination of the refectory, we came upon an open terrace, whence a most beautiful view of the Danube (looking towards Linz) was to be obtained, with a distant prospect of some of the mountains of the Salzkammergut. We here met the venerable librarian, Herr Vincenz Staufer, Bibliothekar des Stiftes Mlk, into whose hands the prior now consigned us. After contemplating with delight the charming scene before us and viewing with interest the parts which had been occupied by Napoleon's troops, we entered the library, which is a hall corresponding in shape and size with the refectory, and like it abutting on the terrace balcony by an apsidal termination.

It is a stately apartment furnished with costly inlaid woods, and with a profusion of gilding on all sides, including the gilt Corinthian capitals of its mural pilasters. The library is much richer now than it was when visited by Dibdin, and it contains sixty thousand volumes. Amongst its treasures are an original chronicle of the abbey begun in the twelfth century, a copy of the first German printed Bible, and a very interesting book about America, executed only two years after its discovery by Columbus. There are also mediæval copies of Horace and Virgil. Various other apartments, besides this stately hall, are devoted to the library, amongst them one containing four thousand volumes of manuscript. The librarian turned out to be an enthusiastic botanist; so with his help we made out the names of several Austrian wild plants which had interested us. Having done the honours of his part of the establishment, he reconducted us along several spacious corridors to the

prior, whom we found in his nice suite of five rooms, well furnished, ornamented with flowers, and with his pet Australian parrot. He took us to see the royal apartments, which are less handsome than those of St. Florian, and to the abbey church, which is exceedingly handsome of its rococo kind. It is cruciform with a high and spacious central dome. The choir is in the chancel, but there is a large organ and organ gallery at the west end. All round the church—where a clerestory would be in a Gothic building—are glazed windows that look into the church from a series of rooms which can be entered from the corridors of the monastery. The church is rich in marbles and profusely gilt.

We were finally conducted to the lodging assigned us, which opened (with a multitude of others) from the very long corridor at the top of the staircase we first ascended. On the opposite side of the corridor is the door which gives entrance to the abbot's quarters. This very long corridor is ornamented with a series of oil paintings representing the whole house of Hapsburg as figures of life size. It begins with fancy portraits of Hapsburgs anterior to the first Imperial Rudolph, and continues with portraits, more or less historical, of all the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and with the subsequent Emperors of Austria, including the present Francis Joseph. Ample vacant space remains to similarly depict a large number of his successors.

Our room was comfortably furnished with all modern appliances, including a large looking-glass and a spring bed, and the window commanded a fine view of the mountains towards Vienna. After a little more than an hour's rest the abbot himself came to invite us to go with him to see his garden and join in a slight refec-tion habitually partaken of between dinner and supper—a sort of Teutonic 'afternoon tea.' The garden was very pleasantly situated, with a well-shaded walk overlooking the Danube, and with a fine view of the mountains of the Soemmering Pass, between Vienna and Gratz. He told us that his lands were only in part cultivated by hired labour, the more distant being let out to tenants at fixed rents. As abbot he had the right of presentation to twenty-seven livings. We then entered a very large summer-house, a long hall lined with frescoes illustrating the four quarters of the world, and representing their beasts, birds, flowers, as well as their human inhabitants. The painting was wonderfully fresh, though it was done 130 years ago. Here was taken the 'afternoon tea,' which consisted of most excellent beer, a dish of cold veal, ham, and tongue, cut in thin slices, a salad, cheese and butter. The abbot sat at a principal table with his guests, including a monk from Kremsmünster, the aunt and sister of a freshly ordained young monk who was to sing his first mass the following day, the young monk himself, and a secular priest who had come to preach on the occasion, and also

the prior and the librarian. At other smaller tables sat other monks and apparently one or two friends from without; most of them smoked (the genial prior enjoying his pipe), and parties of four amused themselves with cards, playing apparently for very small stakes. The demeanour of all was easy and quite *sans gêne*, but in no way obnoxious to hostile criticism. The rest of the afternoon was devoted to a further examination of the vast building until eight o'clock, when we were summoned to supper. Of this the community generally partook in the smaller room in which we had dined; but, in honour of the event of to-morrow and of his guests, the amiable abbot had ordered supper to be served in the magnificent refectory, which was illuminated with what poor Faraday taught us was the best of all modes of illumination—wax candles.

We were but a small party in the great hall. On the abbot's right sat the aunt and sister of the young priest—the latter with her brother next her. On the abbot's left were the secular priests, ourselves, and the librarian, and one or two more. Our supper consisted of soup, veal, soufflé, and roast chicken. For wine we had at first a good but not select wine—being from the produce of several vintages mixed—but afterwards came a choice white wine of one vintage. Supper ended, the whole party retired together and separated in the large corridor outside the abbot's lodgings, the ladies being politely conducted to their rooms, which were adjacent to our own.

The next day (Sunday) was the festival of the first mass, which was to be sung with full solemnities, though ordinarily there is no high mass on Sundays at all.

It was to take place at eight o'clock, but long before that time the church was fairly filled, and the clerestory boxes filled with visitors, who from that vantage ground could see well. First came the sermon, to hear which the monks left their choir to occupy benches opposite the pulpit; they wore no cowls, but white cottas (a Roman shrunken surplice) over their cassocks. The worthy priest who preached had evidently determined not to make a journey for nothing. For a full hour his eloquence suspended the subsequent proceedings. At last came the mass, in which the abbot was but a spectator in his stall. The new priest occupied his throne, as if abbot for the day. There was an assistant priest, as well as the deacon and subdeacon, and all the choir boys had garlands of flowers round the left arm, with flowers round the candles they carried as marks of rejoicing at this 'first mass.' The aunt and sister were accommodated with seats for the occasion in the monks' stalls.

The high mass was not liturgical; no introit, offertory, sequence, or communion was sung by the choir, which was in the western organ gallery. The music was florid, and there were female as well as male singers, accompanied by a full band.

We had to take a hurried leave of our friendly host, and, promis-



ing to pay another visit at the first opportunity in compliance with his very friendly request, we took the train to St. Pöten in order to go thence to visit the Benedictine monastery of Göttwies or Göttweih. We had specially looked forward to visiting this house, for, though smaller than any of the three previously visited, it had been most attractively described in Dibdin's tour.<sup>11</sup> The abbot in his time was Herr Altmann, who had, he tells us,<sup>12</sup> 'the complete air of a gentleman who might have turned his fiftieth year, and his countenance bespoke equal intelligence and benevolence.' He received Dr. Dibdin with great courtesy; and as his bibliographical tour is by no means a common book, the following extracts may not be without interest to our readers.

Pointing out the prospect about the monastery, the abbot said: 'On yon opposite heights across the Danube we saw, from these very windows, the fire and smoke of the advanced guard of the French army in contest with the Austrians, upon Bonaparte's first advance towards Vienna. The French Emperor himself took possession of this monastery. He slept here, and we entertained him the next day with the best *déjeuner à la fourchette* which we could afford. He seemed well satisfied with his reception, but I own that I was glad when he left us. Observe yonder,' continued the abbot; 'do you notice an old castle in the distance?' That, tradition reports, once held your Richard the First, when he was detained a prisoner by Leopold of Austria.' The more the abbot spoke, and the more I continued to gaze around, the more I fancied myself treading on fairy ground, and that the scene in which I was engaged partook of the illusion of romance. On our way to the library I observed a series of paintings which represented the history of the founder, and I observed the devil or some imp introduced in more than one picture, and remarked upon it to my guide. He said, 'Where will you find truth unmingled with fiction?'

We now entered the saloon for dinner. It was a large, light, and lofty room; the ceiling was covered with paintings of allegorical subjects in fresco, descriptive of the advantages of piety and learning. We sat down at a high table—precisely as in the halls at Oxford—to a plentiful and elegant repast. We were cheerful even to loud mirth; and the smallness of the party, compared with the size of the hall, caused the sounds of our voices to be reverberated from every quarter.

Behind me stood a grave, sedate, and inflexible-looking attendant. He spoke not; he moved not, save when he saw my glass emptied, which, without previous notice or permission, he made a scrupulous point of filling, even to the brim, with the most highly flavoured wine I had yet tasted in Germany, and it behoved me to cast an attentive eye upon this replenishing process. In due time the cloth was cleared, and a desert, consisting chiefly of delicious peaches, succeeded. A new order of bottles was introduced, tall, square, and capacious, which were said to contain wine of the same quality, but of a more delicate flavour. It proved to be most exquisite. The past labours of the day, together with the growing heat, had given a relish to everything which I tasted, and in the full flow of my spirits I proposed 'Long life and happy times to the present members, and increasing prosperity to the monastery of Göttwies.' It was received and drunk with enthusiasm. The abbot then proceeded to give me an account of a visit paid him by Lord Minto, when the latter was ambassador at Vienna. 'Come, sir,' he said, 'I propose drinking prosperity and long life to every representative of the British nation at Vienna.' I then requested that we might withdraw, as we purposed sleeping within one stage of Vienna that evening. 'Your wishes shall be

<sup>11</sup> See vol. III. pp. 260-273.

<sup>12</sup> P. 263.

mine,' answered the abbot, 'but at any rate you must not go without a testimony of our respect for the object of your visit—a copy of our *Chronicon Gottwicense*.' I received it with every demonstration of respect.<sup>13</sup>

Our amiable host and his Benedictine brethren determined to walk a little way down the hill to see us fairly seated and ready to start. I entreated and remonstrated that this might not be, but in vain. On reaching the carriage, we all shook hands, and then saluted by uncovering. Stepping into the carriage, I held aloft the Göttwic Chronicle, exclaiming '*Valde domini eruditissimi! dies hic omnino commemoratione dignus*,' to which the abbot replied, with peculiarly emphatic sonorosity of voice, '*Vale! Deus te omnesque tibi charissimos conservet*.' They then stopped for a moment, as the horses began to be put in motion, and, retracing their steps up the hill, disappeared. I thought that I discerned the abbot yet lingering above with his right arm raised as the last and most affectionate token of farewell.

We had no sooner arrived at our inn—the Kaiserin Elizabeth—than we, not without much difficulty, engaged a carriage and pair to take us the two hours' drive thence to Göttweih, along the same road driven over by Dibdin. I passed several sets of pilgrims such as he describes, as also the statue of St. John Nepomuk, which he took for St. Francis. At first our path was bordered by poplars, but afterwards, for miles, by damson trees which were loaded with fruit. At the commencement of the last quarter of our journey we entered a defile in the wooded mountains, a most welcome shelter from a driving wind and blinding dust. The monastery then soon became visible at the top of a lofty elevation, reached by a long winding road, which we, unlike our predecessor, ventured to drive up. No doubt half a century has done something to improve it. As we mounted, we obtained charming glimpses of the Danube, and a good view of an adjacent town. We pulled up within the courtyard of the monastery a little after two o'clock, and found the community engaged in afternoon service, which was largely recited in the vernacular. The church is much smaller than that of the other monasteries we visited, but is more interesting, as, in spite of its stucco ornaments, its substance is ancient, and the romanesque character of its nave and the pointed architecture of its chancel are distinctly traceable. The latter part, which contains the monks' choir, is raised up many steps, on either side of which is a way down into a light and rather lofty crypt, in which is buried the founder of the monastery, Altmann, Bishop of Passau, who died in the year 1091.

When the service was concluded, we made our way to the cloister entrance, and having sent in our letters were received by the abbot, Herr Rudolph Gusenhauer, in the well-furnished suite of apartments which constituted the abbatial lodgings. We found him at first much disquieted from a fear that we should make some large demand upon his time, which he assured us was insufficient for the multitude of calls upon it. When reassured, however, by learning the modest

<sup>13</sup> This copy was placed by Dr. Dibdin in the library at Althorp.

nature of our demands, he was all courtesy, and insisted on showing us himself the library and some of its most precious contents. He, indeed, invited us to sleep, or at least to dine, but we had lunched before starting, knowing that we could not reach the abbey in time for the community dinner, and we much preferred spending the short time at our disposal in inspecting whatever might be seen to taking a solitary dinner. Dibdin's pleasant experience of Göttweih's hospitality was therefore impossible for us. We were, however, shown the pleasing portrait of his kind host, Abbot Altmann, who, we were told, survived till the year 1854, though the last ten years of his life were passed in blindness. The library is said to contain 60,000 volumes, besides 1,400 volumes of manuscripts, and no less than 1,200 books printed before the year 1500. Amongst the latter was one dating from before the time when type was first used, each page of printing being one large woodcut. Amongst the manuscripts was a small bible 700 years old, entirely written in the monastery itself on the finest parchment in such small characters as to make ordinary eyes ache to read it, but most beautifully written. One manuscript was of the sixth century, and of course we were careful to see the celebrated *Chronicon Gottwicense*. We also carefully visited the refectory, and noted in the corridor the paintings of legendary events in the founder's life, noted by Dibdin.

The apartments prepared for imperial use, and which were used by Napoleon the First, are finer than those of Mülk, and are approached by a wonderfully imposing staircase. From their windows delightful views may be obtained, but, indeed, the monastery is so charmingly situated on a summit amidst such umbrageous mountains that not only northwards on the Danube side, but also southwards, there are delightful prospects and agreeable walks. The monastery is evidently much visited, and in its basement are rooms which are used as a public restaurant and had the appearance of doing a good business.

The community consists but of fifty monks and two novices. It is not nearly so wealthy as the abbeys we had previously visited, but the abbot declared himself fully satisfied both with its present condition and apparent prospects.

After showing us the library we were committed to the care of an attendant, and other visitors arrived, a carriage and pair with two Augustinian canons from a neighbouring house, and other carriages full of laity. On taking our farewell of the abbot, who was now, indeed, busy with his guests, some of whom were old school-fellows he had not seen for years, he cordially wished us farewell, exclaiming, 'Truly this is a wonderful day. Heaven has opened and showered down upon us the most unexpected marvels.'

We rapidly drove along the, mainly downhill, road to St. Polten, which we quitted next day to return by rail to Lins, and went thence, through Gmunden and Ischl, to Salzburg, there to pay the last of our monastic visits, that to its venerable abbey of St. Peter.

St. Peter's, Salzburg, is the origin of the whole of its surroundings. From it have arisen city, archbishopric, principality, and it is one of the most venerable establishments in Austria. Unlike those yet visited, it stands in the very heart of a city, in close proximity to the cathedral of which all the earlier abbots were the bishops.

Though far from a picturesque building, it yet contains more fragments of early art than M $\ddot{o}$ lk or Kremsm $\ddot{u}$ nster. The outer gate gives admittance to a romanesque cloister, almost entirely paved with ancient tombstones. Adjacent to the cloister are remains of the old chapter house in the pointed style of architecture. The abbey church, though horribly disfigured, with the best intentions, in 1774, still shows some traces of its early romanesque character. Till the above-mentioned date, it had exceptionally preserved its old decorations, being entirely lined with old frescoes, and having its choir closed in by a wooden rood-screen with its rood. We were conducted over the establishment by the reverend prior, assisted by Father Anselm, who greatly lamented the architectural ravages of the eighteenth century. In that same century St. Peter's Abbey was a not unimportant scientific centre, and its zoological and mineralogical collections are still worth a visit, especially the latter, which is very rich. There are also interesting and instructive models illustrating the topography and geology of the neighbourhood and of the Salzkammergut generally. The treasury of its church is also rich, and its library of fifty thousand volumes contains many precious manuscripts, the chief of which, 'The Book of Life,' goes back to the sixth century, and contains a long list of benefactors with their anniversaries, for masses. There are also manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries not less wonderful for their state of complete preservation than for the brilliancy and beauty of their illuminations.

It being very near the hour of dinner, we waited in an ante-room to the refectory for its arrival. Therein are hung the portraits of a long line of abbots, including the one who welcomed to the abbey my predecessor Dr. Dibdin.<sup>14</sup> In the refectory itself we met the abbot, a bright, rather small and youngish man, who cordially shook hands and invited us to take our place beside him at the high table. The company consisted, this being vacation time, only of the abbot, twelve monks, five novices, three guests, and some lay brothers. The guest beside us was Dr. von Schaf $\ddot{a}$ ientl, professor of geology at Munich, who was the only German present who could speak any English. The repast was of the usual plain character, but the wine fully merited the reputation it has acquired and made at Stein (near Vienna), where the community possess a vineyard.

Before taking our leave we visited the abbot in his lodgings, which are remarkably elegant, and consist of seven richly furnished apartments and an oratory. He seemed to take an amiable pleasure

<sup>14</sup> See vol. iii. p. 197.

in showing us everything of interest, and cordially invited us to renew our visit.

St. Peter's Abbey is rich, but only contains about fifty monks when all are at home. Not many are required for external work, as not more than half a dozen parishes belong to the abbey. With St. Peter's terminated our long-desired visit to these curious instances of ecclesiastical survival, the still established and endowed monasteries of Austria, which we found to be just what we had anticipated to find them. That these were no abodes of stern austerity we knew, but we hardly expected to find such diminished observance as regards public worship. The men with whom we conversed had much book learning, and some were devoted to one or other of the natural sciences. We found also that they were well up in the politics of the day. Nevertheless we were surprised to find that none of the five abbots we visited were any more able to converse in either French or English than were those visited by Dibdin sixty-seven years before. It should be recollected, however, that the principals are selected largely with a view to wise administration of the abbey lands, and not for learning. All the five, in spite of the more or less sumptuousness of their lodgings, partook of the plain monastic fare, and we remarked the earnest gravity with which each superior took his part in whatever of devotion we witnessed. The existing communities are not responsible for relaxations of monastic discipline which already existed before the present monks joined them. Nor would it be fair to expect that men who had attached themselves to a body, enjoying a certain degree of comfort and freedom, should readily acquiesce in the institution or reintroduction of severities for which they never bargained. Though we met with a certain breadth of view and tolerant spirit in those we ventured to converse with on subjects affording opportunity for the display of such qualities, yet it would not be just to conceal that we met with no tendency to what would be called unorthodoxy by the strictest theologians. At Kremsmünster, at Molk, and at St. Peter's we took occasion to turn the conversation upon Dr. Döllinger, and in each case we found that with expression of the warmest personal esteem there was manifested the most unqualified condemnation of the line he had taken. Whatever may be thought, however, of these institutions, whether they may be admired or their continuance in their present state deprecated, they are full of interest for us in England, as it is more than probable that such as they are our own abbeys would have become, had events in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries turned out otherwise in England than they did turn out, so that abbots of St. Albans and St. Edmunds might still be sitting in our House of Lords beside our Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

## HOW A PROVINCIAL PAPER IS MANAGED.

THE very great merits of the London daily press, and the advantages derived from publication in a city which is the seat of Government and the largest aggregation of people in the world, have combined in the past to invest it with an overshadowing importance as compared with the provincial press.

That exaggerated relative importance has in some sense ceased, and many persons and most statesmen have come to recognise that the provincial press has a power and an influence of the greatest moment in shaping the destinies of this country. The belief is frequently entertained that the provincial morning newspapers of England, Scotland, and Ireland have, as a whole, a greater weight in the conduct of the affairs of the Empire than the morning papers of London. The opinion is still more pronounced in reference to the comparative influence of the provincial evening press and that of the eagerly competing evening journals of London. For this there are two prominent reasons. In the first place, the provincial press has a far more numerous *clientèle*. It may be assumed that the district served by the London press, to the practical exclusion of local dailies, does not contain more than six or seven million persons, and to the remaining thirty millions the London press, with the exception of a few of the more widely circulating dailies, is little more than a name. There is one modifying circumstance which will shortly be considered, but, however ungrateful it may be to London editors, the fact remains that, wherever a local daily paper can be remuneratively maintained, the London press ceases to circulate. It does not purvey local news, and without attributing to local readers any narrow preference of 'the rustic murmur of their bourg to the great wave that echoes round the world,' they have a natural desire to know what is going on in their own neighbourhood, parish, town, or county. In its character of purveyor of news of this kind, the local newspaper wins that support which ultimately invests it with an appreciable influence in moulding opinion upon imperial concerns. The attractions of the scenes in the local vestry, the letters on the disgraceful condition of the parish pump—in a word, the gossip of the

village—primarily surpass in that kind of interest which gains public patronage the most brilliant writing of the most brilliant journalist or the most profound thinking of the soundest political economist. The squires and rectors, the banker and the doctor, and many others of the better class, will, of course, order both the London and the local paper; but when we go further from the seat of Government, where the delivery of the London mail is after breakfast, and where the local paper grows larger and better in the ratio of distance, then the sale of London papers becomes quite exceptional. So much for the numerical argument.

But there are other reasons which contribute to the influence of the provincial press. The London daily press scarcely touches the genuine London workpeople, who wait for their weekly paper at the week end, whereas the provincial daily press does reach the wage-earners; and this is more especially the case with the evening papers, which are always sold at one halfpenny, and are in many cases large, well-appointed, and well-printed sheets, with a considerable advertisement revenue and a great circulation. Let us take the case of Glasgow. There are in that city three morning and three evening papers, with a probable combined circulation of 200,000 copies daily, of which the evening papers have very much the larger share; and as the subscribing population both in the city and in the counties is almost entirely commercial and industrial, the only conclusion to be arrived at is that artisans in the West of Scotland are evening paper buyers. The most superficial inquiry, or even a casual look at the streets of an evening, goes far to bear out that fact, and much the same condition of matters prevails elsewhere in the provinces.

The artisan, for obvious reasons, is more influenced by the views of his paper than is a richer man. He has, on the whole, less opportunity of reading contradictory papers, less means of hearing opinion otherwise than in his paper, and a much profounder admiration and respect for the editorial judgment. A judge or a bishop, a lawyer or a banker, probably considers himself quite as competent to form a political opinion as the editors or writers of the press, and he must sometimes see in his paper statements and opinions which from his own professional skill in law, or commerce, or theology, he knows to be rank nonsense. The workman, on the other hand, sees a knowledge which must seem very profound, and is certainly uttered with most dogmatic and convincing authority, and insensibly he is moved as the journalist wills. The argument then amounts to this: that for each copy sold, the provincial press exercises a higher average of political power than the London press, and that the number of copies sold is incomparably greater.

There remains one qualifying fact which is the salvation of the wider influence of the London press. It is quoted freely in the provincial papers. The country morning newspapers of the best

standing make arrangements which enable them to print short and pithy extracts from the leaders of one or two of the London papers of the same morning. Thus, of three morning newspapers in any provincial city, one will quote the *Times* and *Standard* and *Post*, another the *Standard* and *Telegraph*, a third the *Daily News* and the *Telegraph*. An evening local contemporary will probably, after an important political debate or other event, follow the custom of extracting the London press opinions from each of the three local morning papers, and of thus presenting in one column the opinions of perhaps five of the London morning dailies. It will probably further cause its London office to procure the first copies of the chief London evening papers and to telegraph extracts from their leaders. By this means it can present in the afternoon a series of opinions on one subject from nine or ten London papers of that day, and may supplement these by the opinions of half a dozen provincial morning dailies. Such a practice may be only occasionally observed to the extent here indicated, but it remains that the London papers are freely quoted. That their influence may not be overrated it must, however, be remembered that they are usually quoted in such a way that each paper contradicts the other, and the reader is apt to look upon the collection of opinions as a curious and strange puzzle rather than a serious contribution to his political enlightenment. There can be no doubt, however, of the value to the London papers of this system of quotation, which keeps them before the great bulk of the people who have no other means of knowing anything about them; and London managers and editors should encourage the practice. So far as managers are concerned, they can do much to advertise their papers by giving facilities to the Fleet Street provincial offices to obtain the earliest printed copies of their issue, and editors can also do much by seeing that a political leader contains somewhere in one or two sentences a pithy opinion of the whole matter under discussion. Such a sentence will almost certainly be quoted.

It nevertheless remains that the average reader will be influenced by the fully argued leader of his own paper, rather than by the fragmentary extracts from London; and it still further remains that for the advertisement which keeps them before the people in mass the London papers are indebted to the costly arrangements of the provincial press.

The difficulties and expenses of the provincial press have never yet been fully stated to the public, and are but little comprehended even by London managers and editors. First, then, as to cost. A first-class provincial paper always rents from the Post Office two telegraph wires, which are its exclusive property from six o'clock evening till six o'clock morning, and which are switched off the Post Office connection and switched on to instruments in the London and provincial offices of the paper. Four telegraph clerks are at work on



these wires all night taking news from London. They are paid by the Post Office, which supplies them and the wires at a charge of a thousand a year; and as newspaper managers have found means to induce these clerks to work much harder than when on Post Office service, the number of columns of matter which can be taken over these wires at a push is surprising. But, great as that quantity may be, all liberally conducted offices prefer to take the chief part of their Parliamentary reports, as well as much other London matter, by ordinary Postal Telegraph service, and the charge for telegraphing Parliament alone may be taken at another thousand a year. Further, provincial papers, which have to give all the imperial news given by the London papers, have also to give local news, a thing of whose expense and worry London managers have no conception; for London is so big that London papers make no attempt to give local news, but leave it to the *Clapham Sentinel* and others. The cost of a good local reporting corps, its travelling expenses, the staff employed to sub-edit and cut down its reports, and the cost it incurs in telegraphing, varies of course with the district over which the journal circulates. But if the journal has a desire to be more than local to a great town it need not expect to spend in this manner less than four thousand a year. It will also incur a cost of about a thousand a year in obtaining nightly a smartly written London letter, and a light and humorous account of Parliamentary proceedings, commonly spoken of as 'the sketch.' We have here in a very few items an expenditure of seven thousand a year, entailed by the fact that the paper is provincial and has special calls to meet other than those imposed on a London paper of the same standing. But this expenditure immediately entails more. If Parliament is to be reported as fully, or more fully, than in any penny paper published in London, and if London theatres, pictures, and operas are to be dealt with at as great length as in a London paper, and if London banquets, speeches, celebrations, and all events of interest to the nation are to be given as fully as in the London press, and if the same rule applies to sporting, and to commercial and shipping news, it follows that the only way to find room for local news and reports is to increase the size of the paper; and in Scotland, where the papers are probably more ambitious than elsewhere, this has been done to a remarkable extent.

For the purpose of showing more clearly how great is the task thrown upon the provincial press, the following table has been prepared, which shows all the matter, inclusive of advertisements, printed in three London and two provincial newspapers in one week. The table is divided into eleven heads, and a supplementary calculation shows the space allotted to news and comment exclusive of advertisements. During the week selected there were extra supplements to the *Times* and *Scotsman*, but as that is often the case it only makes the figures the more representative. The *Scottish News*,

however, was in no way increased from its customary size, and it may make the table more clear to say that that paper has precisely the same size of page and the same width of column and the same style of type as the *Times*.

*Number of Columns of Printed Matter in Five Newspapers, from Monday, 5th, to Saturday, 10th April, both Inclusive.*

	<i>Times</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Telegraph</i>	<i>Scotsman</i>	<i>Scottish News</i>
Advertisements . . . . .	294	188	232½	188½	114½
Leaders and leader summaries . . .	30	27	29½	30	30½
Other original writing . . . . .	18	8	13	29½	15½
Parliamentary reports . . . . .	70	32	26½	45½	47½
Foreign news . . . . .	27½	21½	12½	8½	9½
Letters to the Editor . . . . .	3½	2½	4½	16½	7½
Commercial and shipping . . . . .	52½	30½	23½	41	59½
Sporting and athletics . . . . .	12½	14	12	20½	45
General news (not local) . . . . .	79	37½	30½	39½	30½
News local to London and England .	12½	7	2½	—	—
News local to Scotland, including Scotch Private Bills . . . . .	—	—	—	44½	72½
	600	368	384	464	432

For the purposes of comparison there is now deleted the space devoted to advertisements, and it is found that the following is the number of columns given to news and comment :—

<i>Times</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Telegraph</i>	<i>Scotsman</i>	<i>Scottish News</i>
306	180	151	276	317

The table shows that the absolutely largest of the five selected papers was the *Times*, followed by the *Scotsman*, with the *Scottish News* as a close third, and the *Telegraph* and *Standard* lagging materially behind as a bad fourth and fifth. When we deduct the space occupied by advertisements, however, and take the space devoted to news and comment, the places materially change. We find that, of the five papers, the *Scottish News* is first with 317 columns, the *Times* second with 306 columns, the *Scotsman* third with 276 columns, and far away and behind these, out of the race altogether, come the *Standard* with 180, and the *Telegraph* with 151 columns. To form a just view of this it is necessary for one moment to put on one side the threepenny *Times*, with its enormous revenue from all sources, and to take the penny papers only. Surely, then, it is a very extraordinary thing that two Scottish penny newspapers should be absolutely larger than the two chief penny newspapers of London, and that in space devoted to news and comment they should so far exceed the London press that the *Scottish News* at the one extreme is more than twice as large as the *Daily Telegraph* at the other. Examining the details of the table, it is found that almost identically the same space is given in all five to leaders, but that a completely contrary course is followed with Parliamentary news. In that the *Times* comes first with its wonderful record of 70 columns, then the *Scottish News* and the *Scotsman* run a close heat with 47 and 45

columns respectively, and the *Standard* and *Telegraph* follow a long way behind with 32 and 26 columns. In foreign news, again, the *Times* leads with 27 columns, the *Standard* follows with 21, the *Telegraph* with 12, and the *Scottish News* and *Scotsman* again run close with 9 and 8 columns respectively. In commercial and shipping intelligence the *Scottish News* heads the list with 59 columns, the *Times* follows with 52, the *Scotsman* with 41, and the *Standard* and *Telegraph* are again behind with only 30 and 23 columns. To sporting and athletics the *Scottish News* gives the alarming space of 45 columns, and the *Scotsman* follows with 20, while the three London papers give only 12 to 14 columns each.

The preponderance of sport and athletics in Scottish newspapers may best be left to the student of history as dissipating some popular delusions about Scotland; but to prevent unnecessary floundering after truth it may be said that a large part of the news relates to football, an exercise which has taken the place in the Scottish mind formerly held by theological discussion. News local to London occupies 12 columns in the *Times*, 7 in the *Standard*, and only 2 in the *Telegraph*, while news local to Scotland has 72 columns in the *Scottish News* and 44 in the *Scotsman*. The sum of these figures, then, is that the provincial papers give Parliamentary reports much more fully than the chief London penny papers, which have the House at hand, that they give commercial and shipping news very much more completely, and that they supply sporting and athletic news in a preponderance absolutely startling. While endeavouring thus to cater so liberally for those interested in politics, in commerce, and in sport, they also devote great space to purely Scottish news telegraphed to them from many places. It is needless to enforce the fact that all this means money, and money, and yet more money.

But this comparison has hitherto been made with the three greatest papers of London—papers having a circulation and an advertisement revenue to which no provincial paper can aspire. It would be more fair to the provincial papers to compare their size and their consequent outlay with that of the lesser London dailies, and as compared with these it may be said that the provincial paper incurs a cost in extra setting of not less than four thousand a year, and in extra paper (taking a very moderate circulation) of another five thousand a year. That is to say, the extra cost of telegraphing London and provincial news, and of maintaining a local reporting corps, and of procuring London political and social gossip, has been set down at seven thousand a year, and it is now added that the space to give both fully costs nine thousand a year in excess of what a London penny paper need spend. When we add to this the charge of maintaining a London office and of arranging for resident correspondents in every hamlet where the paper circulates, and innumerable other matters where a provincial paper incurs exceptional outlay, we

find that a first-class provincial morning paper pays twenty thousand a year for the privilege of being produced a few hundred miles from London. That twenty thousand a year is solely an extra outlay above what a London paper need spend, and it requires some courage to contemplate it and some confidence to rest assured that it will be repaid. Yet if there is any belief that good provincial papers grudge outlay it is entirely wrong. Granted that a thing be desirable, they will have it, no matter what the cost, and the rejection of a proposal because of the outlay involved is unknown. It rather seems as if both provincial and London papers have a delight in incurring outlays for little else than the moral consciousness that they are sparing nothing that may contribute to their excellence.

It would demand a close familiarity with the inner working of London newspapers to state the exact costs that they incur as compared with the leading provincial journals. In reply to an inquiry, they would probably suggest foreign correspondence and its telegraphic cost. To that it may be replied that the outlay of the *Times* on these things must be enormous, and that of the *Standard* and *Telegraph* very great, but that the provincial papers spend money on these things also, and that, having regard to their circulation and revenue, their expenditure should rather be contrasted with that of the lesser London dailies. The most enterprising provincial papers maintain correspondents in Paris and New York, and for other foreign news in ordinary times they depend on Reuter's service; and it is doubtful whether the London papers other than the chief three do much else. In times of war some of the provincial dailies form syndicates for supplying themselves with war correspondence, while others contribute a proportion of the expenses of a London paper in exchange for the use of that paper's telegrams simultaneously with itself. During a recent war there was one provincial syndicate whose correspondents' despatches were as successful as those of any pressmen with the army, and from whom a great London paper, in default of its own telegrams, was glad to be permitted to buy news at a considerable price. These telegrams were published simultaneously by the provincial papers in the syndicate, care being taken that the districts served did not overlap. Each paper of course published the despatches as from 'Our own Correspondent,' and obtained much reputation thereby. Thus these country newspapers had war correspondence quite equal to that of any London paper, and if the cost was less than the public may have supposed, that was the result of prudent enterprise. It seems to be the desire of most London papers, save only the *Times*, to retail their war correspondence to the provincial papers, and it is possible that this desire will increase. Meanwhile let it suffice that good provincial newspapers do incur the expense of placing a good man with our armies, and that, however much they may strive to reduce

that expense by sharing it, they incur it freely and hamper their agent by no restrictions.

As the resolute way in which the provincial papers overcome by great expenditure the disadvantages of their surroundings has so far been shown, the spirit and courage with which they face difficulties that cannot be overcome merely by money may also be adverted to. In the case of a Parliamentary debate, the London paper has this advantage, that in ordinary course the report of the debate is with it a full hour before it can reach the provincial paper; and further, by reason of the railway arrangements, a provincial paper supplying a great area has to go to press half an hour before its London rival. Yet, as has been shown, the provincial paper gives a fuller report of the debate than its metropolitan contemporary; and if the discussion be continued till a late hour, the provincial journal can only maintain its position by enormous energy. The concluding portion of a debate can be most speedily taken over the paper's own wires, and at the last the energy of messengers, telegraphists, subeditors, compositors, and machinists is wonderful. In one instance words spoken in the House of Commons at 2.25 A.M. were recorded in a newspaper sheet lying on a publishing counter in a provincial town at 3.22 A.M., and within twenty minutes later vans were driving away with many thousand copies tied up in scores of parcels carefully addressed to country newsagents. The calculation was that the House of Commons gallery staff spent eight minutes in transcribing, that eight minutes were spent between the House and Fleet Street—either by messenger or telegraphic tape—that six minutes took the matter over the wires, that the compositors had eight minutes for setting in small 'takes,' that the maker-up had four minutes to put the takes together, that five minutes were spent in corrections, three minutes in completing the page on the stone, thirteen minutes in casting a plate, and that then the machine started. The allocation of time to each department, however, is more or less one of calculation, and the only thing absolutely asserted is the interval of fifty-seven minutes between the spoken words in London and a verbatim report in the accurately printed sheet in the provinces.

The difficulty of distance also tells heavily against the editor and his assistant and their leader-writers. It is a necessary condition of producing a satisfactory paper—satisfactory at least to the editor himself—that he shall publish a well-written article, explanatory and critical, of any important news in his sheet, and the custom everywhere is to have three leaders, each of a column or so in length, all of which should be relevant to matters of the moment. A leader is not an essay, but a statement, an explanation and a criticism of current facts. Now, whether the provincial paper places a leader writer in the Commons gallery, or prefers to have its Parliamentary

leaders written in its editorial rooms, it is one hour behind its London rivals, and this one hour lost out of the small time available puts a physical and mental stress on the provincial writer which London journalists can scarcely comprehend. The stress, it must be observed, is not exceptional, but daily; and if it falls daily on one man, he ought either to break down and fall below the high standard of physical vigour necessary for the best journalistic work, or alternatively he must take things easily and do them badly.

The custom of many of the best provincial dailies is believed to be to have their regular Parliamentary articles written by one man who is accredited to the Commons gallery, and who hears the debates, writes his leader, and sends his copy to the Fleet Street office. It is inconvenient unless the close of his article is in the provincial case-room by 2 o'clock A.M. And as the paper can probably give only one of its wires to leader copy at that hour, it follows that one half of the article must leave the Commons by 1 A.M. and the other by about half an hour later; which means that in a late debate the representative of the provincial journal must write early and often fragmentarily, while a writer for a London paper may send his copy much later, finish his article in a room in the office, and be there to see it in proof and to tone down any misapprehensions and crudities caused by haste. The provincial writer's article, written more hastily, is, on the other hand, only subject to revision by an editor who is himself ill acquainted with the course of the debate. Finally, there is too long-continued a strain on the writer, and, as a result, the Parliamentary leader writing is the weakest part of the ordinary provincial paper.

It would be better if these leaders were written in the editorial rooms, and if, in place of giving all and sundry Parliamentary topics to one person, the subjects were allotted in the usual way—that is to say, if the debate is to be about a Highland Crofters' Bill, let it be given to the man who has written on the subject when it was on the carpet before it became a Bill; if it is on Irish affairs, allot it on the same principle; and apply the same rule to finance and all other matters. Let the writer see all the telegraphic copy before it goes from the subeditors to the case-room; supply him also with 'summary' messages from the gallery, and let him have, when it gets late, the extra time saved by sending his copy to the case-room in single sheets wet from his pen. If this be done with system, and if the writer has applied his mind to the subject and talked over the matter with his editor before writing, then, granting precisely equal capacity, the writer in the office will produce a better article than the writer in the gallery. And as he need only write a 'late leader' occasionally, he will have more reserve energy to work on. But with all he cannot write so good a Parliamentary leader as a man with equal capacity writing for a London paper.

There is, of course, an assumption here that the paper has always

at its command a considerable staff of leader-writers. The non-fulfilment of this assumption is probably one of the chief defects of the provincial press. If three leaders a day are used it may be assumed that the paper is willing to pay at least an average of two guineas an article; and if the person responsible for the leaders distributes his two thousand a year wisely, he should command many willing and capable pens. The rule should be that the office should be able to produce under its own roof three fresh articles on subjects that have occurred, or have been made known for the first time, that evening. Of course, that is an exceptional though not an unprecedented call on its resources, and represents the maximum of strength at which its staff should be maintained. For this purpose it is convenient that it should have at hand two competent writers paid fixed sums, and one other from whom it takes sufficient work to make it worth his while to come to the office after dinner and exchange a few words with the editor, after which he may stay and write or walk home with an easy mind. Of course the work taken from the three persons who may be called the permanent establishment need not necessarily be leaders; but, on the contrary, it is to be assumed that they will each have some special knowledge in art, or literature, or philosophy, or science, or finance, which will enable the editor to give them other opportunities of writing at the cost of some other department of the paper, and so allow room for the services of what may be called the fluctuating leader staff. What the value of that may be in towns which are supposed to be devoted solely to commerce, as Birmingham and Leeds, it is difficult to judge; but in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where there are some scores of university professors, some dozens of judges and sheriffs, countless advocates, and a number of men who are specialists in various arts and sciences, the aid afforded to journalism by these may be very great. The more a provincial editor avails himself of these men, the better his paper is. He can easily do so. As a stranger simply offering so many guineas for so much copy he certainly could not command their services. But he probably knows them personally and meets them frequently. Some are indebted to him for publishing, or for refraining from publishing, some matter in which they are interested. Others have had his influence, or hope to have his influence, in obtaining an appointment. Others are zealously anxious to promote the interests of their party paper. Others still are flattered by the invitation to contribute, while some are delighted with being allowed to write anonymously what they dare not say openly. For one reason or another they are willing to write, and, if used with discretion, their work is most valuable. It is probable that none of them could do as efficiently the quick yet accurate work on miscellaneous matters that is demanded from the daily pressman, or form anything like so swift and sound a judgment as the trained journalist. But writing

at home amidst their books, and on subjects to which they have given years of study and to which they bring ripe knowledge, and stating their opinions in absolute leisure and free from any physical weariness, they produce articles that will better stand the test of time and the scrutiny of experts.

Where a provincial paper has a staff organised on such a basis, or on some basis equivalent thereto, it overcomes the last remaining difficulty in the way of maintaining its equality with its London rivals. There are some provincial papers that are so provided, and, where that is the case, they have the credit of being well-written and well-conducted journals. There are others that have had such an organisation but have lost it, and are living on and daily diminishing their reserve of credit. There are others that have never aspired so high, and have not the influence that their circulation and opportunities might command. But this is certain, that a number of provincial journals would do well to insist on a higher standard of writing than they seem to attain; and that, however little the bulk of their readers might appreciate the difference, these newspapers would yet find themselves repaid by the reputation that would gradually accrue. In newspaper enterprise, reputation always solidifies into money.

If in these things an endeavour has been made to set forth the enterprise, the energy, and the public spirit of the provincial press, and thereby to illustrate its real importance, it has not been done either in a spirit of envy as against the London press or of professional pride. For the ability of the London press all must have great respect, and the best men and consequently the best work are admittedly at its service. It need not, however, be believed, and it is nowise claimed, that men engaged in conducting newspapers or in writing for them are one whit cleverer or in any way better than those otherwise employed. All that can be said for them is, that inasmuch as no men are set apart for press work in the way that men qualify as barristers, or clergymen, or merchants, without regard to their bent, it follows that pressmen are more generally than other men engaged in a calling for which they have a bent; and inasmuch as there are few callings in which brains and industry tell so quickly, it follows that more certainly than in other callings the best men come to the front. The reverse side of the medal is that the habit of anonymous writing, so conducive to the influence of the press, is to a great extent destructive of the sense of individual responsibility. That of course is true of the metropolitan and provincial press alike, but it seems more powerful for evil in the provinces. The sense of editorial responsibility in London is quickened by the fact that the several great papers are closely competing with each other, and that their mistakes or improprieties are subject to keener criticism than elsewhere. Where there is one great paper and the rest nowhere, there is apt to



be recklessness of utterance. The theory is borne out by the fact that in those provincial towns where two or more papers stand on something like an equal footing, not only is there more enterprise but there is more caution. The enterprise is shown in the collection of news, and the caution in dignified and becoming comment.

What it is here intended to enforce has thus two sides. So far as these words are read by persons unacquainted with newspaper affairs, the purpose is served in telling something new of the difficulties, the trials, and the methods of the journals that are the informants and in some sense the teachers of the thirty million people who live outside of London. So far as the readers are the writer's comrades, the argument may serve to remind them and him that, although journalists are neither better, wiser, nor cleverer than their neighbours, and are often less so, they bear a responsibility immeasurably great.

In the ceaseless pressure of a very active life they may too seldom take the leisure to reflect that the words written either by themselves or on their approval fly far and wide to places where the reverse side of the argument or the qualifying facts may never be made known. Some time ago one called upon the writer to complain of a published comment, and as the comment was obviously harsh the offer was at once made to contradict or qualify it. 'It's no use,' he said sorrowfully; 'one half of the people would miss the explanation, and the other would not accept it.' Such an experience cannot or ought not to be forgotten. If there be some greater aim in life than to push on, some nobler end than to do the day's work and have it past, then the boundless influence of a newspaper, the limitless journey of a printed word, should be ever present to those on whom rests so great a responsibility.

ARNOT REID.

## MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

I PROPOSE to consider this matter as calmly and impartially as I can, having a very strong opinion on it. I will try to fairly state the reasons for and good alleged of allowing such marriages, and the reasons against and evil alleged of permitting them.

It may be as well first to show what the law was before Lord Lyndhurst's Act in 1835, and what it now is as that Act has made it. Before that Act such marriages and all marriages within the prohibited degrees of kin or affinity were valid till, and not void without, a decree to that effect. Such a decree could only be pronounced in the lifetime of both parties, the reason being that the proceedings were *pro salute animæ* with reference to future cohabitation, which of course could only be when both spouses were living. The result was that till such decree the marriage was binding, and if either spouse died before such decree the marriage was altogether valid and unimpeachable. For example, if one of the spouses before such decree, the other living, married, the offence of bigamy was committed. The husband in such marriage was bound to maintain the wife. On the death of either, the rights of the survivor to dower, tenancy by courtesy, and otherwise were as good as if the marriage had been between persons having no relationship. The children were legitimate and could inherit. But if, living both spouses, the decree of invalidity was pronounced, the marriage became void *ab initio*. The parties could remarry, the children were or became illegitimate, and in short the marriage became null as much as though one of the parties had had a spouse living when it was contracted. Which is the worse or better of the two laws it is not necessary to determine. On the one hand, the marriage might remain for ever unimpeached; on the other there must have been the temptation to contract such a marriage and run a risk, with the constant dread of its possible annulment. It should be mentioned that the suit might be promoted by others than one of the spouses.

But, as I have said, the question is as to the present law. Marriage now within the prohibited degrees is absolutely void *ab initio*, without any decree to declare it. Either spouse may leave the

other. Their relation is that of concubinage. Neither has any legal claim on or responsibility for the other. Either can marry another person. The children are bastards. Further, it may be as well to mention that the notion that this law can be obviated by a marriage ceremony abroad, or in the colonies where such marriages are valid, is erroneous. The domiciled Englishman is bound by the law of his domicile.

Now, then, to consider whether this law should remain, or whether it should be altered—not to what it was before Lord Lyndhurst's Act; not whether all marriages within the prohibited degrees should be valid, but whether the particular marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister should be valid, and be unimpeachable at all times.

In favour of allowing such marriages are the following considerations: A man and woman, in the same condition of life, same age, every way fit for marriage, having that affection for each other which should exist between persons about to marry, are desirous of doing so. As a special and particular reason the man has motherless children who need a woman's care, and the woman loves them as the children of her deceased sister. Neither instinct nor reason forbid it. The Duke of Argyll has said, 'My opinion is, on the subject of marriage and the relation of the sexes generally, man's reason and instinct cannot be trusted' (letter dated August 23, 1883, in the *Scotsman*, in answer to a letter on the subject of marriage with a deceased wife's sister). And we know that though most honestly objected to by very good and worthy people, there is no feeling of horror at such a marriage, as there would be at incest between brother and sister. Yet the law forbids a valid marriage between these two persons so fitted for marriage together. It overrules their feeling, denies the motherless children the best guardian they could have, and forbids that which is not forbidden by reason or instinct and is earnestly desired by both parties. This is the case with thousands. It is really sad to read the mournful list of cases; the grief, the pain, the waiting anxiety and hope for a change in the law; the unlawful, or rather invalid, unions that are made, either with a knowledge they are so, or in the mistaken belief that the marriage abroad is valid. There are also cases of desertion, very few; cases of children deprived of the provision made for them because the parent, in intending to make it, used the word 'children,' which in law means 'legitimate' children.

But certainly there is this to be said: People who make these marriages, knowing the consequences, have brought the troubles on their own heads and have themselves to blame. When the man has tempted the woman into such a marriage he is most blamable; for he has made her a false position, subject to a charge of living in concubinage; which, rightly or wrongly, is not an equal reproach to him.

But there is another class of cases to which this reproach does

not apply. I refer to those cases where the family has but one room and the mother dies. There are hundreds of thousands of these in the United Kingdom. There are 27,000 such in Glasgow alone. The mother dies: the children must have a woman to care for them, who must live in the room with them: the mother's sister is first thought of. We cannot shut our eyes to what must and does follow. It cannot be denied it would be well if the man and woman could marry. These people may be blamable, but the law drives them to that for which they are blamed.

It must be admitted that I have shown objections to the present state of the law; that the burden of proof is on those who maintain it. Let me say at the outset that it is maintained with most perfect sincerity by many for whom I have the sincerest esteem and respect—for their learning, ability, and truth.

The arguments are theological or religious and social. I will consider first the theological. I do so reluctantly, because, strive as one may, it is impossible to avoid giving offence. An argument against a man's religious opinions is almost sure to be resented, however respectfully it may be stated. First it is said by those who object to these marriages that they are opposed to the texts which say that a man and his wife are one flesh. The way in which it is generally put is, that if a man's wife is his flesh then her sister is his sister, and so her marriage with him would be the marriage of brother and sister. Now the first remark to be made on this is that the expression is a metaphor. That it is not a statement of an absolute or physical fact is certain. I desire to avoid anything like a ludicrous illustration, but what of a marriage between people of different colour? What happens if a marriage is dissolved? Is there then more than one flesh? It is impossible, it seems to me, to suppose that a command not to do that which is not forbidden by reason or instinct can have been given by the use of this metaphor. Further, those who say it is are not consistent. For if A by marrying B becomes one flesh with her, and thereby becomes brother of her sister C, so also does his brother D become B's and C's brother, and ought not to be able to marry C; yet that he may is allowed on all hands. So a man may marry his deceased wife's deceased brother's wife. But, I repeat, to my mind it is impossible to suppose that, instead of a direct and intelligible command, a divine and benevolent Being would express only by an uncertain metaphor a prohibition to do that which is contrary neither to reason nor instinct.

I now come to the argument derived from the Old Testament, and I venture to say that, so far from prohibiting these marriages, by implication it plainly authorises them. But first it may be useful to see how far, if at all, and on what grounds the Jewish law is binding on Christians. In terms it is addressed to the people of Israel alone. 'And

the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them' (Leviticus v. 14-17); and especially at the commencement of chap. xviii., on which the questions arise (vv. 2, 3), 'Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them, I am the Lord your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do, and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do.' This looks very like a command to the particular people only. And it is to be remembered that the Jews were an exclusive race. I do not say that a man not a descendant of Jacob could not be admitted among them; the contrary is the case; but they were not a proselytising people. The contemplation of the lawgiver was that they would be and remain a separate race from the Gentiles. It seems strange that to such a people a command was given which was to bind the whole of mankind; which was unknown to other nations than the small community addressed, till the time of Christianity, and which is still unknown to half the world. I know it is said that the command is not in itself binding—that it only shows what is the law of nature. I will address myself to that presently, contenting myself with observing meanwhile that if these marriages were forbidden, and forbidden to others than Jews, it would be hard on the mass of mankind that they should have been left with no guide but reason and instinct, which prompted rather than forbade them. This makes me approach the question with a strong feeling that no such prohibition will be found in the Jewish law.

But let us suppose that either as a direct command or as a model or warning the Jewish law, or some part of it, should be followed by Christians. Then what part? Certainly not the ceremonial; nor *all* which, as distinguished from the ceremonial, may be called the moral or social (Leviticus xviii. 19, where a command is given, the punishment for the breach of which is death, xx. 18). It is impossible to suppose, and indeed it is not said, that the command there mentioned, with the penalty for its disobedience, is binding on Christians. So of many others. I ask again, then, what part is binding? Now it is said, as I understand, that that part is binding on Christians for the non-observance of which the land of the Canaanites was taken from them and given to the Jews, and they were destroyed. It is said that to have punished them for disobedience of laws not revealed to them would be unjust, unless they knew without revelation that they should act as though the law had been given to them expressly—in other words, that reason and instinct would guide them rightly to do what they (the Canaanites) were punished for not doing, so that their punishment was for disregarding reason and instinct. Be it so. But we have the highest authority for saying that reason and instinct do not teach us that a man is not to marry his deceased wife's sister. Further, Jacob

married two sisters, the first living at the time of the second marriage. That this was afterwards forbidden by the Mosaic law is certain during the life of the first wife. But it is difficult to suppose that nature and instinct would have forbidden what the patriarch did apparently without reproof, and indeed with approbation, seeing the high position and importance of the progeny, Joseph. It may well be that the pain this second marriage gave to Leah, the first wife, caused the prohibition of the marriage of a sister, living her sister as the first wife.

One may, therefore, as I say, approach the consideration of the question with a strong presumption that, as the Canaanites were punished for doing what reason and instinct forbade—and reason and instinct do not forbid these marriages, especially as shown by the marriage of Jacob with Leah and Rachel—so it was not for such marriages that the Canaanites were punished. Therefore either such marriages are not forbidden at all, even to the Jews, or if at all, they are forbidden to the Jews in particular. Their prohibition is not binding on Christians. Let it not be said that this reasoning would set aside the decalogue. Certainly not; reason and instinct both go along with the last six of the commandments. Society could not exist without the observance of what is ordered and forbidden by them.

But we are not driven to speculate what would be the law; we have it. Let us examine the texts and very passages which decide the question. Leviticus xviii. 16 is relied on. It says, 'Thou shalt not remove the nakedness of thy brother's wife; it is thy brother's nakedness.' Now it is said, as I understand, that a wife's sister is as near in affinity as a brother's wife, and so by implication such a marriage as that is forbidden. I say, and I say it with all sincerity, that I am by no means sure that this does not extend solely to the case of the brother's wife, living the brother. It is the natural meaning of the words 'it is thy brother's nakedness.' In the case of a mother the expression is indeed 'thy father's nakedness,' but it proceeds 'even the nakedness of thy mother shalt thou not uncover; she is thy mother.' Another instance is 'the nakedness of thy son's daughter is thine own nakedness.' It is true that adultery generally is specially prohibited. But the prohibition is addressed to the male. It must be remembered that concubinage was not prohibited by the Jewish law except as within the prohibited degrees; and what confirms this opinion is, that if a man died childless it was the duty of a brother to marry the widow and raise up issue to the deceased. It has been said that these were not marriages between the widow and surviving brother, but it is manifest they were. If proof were wanting it would be found in the question, 'What if a woman marries seven brothers in succession?' and in the answer, not that the marriages were not marriages or

were wrong, but that 'in heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage.' And it is a fact that at this day among Jews who observe the law a childless widow will not marry other than her late husband's brother till that brother has formally refused to marry her. It may be as well to add that it does not follow that because marriages were prohibited between a man and his brother's widow that they would be with a deceased wife's sister.

But let us assume that verse 16 applies to a brother's widow. Let us also assume that if a man might not marry his brother's widow it would be a fair conclusion that, if there was no other consideration, he could not marry his deceased wife's sister, and so the case against their marrying would be made out. But there is another and decisive consideration; for whatever consequence might be deduced from verse 16, if it were not followed by verse 18, there is that latter verse, 'Thou shalt not take a woman to her sister to be a rival to her, to uncover her nakedness beside the other in her lifetime.' This is the Revised Version. The Authorised Version is 'to vex her,' instead of 'to be a rival to her.' This is the text, and it seems to me that no man, not merely as a lawyer, on legal consideration, can do otherwise as a matter of ordinary reasoning from the text than say it is a limited prohibition, and therefore by implication a permission out of the limits. *Expressio unius, exclusio alterius*. To say that it shall not take place in the joint lives, is by implication to say that it may when both lives do not exist together.

So thoroughly has this difficulty been felt that the greatest efforts have been made to get out of it. A venerable archdeacon of the Church of England has said that the text ought to have been translated in the Authorised Version, 'Neither shalt thou take one wife to another to vex her, to uncover her nakedness beside the other in her lifetime;' but that, out of deference to the Septuagint, the translator in the Authorised Version gave this rendering in the text, making, however, amends by placing the alternative rendering in the margin, 'which no doubt,' says the archdeacon, 'is the true one.' This really seems very strange. It is a charge on those who are responsible for the Authorised Version that out of deference to the Septuagint they knowingly put a wrong meaning on this all-important text in the body of the book, contenting themselves with putting the right meaning in the margin. What makes this the more remarkable is that ninety-nine Bibles out of a hundred are without marginal notes. This, inasmuch as those books are printed by institutions governed and controlled by clergymen, is a strong imputation on them. But having adopted the translation in the margin, the archdeacon had to give it an object. He says it was directed against polygamy, which is a breach of the moral law. Is it possible that he can have forgotten the cases of David and Solomon in particular? It is incorrect to say that polygamy was pro-

bibited to the Jews. They recognise its lawfulness, though they do not now practise it. However we need not trouble ourselves about what would have been the meaning of the text if translated as the archdeacon would have it. The matter is set at rest. The marginal translation was wrong, that in the text right. Those who prepared the Authorised Version had not put a falsity in their text. The Revised Version, the authority of which the archdeacon will not dispute, gives the translation I have quoted, and does not even notice the other in the margin or otherwise. It ought to be conclusive. The archdeacon says it is strange that 'a permission should occur in a chapter which is otherwise wholly concerned with prohibitions.' Now this is very remarkable. I am sure that the archdeacon is incapable of saying anything that he has not considered and does not believe. Otherwise I should say this was inconsiderate or uncandid. There are two answers to it: one that there is nowhere a list of permissions in which it could find place. Another and better answer is that it is not an express permission, but one by implication. The matter stands thus: all marriages are lawful which are not prohibited expressly or by implication; this marriage is not expressly prohibited, and cannot be by implication, as by implication it is permitted. The meaning I find in the text of verse 18; the implications from it are those of the Jews themselves. They interpret in the same way. With them these marriages are lawful. They refrain from them in England, because they know they are null by English law, not by their own. Foreign scholars are universally of the same opinion. Indeed, I do not know that since the Revised Version anyone here in England contests the interpretation it gives to verse 18. But in some way, which in all honesty I declare I do not understand, it is said that, though the particular text in verse 16 is given up, yet these marriages are prohibited by the Old Testament.

But, it is asked,<sup>1</sup> by one of the archdeacon's correspondents, 'Were counsel to argue upon any other subject before Lord Bramwell, by using an inference of this kind against a *distinct enactment*, what would he not say against it?' I should say a good many things. But where is the distinct enactment? The archdeacon's statement of it is this: 'So it is said a man may not marry' (that is not the word) 'his brother's wife.' 'Conversely' (qu. conversely) 'a woman may not marry her husband's brother, and analogously, a man may not marry his wife's sister.' This is the '*distinct enactment*,' conversely and analogously, every step being questionable, or, as I think, wrong.

This brings me to another argument. I have said, and repeat, if by common consent there is a divine command against these marriages, that command should be obeyed. But if some find the command, and others do not, and on the contrary find a permission,

<sup>1</sup> Hossey's *Six Grand Objections*, p. 2.



I say that the former have no more right to enforce their opinions on the latter on this than on any other subject. Formerly men were persecuted for their belief or opinion on transubstantiation, the Trinity, episcopacy, and a variety of other subjects. They are now allowed their opinions on these; why not on marriage with a deceased wife's sister, unless social reasons are against it? See how hard the law is on the Jews: as they read their books these marriages are permitted. The followers, or some of the followers, of a different religion read those books differently and forbid the marriage. To say nothing of the probability as to who is right, how is it possible to justify this, except on considerations which would justify punishing the Jews for holding to their old faith? If it should be said that to forbid such a marriage is not persecution, I say it is in principle. It is an interference with another man because your opinion is right, as you think, and his wrong. And the penalty he pays he would willingly exchange for a large fine or substantial imprisonment. But the law is no harder on the Jew than on the Christian, though its unreasonableness may be more glaring. As I have said, one Christian believes in transubstantiation, another does not; one is for episcopacy, another not. They have given up persecuting each other; each is allowed his opinion and to act on it as far as it can be acted on. Why is not the same rule followed as to this question, as far as religious considerations are concerned?

The social I will now deal with. First, it is said that as the law at present stands a wife's sister may be on the most friendly and familiar terms with the husband, because, as they could not validly marry after the wife's death, there is no danger of improper feelings or conduct, living the wife. I cannot but repeat that this is to me shocking. For what does it involve? This, that if they could marry after the wife's death there would be danger of improper feelings and conduct during her life. Is this true? Is it true of English men and women? Is it true of the wife's or husband's cousin or other female friends or acquaintances? And if in any case it might happen, is it to be supposed that the man and woman, being lost to every sense of religion, morality, and duty, and having conceived a detestable passion for each other, would be deterred from its gratification by the consideration that they could not marry if the wife died? That future difficulty would not deter such persons from the present gratification of their desires.

Another argument is this: It is said that a sister of a deceased wife can safely and without scandal live in the house of the widower, because, as they cannot marry, neither he nor she can be supposed to entertain, and will not entertain, any desire for the other such as would lead to matrimony. To this there seem two answers. First, no prudent parent would expose an attractive girl to the danger of living in the same house with an attractive man with

whom a marriage would on every ground be desirable, and to which neither reason nor instinct is opposed. Secondly, as Archbishop Whately said, the reasoning is the other way; for if they could marry and did not, the legitimate conclusion would be that they did not desire it, and consequently had not those feelings for each other which would endanger their chastity. Then it is said that if such marriages are permitted there is an end to all prohibitions on the ground of affinity. I deny it. I say there is a permission of this marriage—to me as plain as though in so many words. I say that when there is a prohibition the case is different. It may be that Christians ought not to be bound by it. Certainly I think those ought not to be bound who cannot find the prohibition. Still let it be treated as binding where it exists. Let those who think one way have their way. Let it even be maintained when it can be got at ‘conversely and analogously.’ But I say there is no prohibition express or by implication of marriage with a deceased wife’s sister, none conversely or analogously. I will deal with a particular case urged, that the same principle that admits this marriage would admit marriage with a deceased wife’s daughter. I repeat, that is not permitted expressly or by implication—nay, it may be said to be ‘conversely’ prohibited. For a man may not marry his step-mother; so I interpret verse 8. That shows that step-parent and step-child are not to marry, and ‘conversely’ therefore, a man may not marry his step-daughter. Further, on social grounds I would prohibit such a marriage; for men usually marry women not older than themselves, so that the man is usually old enough to be the step-child’s father. That being so, their ages are unfit; and the law should protect the child from being forced into a wrong marriage by one so much older than herself, and who is *in loco parentis* and with the authority of one.

Then it is said that the Bill is not logical, that if right it ought to go further. Let us try this logically. No law should be made that is not logical. The proposed law is not logical; therefore it should not be made. Is that so? Is the major premiss true? Are there no good laws that are not logical? In this world of expediency and compromise are we to wait for improvement till we are entirely logical? Really this is a practical proposal to get rid of a practical wrong and mischief—sin, I should say if a man can be said to sin whom bad laws drive to the act called sinful. Men desire to marry, and do marry, their deceased wives’ sisters. They do not desire to and do not marry their deceased wives’ grandmothers.

There is yet another argument. The archdeacon calls it the ecclesiastical objection. What, it is asked, is to be done by or with the clergyman who respects the canon law which forbids these marriages if he is called on to celebrate one or to admit to the Holy Communion the parties who have contracted one? It might, perhaps, be answered, Let those who take the State’s pay do the State’s work,

for the doing of which they are paid. But I would not insist on this, as some deny that the clergy are State-paid; and whether or no they are, I think such a rule would be hard on conscientious men. It is better to let them decline to celebrate such marriages. The Duke of St. Albans expressed his willingness to have a clause to that effect in the Bill the House of Lords has just rejected. As to the Sacrament, I would leave that to be settled by the law. If living together after such a marriage disentitles the parties to partake in the Sacrament, so be it. They must put up with it; if not, they would be entitled to enforce partaking in it. I looked up the matter some time back. I have not the books with me, but my recollection is that it is very doubtful if there is a right to refuse participation in the Sacrament to such parties. How can two thoroughly well-conducted persons, having contracted such a marriage lawfully, as they would if the law was altered as desired, be said to be 'notorious evil livers,' so as to cause scandal? I cannot but think that reasonable charity, a feeling of the duty of allowing participation in the Sacrament, unless for strong reasons, and a feeling also that otherwise the sheep might stray from the flock, would cause few refusals to take place on this ground.

It has been urged that in the Code Napoléon these marriages are forbidden, and that it was so settled by the casting vote of Napoleon himself. So we are to be influenced by the opinion of that most hateful of men. Why? He was not influenced by religious considerations and, we may make pretty sure, not by any love of his fellow-creatures. In fact, I believe the matter was determined as it was mainly on the ground of its being the existing law. Against it may be set the modern French practice. Thousands of such marriages take place under some dispensing power.

There is another consideration in favour of these marriages. They are lawful in every sense in the vast majority of our colonies. An Australian of English race may validly marry his deceased wife's sister if he was born in Australia, or if, though born in England, he has become domiciled in Australia. And that marriage is not only valid there; it is, as I believe, valid here. The husband and wife would have all the claims of husband and wife on each other; they would owe all the duties; the children would be legitimate, and would succeed certainly to personalty as next of kin, if not to realty as heirs. Does it not seem a strange thing that an English court of justice should have to inquire, not whether A and B were married in point of form, but that being proved, and it also appearing that the woman was the sister of the man's deceased wife, the court should have to inquire whether at the time of the marriage the man was domiciled in the colony when it took place, and that the rights and duties of the man and woman and those of their offspring depend on that question? There is a question whether the offspring could

succeed to real estate or title; but to personalty they could, if the father was domiciled in Australia when he married the mother; or perhaps when the grandfather married the grandmother.

Of course this cannot influence those who think these marriages ought to be forbidden on religious grounds; but it may well influence those who object only on social grounds, more especially when it is remembered that the laws which allow these marriages have had the sanction of the Crown and its ministers. And as to the former, one would have thought that these marriages, lawful in America and our colonies, without visible signs of divine displeasure, would have prevented such a wonderful thing as appears in a paper I have received, viz. that we ought to 'fear the wrath of God on this country' if we permit them.

I have addressed myself to every specific and distinct argument pro and con that I know of. There are some it is impossible to deal with as a matter of reasoning—for example, the following: 'A man and his wife are by God's ordinance one flesh, and a circle is formed around them of those in near intercourse with whom they are necessarily thrown.' Within the limits of this circle, as was beautifully said, 'there is to be neither marrying nor giving in marriage. The area contained therein is to be as it were a sacred precinct, the purity of whose air is to resemble that of heaven.' I dare say this is eloquent. If so, I distrust it. It may be that what was said is beautiful, and my fault that I do not see it; but as far as it reasons, or is meant to do so, it is unintelligible. A circle is formed round a man and his wife, and within the circle there is to be no marrying. How could there be when the only two persons within it are married already? Oh, but it means that those who form the circle can't marry those who are within it. Well, then, say so, and we will deal with it.

Then a silly story is told of a man who wanted to marry his half-sister, their mothers being sisters. On his father objecting that she was his sister, he answered, 'She is my cousin.' Why, if a man marries his cousin the child is cousin of both parents in the same sense—first cousin once removed. So the young man gave a silly reason.

The Church of Rome takes upon itself to grant dispensations for these marriages. It is strange. Could it dispense with the impediment between brother and sister, son and mother?

Then St. Basil is cited as disapproving such marriages and objecting to the argument from verse 18 that it by implication permits them. What claim this particular saint has to be an authority I know not. I should value his opinion more if he knew that hundreds of thousands of families are living each in one room, in thousands of which the sisters of deceased mothers are taking care of their nephews and nieces, with the inevitable consequences of cohabitation with or without marriage; and I should value his opinion more if he had not said that any second marriage should be visited with a year's

excommunication, and a third with five years of that penalty. I value more the opinion of the archdeacon whose good faith and learning I know, though he has not been, and probably never will be, canonised.

On the question as to the interpretation of Leviticus xviii. 18, and particularly as to the interpretation till recent times—that is, till about 1500 or 1600—I refer to Dr. McCaul's letter to Sir W. P. Wood, 1860, and his letter to the Rev. W. H. Lyall, 1859. A wonderful amount of research and learning is shown, and most urgent reasons are given for holding these marriages not only not forbidden but permitted. The letters also contain a learned and laborious examination as to what was the law in England anciently, and how the table of prohibited degrees and the canon relating to it came into existence.

It is said that many great lawyers have pronounced opinions against these marriages. If it were a matter of faith and not of reasoning I might be inclined to follow them. Some are named in whose learning, ability, and sincerity I have implicit confidence; but they are all men, shall I say, ecclesiastically given, and who would be likely to have more regard for canons and ecclesiastical opinions than the majority of mankind—more, I think, than was felt by our sturdy old common-law lawyers, who stopped as far as they could the meddling of ecclesiastical courts.

I have, as I have said, stated the case pro and con as fairly as I could. That the existing law causes much misery cannot be doubted, nor that it causes a mischievous breach or disregard of the law by almost driving people to live in a state of concubinage, immoral and sinful in the minds of those who yet uphold the law. It makes a great and most important difference between ourselves and our colonies, while it is on every ground desirable that our institutions should be as alike as possible, that, so far as it depends on religious considerations, it is a breach of what is now recognised as right—viz. that a man must not be persecuted or hindered from following his own honest, conscientious opinion on religious matters because others think differently.

These evils require a justification. What is it? A metaphorical expression, mainly in the New Testament but also in the Old, is relied on as a prohibition of these marriages. An argument is drawn from the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus to the same effect, though no particular verse is relied on. I will only refer to the way I have dealt with it, and add that if Christians are affected by that eighteenth chapter it furnishes in verse 18 a most cogent argument against the present law.

As to the social objection, it is based on the untrue and disgraceful argument that but for this prohibition decent men and women would form and indulge unholy and loathsome passions for each other.

I believe the present law had its origin partly in asceticism, which delights to deny the pleasures, though innocent, which nature would give us, partly in the love of governing, ordering, directing, and of the influence and power that follow—a characteristic of priests, but which is only more marked in them than in other human beings because they have more opportunity of indulging it. I trust that a right view will be taken of this important matter and the law altered.

BRAMWELL.

*MERELY PLAYERS.*

All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players,

which accounts for the fact that we all of us—or almost all, especially those of simple, child-like, and imaginative natures—delight in a play, and are apt to get up an ardent enthusiasm for those ‘poor players,’

Who strut and fret their hour upon the stage,  
And then are seen no more.

Nor is this wonderful. To be able to throw oneself completely out of oneself into another's individuality is one of the highest triumphs of intellectual art. The painter does it, in degree, when he invents a face and depicts it, real as life, though it exists only in his own fancy; the novelist does it, by thinking out a character, and making his puppet act and speak according to its nature and its surrounding circumstances. But the actor is both these combined. He must look the picture, he must be the character. Therefore a truly great actor in any line—whether he stirs in us the heroic pain of tragedy, or refreshes us with harmless comedy, or even by the fun of broad farce ‘shoots Folly as it flies,’—is, in his generation, among the best benefactors of society.

All the more so, perhaps, because his life-work is of so ephemeral a kind. The artist leaves his pictures, the author his books, behind him, for the world to judge him by, and to profit from, long after he is gone; the actor leaves behind him only a memory. No description can keep alive, even for a single generation, the fame of that fascination which once drove audiences wild with delight. It is gone—vanished!—as completely as an ended song, a forgotten dream. Who now believes in Mrs. Siddons' grace, John Kemble's dignity, Edmund Kean's pathos and passion? Nay, the young generation begins to smile when we, who have seen him, praise Macready. They think he was, after all, nothing to compare to Henry Irving. And how can we prove anything? We can only say ‘It was so.’

It is this which makes the underlying pathos of acting, and the actor's life—the feeling of ‘Live while you live, for to-morrow all will

have passed away.' Still, while it lasts, the charm is all-powerful, the triumph supreme. No admired author or artist, no victorious general or popular sovereign, ever evokes such universal enthusiasm, or receives such passionate ovations, as a successful actor and actress during their brief day—brief, but still glorious, and great in its power for good or for evil. Those of us who can recall the enthusiasms of our youth, how we used to come home from the play, literally saturated—soaked through and through—with insane admiration; hearing for days the tones of the one voice, imitating and quoting the words and gestures of our idol—must confess that it is a high and a responsible career even to be 'merely players.'

I am led to these remarks by reading through—and it takes a good deal, perhaps a little too much, of reading—a volume entitled 'Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters,' by Helen Faucit, Lady Martin. Truly, if any one has a right to say her say on these said characters, and to be listened to, it is Lady Martin.

For forty years, possibly more, since she rose early and set late, Helen Faucit was the star of our English, and especially of our Shakespearian drama. Among the last generation of actresses there was no one to compare with her. More refined and cultivated than Miss Glyn, though in genius and passion few could surpass the occasional outbursts of that very remarkable woman; more original and free from mannerisms than Mrs. Charles Kean and Miss Vandenhoff; while those passing meteors, Fanny Kemble and Mrs. Scott Siddons, can scarcely be counted as rivals—Helen Faucit remains, to all of us who have lived long enough to contrast the present with the past, the best impersonator of Shakespeare's women whom the last generation has ever seen.

Though not beautiful, there was about her an atmosphere of beauty, which made itself felt as soon as ever she came on the stage. Her lightest gesture, the first tone of her voice, suddenly heard through other stage voices like a thrush through a chorus of sparrows, seemed part of a harmonious whole. She had no sharp angles, no accidental outbursts, which may be either pathos or bathos, just as it happens; everything with her was artistically perfect. If, as some alleged, too perfect—that in her care never to 'outstep the modesty of nature' she ignored nature altogether, and substituted art—it was at any rate a very high form of art. And after reading her book, which gives us a glimpse into the soul of the woman, for it is essentially a woman's book, we come to the conclusion that the secret of her success was not art but nature. She felt all she acted. Her cultivated mind, which, if not absolutely a poet's, had a sympathetic appreciation of poetry, enabled her to take in all the delicate *nuances* of Shakespeare's characters, while her heart taught her to understand those things which have made 'Shakespeare's women' a proverb for feminine charm. During a whole generation—nay, more, for like Ninon de



l'Enclos she seemed to have perpetual youth—she so enchained the public that the children of her first worshippers were her worshippers too. And she retired with scarcely even physical graces lost. Her Portia and Rosalind, acted when youth was no more, were as 'young' and as delightful as ever. Such an actress cannot but have had as the key to her popularity, the only key which unlocks 'the wide heart of humanity,' a heart of her own.

This book shows it, and makes interesting what as a literary production might have been superfluous, for Shakespeare has had only too many commentators and analysers. But here we have an individual study, not of the whole play but of the one character in it which the actress impersonated. In a very simple and feminine way, autobiographical without being egotistic, she lets us into the secrets of that impersonation. We see how she must have penetrated—for herself and not another, since she tells us she had never seen them acted by any other—into the very nature of Juliet, Rosalind, Desdemona, Imogen, and caught the bright spirit of Beatrice—though she owns she never cared for this last as she did for the more womanly women. If, in truth, she takes too feminine a view of her poet, if in the minuteness of her criticism she attributes to Shakespeare's women certain nineteenth century qualities which Shakespeare never thought of, and embellishes them with preceding and subsequent episodes wholly imaginary, such as Ophelia's motherless childhood, and Portia's consolatory visit to the dying Shylock, we forgive her, since she has made a contribution to Shakespearian literature quite original of its kind, and which could have been done thus by no other person.

The book has one more characteristic. It is for an actress whose personality must ever be before her, indeed forced upon her, strangely impersonal. We wish it had been a little more of an autobiography. So many players are 'merely players,' with no literary capacity at all, no means of expressing their feeling about their art or their method of study, that such revelations from a woman of Lady Martin's intellectual calibre would have been not only pleasant but profitable. Now that we see her no more, it is interesting to an almost pathetic degree to hear that in her first girlish performance of Juliet, her nervousness was such that she crushed the phial in her hand, and never discovered this till she saw the blood-drops staining her white dress; how Macready complained that she was 'so hard to kill' as Desdemona; and how, when writing about Imogen, the remembered agony seemed still to fill her mind, as it used to do on the stage.

As a whole this book, and the light it throws both upon the individuality and the professional history of the writer, are to us who remember what Helen Faucit was, and the sort of plays she acted in, a curious contrast to the stage and the actors of to-day.

Then Browning, Westland Marston, Milman, G. W. Lovell, Bulwer Lytton, were, if not all poets, at least very capable dramatists, who had no need to steal from the French, but could invent actable plays, which intelligent audiences eagerly listened to, and went home the better for it. The writing might have been a little stilted, lengthy and didactic, and the acting more conventional than realistic, but the tone was always pure and high. No confusion of right and wrong made you doubt whether it was criminal, or only 'funny,' to make love to your neighbour's wife; or whether, instead of the old-fashioned stage morality, when virtue was rewarded and vice punished, there was not now a system of things much more interesting, in which a lady of no virtue to speak of, and a gentleman who prided himself on breaking all the ten commandments, were the hero and heroine with whom you were expected to sympathise. Is it so now? To how many—or rather how few—London theatres can one take one's young daughters and sons without blushing for them—and ourselves?

All the worse because over the foulness is thrown a certain veneer of refinement. Shakespeare, though often coarse in language, as was the fashion of his time, is always pure at heart—pure as the Bible itself, which is perhaps the plainest-spoken book of that date now admitted into general reading. His women too, spite of our ultra-realistic modern actresses—one of whom as Juliet appears on the stage *en robe de nuit*, and another sings an interpolated song which Shakespeare never would have put in the mouth of his maidenly and pure-minded Rosalind—his women are and always will be the ideal of all feminine purity. Except the historical Cleopatra, there is not among all his diverse heroines one unchaste woman. Imagine the creator of Imogen, Desdemona, Portia, inventing a Dame aux Camélias, a Fédora, or a Théodora!

Such a book as this of Lady Martin's awakes in us, with a regretful memory of what the stage was, a longing for what it ought to be and might be. Not exactly by returning to old traditions; the world is for ever advancing, and we must accommodate ourselves to this fact. Even lately a charming little comedy of Westland Marston's, *Under Fire*, which for wit and grace of diction, and delicate sketches of character, was worth a dozen ephemeral and immoral French vaudevilles, fell flat after two or three nights. And not even its admirable *mise en scène* and the perfect acting of Wilson Barrett could save the public from discovering that Bulwer's *Junius* was an essentially false diamond, which the most splendid setting could never rescue from deserved oblivion. No! 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new,' and it is right it should be so. Only, let us try that the new 'order' be as good as the old.

Dramatic art at present may be roughly divided into three sections: the Shakespearian and poetic drama, melodrama, and adaptations from the French. A few stray variations, English and

original, may crop up between, such as the evergreen *Our Boys*; but still, putting aside the drama proper and melodrama in its modern phase of domestic realism, the stock *répertoire* of managers and actors both in London and the provinces is almost exclusively 'stolen' from our neighbours across the Channel. Whether the theft is to our benefit or their credit remains an open question.

Of high art dramas, not Shakespearian, there are, alas! not many, yet audiences 'fit though few' have had the sense to appreciate *The Cup* and *The Falcon*. Poets are not often nor necessarily skilled playwrights, for a play is poetry in action rather than diction. But if they would condescend to this limitation and train themselves into writing for the stage, which is quite different from writing for the closet, there seems no reason why our nineteenth century should not give us a second Shakespeare—if audiences could be educated into intelligent appreciation of him. I lately overheard an actor conversing with an author on the lack of English talent, and the flood of French triviality in the modern drama. The actor—he was one of those cultivated, high-minded gentlemen, men with an ideal, who are gradually ennobling the profession—said to the author, 'People lay all this to the charge of the managers and actors, but it is not so. We want audiences. Not the "gilded youth," or the man about town who merely goes to the theatre to amuse himself, but an audience, intelligent, appreciative, critical without being ill-natured, composed of fathers and mothers of families, who come with their sons and daughters, and spend their money as regularly and safely upon the theatre as upon Mudie's Library. To them the stage should be not a mere amusement but a part of education, supported and deserving of support by cultivated, intelligent, and right-minded people, instead of by the froth, or worse than the froth—the vicious residuum of society.'

Most true, and yet I think this actor, who was still young and enthusiastic in his profession, laid the saddle on the wrong horse. May not the fault lie primarily with managers and actors? The public is like a child, as simple and as impressionable. You must either be led by it or lead it, and it rather prefers the latter. Is any one strong enough to do this—to take the bull Society by the horns, and beginning as a revolutionist to end as an autocrat?

Could there not be established in London—I believe there is in New York—a theatre of which the primary object is that nothing shall be allowed therein which sins against morality or decorum? thereby abolishing at once the unwholesome atmosphere which makes the modern stage often a place which no decent woman or honest man can breathe in. Failing this, could not our best actors and actresses, many of them excellent fathers and devoted wives and mothers, take the law into their own hands, and absolutely refuse to act in such plays as we outsiders shrink from taking our young daughters

to see? And if, besides pure morality, high art was also studied—and by high art I mean the best of everything, be it a *lever de rideau* or a broad farce, all being done as well as it could be done, not merely to please, but to elevate the public—would such a theatre fail? Pessimists say it would; but I, for one, think better of human nature. I believe it would in a very short time be crammed nightly to the ceiling.

There is a vast and virtuous understratum in society which really loves the right and hates the wrong. In proof of this we need only point to modern Shakespeare revivals, always successful in any theatre, and to that form of melodrama which, on the principle that everything excellent of its kind is high art, ranks only second to what is called the legitimate drama.

No one could go and see such pieces as *Chatterton*, *The Silver King*, and even the *Lights o' London*, without coming away the better—morally as well as mentally. So far as it goes, each is thoroughly well acted throughout—a veritable transcript of nature—though realism is sometimes carried to excess. A van with live horses crossing the stage, the outside of a gin palace, the inside of a London 'slum,' though vivid and lifelike as some Dutch painting of a drunken boor—may be questionable subjects for art at all. But on the whole these melodramas are admirable studies of nature, and nature always wins. For among the generality of middle-class playgoers there is an honest sense of right and wrong, a delight in virtue rewarded and vice punished, very refreshing to see.

But the artist in any branch cannot rely on nature only. He must exercise that power of selection which is the secret of genius, and use nature without abusing it. Surely between the intensely realistic and the poetical drama there must lie a golden mean, which if managers and actors would believe in—their fortunes would be made. Witness the enormous success of that very original play *Claudian*. Its pure idealism, lofty moral, nay, actual religiousness of tone, caught the popular fancy, and it 'ran' for a year and a half. Let sceptics howl as they will, there is still in our England a wholesome heart of righteousness—the recoil of pure-minded women and chivalric men against that foul sewage stream which sometimes threatens to swamp us all. Every one who helps to stem it does a good deed. Therefore, those who, though 'play-actors,' are also gentlemen and gentlewomen, striving both by their acting and their private lives to make the stage what it ought to be, may take consolation for the brevity of their day of fame by remembering that while it lasts their power to guide not only public taste but public morality is enormous. And it is a personal power. Individual character as well as genius is the root of it. No woman who was not good, pure, and high-minded could have impersonated Shakespeare's women as Helen Faucit used to do. And though I have

carefully avoided referring to those others of her profession who are still before the public, it would be easy to name a noble band of rising and risen actors and actresses, whom the British public—that is, the worthiest section of it—would certainly not admire as it does if it could not say between its bursts of enthusiasm, ‘That man is a true gentleman,’ ‘That woman is a thoroughly good woman.’

If this is not always so, God help them, and God pity them!—for the small mimic stage has double temptations compared with the larger stage of the world. Shakespeare knew both—he was an actor as well as an author, and yet he could paint a Desdemona, an Imogen, a Hamlet, a Coriolanus. When our modern dramatists aim at creating such characters, and our modern actors and actresses delight in impersonating them, believing that to show Vice her own image is infinitely more dangerous than to shame her by showing the fair ideal image of Virtue, then will the impressionable public believe that there really is a charm worth trying for in ‘whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are holy,’ or even ‘of good report.’ Thus, and thus only, we may hope for the gradual purifying of the stage, and the raising into the goodly company of true artists those whom some of us are prone to condemn or ignore as ‘merely players.’

D. M. CRAIK,

*The Author of ‘John Halifax, Gentleman.’*

## EGYPTIAN DIVINE MYTHS.

ANCIENT EGYPT is one of the battle grounds in the long quarrel as to the origin and the nature of early religion. Did religion arise from an instinctive tendency of human nature, from an innate yearning after the Infinite, and were its primal forms comparatively pure, though later corrupted into animal worship, fetichism, and the cult of ghosts? Or did religion arise from certain inevitable mistakes of the undeveloped intellect—did it spring from ghost worship, magic, and totemism, that is, the adoration of certain objects and animals believed to be related to each separate stock or blood-kindred of human beings? These, roughly, are the main questions in the controversy; and perhaps they cannot be answered, or at least they cannot be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no.' Complete historical evidence is out of the question. We are acquainted with no race of men who were not more or less religious long before we first encounter them in actual experience or in history. Probably a close examination would prove that in even the most backward peoples religion contains a pure and spiritual element, as well as an element of unreason, of magic, of wild superstition. Which element is the earlier, or may they not have co-existed from the first? In the absence of historical evidence, we can only try to keep the two factors in myth and religion distinct, and examine them as they occur in different stages of civilisation. When we look at the religion and myths of Egypt, we find both elements, as will be shown, co-existing, and both full of force and vitality. The problem is to determine whether, on the whole, the monstrous beast-worships are old or comparatively late; whether they date from the delusions of savagery, or are the result of a system of symbols invented by the priesthoods. Again, as to the rational element of Egyptian religion, is *that*, on the whole, the result of late philosophical speculation, or is it an original and primitive feature of Egyptian theology?

In the following sketch the attempt is made to show that, whatever myth and religion may have been in their undiscovered origins, the purer factor in Egyptian creeds is, to some extent, late and philosophical, while the wild irrational factor is, on the whole, the bequest of an indefinitely remote age of barbaric usages and institutions. The Fathers of the Christian Church were decidedly of this opinion.

They had no doubt that the heathen were polytheists, and that their polytheism was either due to the wiles of the devil, or to survival of ancestor worship, or simply to the darkness and folly of fallen man in his early barbarism. Mr. Le Page Renouf (in his *Hibbert Lectures*), Dr. Brugsch, M. Pierret, and the late Vicomte de Rougé (an illustrious authority) maintain, against the Fathers and against M. Maspero and Professor Lieblein, of Christiania, the hypothesis that the bestial gods and absurd myths of Egypt are *degradations*. In this essay we naturally side with Professor Lieblein and M. Maspero.<sup>1</sup> We think that the worship of beasts was, in the majority of cases, a direct animal worship, and a continuation of familiar and world-wide savage practices. Mr. Le Page Renouf and M. Pierret, on the other hand, hold that this cult was a symbolical adoration of certain attributes of divinity, a theory maintained by the later Egyptians, and by foreign observers, such as Plutarch and Porphyry.<sup>2</sup> It is not denied on one side that many and multifarious gods were adored, nor, on the other side, that monotheistic and pantheistic beliefs prevailed to some extent at a very remote period. But the question is, Are the many and multifarious gods degradations of a pure monotheistic conception? or does the pure monotheistic conception represent the thought of a later period than that which saw the rise of gods in the form of beasts?

Here it is perhaps impossible to give at once a decided and definite answer.

There is nothing to tell us what the gods were at their *début*, nor whether the Egyptians brought them from their original seats, or saw their birth by Nile-side. When we first meet them their shapes have been profoundly modified in the course of ages, and do not present all the features of their original condition.<sup>3</sup>

Among the most backward peoples now on earth there are traces of a religious belief in a moral ruler of the world. That belief, however, is buried under a mythology in which, according to the laws of savage fancy, animals take the leading rôles. In the same way the religious speculation of early Egypt was acquainted with 'a Power without a name or any mythological characteristic.'<sup>4</sup> 'For some obscure reason, monotheistic ideas made way very early into Egypt.'<sup>5</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> M. Lefébure (*Les yeux d'Horus*, p. 5) remarks that Egyptian religion is already fixed in the earliest texts, and that, thanks to a conservatism like that of China, it never altered. But even China is not so conservative as people suppose, and that there were many reformations and changes of every kind in the long history of Egyptian religion is plain even on M. Lefébure's own showing.

<sup>2</sup> See Brugsch's idea that the crocodile was worshipped as an emblem of the sun arising from the waters (*Rel. and Myth.* pp. 104, 105). Meanwhile M. Lefébure thinks that the crocodile is not the rising sun but a personification of the west, which swallows the setting stars (*Osiris*, 105). The Egyptians, like most savages, had a Nature-Myth explaining that the stars, when they became invisible, were swallowed by a beast.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero, *Hist. de l'Orient*, 4th edition, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Le Page Renouf, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Maspero, *Rev. de l'Hist.* i. 125 (1st edition).

the same time, the worship of Egypt and the myths of Egypt were early directed to, and were peopled by, a wilderness of monkeys, jackals, bulls, geese, rams, and beasts in general. Now it may be, and probably is, impossible for us to say whether the conception of an invisible being who punishes wickedness and answers prayers (a conception held even by the forlorn Fuegians and Bushmen) is earlier or later than totemism and the myths of animals. In the same way, it is impossible to say whether the Egyptian belief in an all-creating and surveying power—Osiris, or Ra, or Horus—is, in some form or other, prior to, or posterior to, the cult of bulls and rams and crocodiles. But it is not impossible for us to discern and divide those portions of myth and cult which the Egyptians had in common with Australian and American and Polynesian and African tribes, from those litanies of a purer and nobler style which are only found among civilised and reflective peoples.<sup>6</sup> Having once made this division, it will be natural and plausible to hold that the animal gods and wild myths are survivals of the fancies of savagery, to which they exactly correspond, rather than priestly symbolisms and modes of worshipping pure attributes of the divine nature, though it was in this light that they were regarded by the schools of esoteric theology in Egypt.

The peculiarity of Egypt, in religion and myth as in every other institution, is the retention of the very rudest and most barbarous things, side by side with the last refinements of civilisation. The existence of this conservatism (by which we profess to explain the Egyptian myths and worship) is illustrated, in another field, by the arts of everyday life, and by the testimony of the sepulchres of Thebes. M. Passalacqua, in some excavations at Quoarnah, struck on the common cemetery of the ancient city of Thebes. Here he found 'the mummy of a hunter, with a wooden bow and twelve arrows, the shaft made of reed, the points of hardened wood tipped with edged flints. Hard by lay jewels belonging to the mummy of a young woman, pins with ornamental heads, necklaces of gold and lapis lazuli, gold earrings, scarabs of gold, bracelets of gold,' and so forth.<sup>7</sup> The refined art of the gold-worker was contemporary, and this at a late period, with the use of flint-headed arrows, the weapons commonly found all over the world in places where the metals have never penetrated. Again, a razor-shaped knife of flint has been unearthed; it is inscribed in hieroglyphics with the words, 'The great Sam, son of Ptaḥ, chief of artists.' The 'Sams' were members of the priestly class, who fulfilled certain mystic duties at funerals. It is reported, by Herodotus, that the embalmers opened the bodies of the dead with a knife of stone; and the discovery of such a knife, though it had not

<sup>6</sup> See a collection of lofty and beautiful Egyptian monotheistic texts in Brugsch (*Rel. und Myth.* pp. 96, 99).

<sup>7</sup> Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, p. 390.



belonged to an embalmer, proves that in Egypt the stone age did not disappear, but coexisted throughout with the arts of metal-working. It is certain that flint chisels and stone hammers were used by the workers of the mines in Sinai, even under Dynasties XII., XIX. The soil of Egypt, when excavated, constantly shows that the Egyptians, who in the remote age of the pyramid builders were already acquainted with bronze, and even with iron, did not therefore relinquish the use of flint knives and arrow-heads, when such implements became cheaper than tools of metal, or when they were associated with religion. Precisely in the same way did the Egyptians, who, in the remotest known times, had imposing religious ideas, decline to relinquish the totems, and beast-gods, and absurd or blasphemous myths which (like flint axes and arrow-heads) are everywhere characteristic of savages.

Our business, then, is to discern and exhibit apart, so to speak, the metal age and the stone age, the savage and the cultivated practices and ideas, which make up the pell-mell of Egyptian mythology. As a preliminary to this task, we must rapidly survey the history of Egypt, as far as it affected the religious development.

The ancient Egyptians appear to be connected, by race, with the peoples of Western Asia, and are styled, correctly or not, 'Proto-Semitic.'<sup>6</sup> When they first invaded Egypt, at some period quite dim and inconceivably distant, they are said to have driven an earlier stock into the interior. The new comers, the ancestors of the Egyptians, were in the *tribal* state of society, and the various tribes established themselves in local and independent settlements, which (as the original villages of Greece were collected into city states) were finally gathered together (under Menes, a real or mythical hero) as portions, styled 'nomes,' of an empire. Each tribal state retained its peculiar religion, a point of great importance in this discussion. In the empire thus formed, different towns, at different times, reached the rank of secular, and, to some extent, of spiritual capitals. Thebes, for example,<sup>7</sup> was so ancient that it was regarded as the native land of Osiris, the great mythical figure of Egypt. More ancient as a capital was This, or Abydos, the Holy City *par excellence*. Memphis, again, was, in religion, the metropolis of the god Ptah, as Thebes was of the god Ammon. Each sacred metropolis, as it came to power, united in a kind of pantheon the gods of the various *nomes* (that is, the old tribal deities), while the god of the metropolis itself was a sort of Bretwalda among them, and even absorbed into himself their powers and peculiarities. Similar examples of aggregates of

<sup>6</sup> Maspero, *Hist. de l'Orient*, p. 17. Other authorities regard the Egyptians as a successful race, sprung from the same African stock as the extremely unsuccessful Bushmen.

<sup>7</sup> XI.-XX. Dynasties.

village or tribal religions in a State religion are familiar in Peru, and meet us in Greece.<sup>10</sup>

Of what nature, then, were the gods of the nomes, the old tribal gods? On this question we have evidence of two sorts: first, we have the evidence of monuments and inscriptions from many of the periods; next we have the evidence, in much more minute detail, of foreign observers, from Herodotus to Plutarch and Porphyry. Let us first see what the monuments have to say about the tribal gods, and the divine groups of the various towns and of each metropolis. Summaries may be borrowed from M. Maspero, head of the Egyptian Museums, and from Mr. Flinders Petrie, the discoverer of Naucratis. According to these authorities, the early shapes of gods among the Egyptians, as among Bushmen and Australians and Algonkins, are *bestial*. M. Maspero writes,<sup>11</sup> 'The essential fact in the religion of Egypt is the existence of a considerable number of divine personages of different shapes and different names. M. Pierret may call this "an apparent polytheism."<sup>12</sup> I call it a polytheism extremely well marked. . . . The bestial shapes in which the gods were clad had no allegorical character, they denote that straightforward worship of the lower animals which is found in many religions, ancient and modern. . . . It is possible, nay it is certain, that during the second Theban Empire (1700-1300 B.C.) the learned priests may have thought it well to attribute a symbolical sense to certain bestial deities. But, whatever *they* may have worshipped in Thoth-Ibis, it was a bird, and not a hieroglyph, that the first worshippers of the ibis adored.<sup>13</sup> The bull Hapi was a god-bull long before he became a bull which was the symbol of a god, and it would not surprise me if the onion-god that the Roman satirists mocked at really existed.'<sup>14</sup> M. Maspero

<sup>10</sup> Maspero, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* i. 126. 'The unity of political power which, despite the original feudal organisation of the country, had existed since Menes, brought with it the unity of religion. The schools of theology in Sais, Heliopolis, Memphis, Abydos, Thebes, produced, perhaps unconsciously, a kind of syncretism into which they fused or forced all the scattered beliefs.'

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* i. 120.

<sup>12</sup> Pierret, *Essai sur la Mythologie Egyptienne*, p. 6. 'Polythéiste en apparence, la religion Egyptienne était essentiellement monothéiste.' M. Pierret explains the divine animals thus: these creatures, employed as symbols, became sacred for no other reason than because they had the honour to be used as vestments of religious thought (*Le Panthéon Egyptien*, p. vi).

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Le Page Renouf, on the other hand (*Hib. Lect.* p. 116), clings to the belief that the ibis-god sprang from a misunderstanding of words, a kind of *calambour* or pun.

<sup>14</sup> When we hear of *the one god* he is only the god of the town, or nome, and does not exclude *the one god* of the neighbours. 'The conception of his unity is, therefore, at least as much geographical and political as religious. Ra, *the one god* at Heliopolis, is not the same as Ammon, *the one god* at Thebes. . . . The unity of each of these one gods, absolute as it might be in his own country, did not exclude the reality of the other gods. . . . Each *one god*, therefore, imagined in this way, is only the *one god* of his town, or nome, *noutir nouiti*, and not a national god, recognised by the whole country.' (*Hist. de l'Orient*, p. 27.)

goes on to remark that so far as it is possible to speak of one god in ancient Egypt, that god was, in each case, 'nothing but the god of each nome or town.' M. Mayer is resolute in the same opinion. 'These sentiments (of reverence for beasts) are naturally no expression of a dim feeling of the unity of godhead, of a "primitive henotheism," as has so often been asserted, but of the exact opposite.'<sup>15</sup> The same view is taken by MM. Chipiez and Perrot. 'Later theology has succeeded in giving more or less plausible explanations of the animal gods. Each of them has been assigned as a symbol or attribute to one of the greater deities. As for ourselves, we have no doubt that these objects of popular devotion were no more than ancient fetishes.'<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile it is universally acknowledged, it is asserted by Mr. Le Page Renouf, as well as by M. Maspero, that 'the Egyptian religion comprehends a quantity of local worships.'<sup>17</sup>

M. Maspero next describes the earliest religious texts and testimonies. 'During the Ancient Empire I only find monuments at four points—at Memphis, at Abydos, and in some parts of Middle Egypt, at Sinai, and in the valley of Hammamat. The divine names appear but occasionally, in certain unvaried formulæ. Under Dynasties XI. and XII. Lower Egypt comes on the scene; the formulæ are more explicit, but the religious monuments rare. From the eighteenth century onwards, we have *representations* of all the deities' (previously only named, not pictured), 'accompanied by legends, more or less developed, and we begin to discover books of ritual, hymns, amulets, and other materials.'<sup>18</sup>

What, then, are the earliest gods of the monuments, the gods which were local, and had once probably been tribal gods? Mr. Flinders Petrie<sup>19</sup> observes that Egyptian art is first *native*, then *Semitic*, then *renaissance* or *revival*. In the earliest period, till Dynasty XII. *native* art prevails, and in this earliest art the gods are invariably portrayed as beasts. 'The gods, when mentioned, are always represented by their animals' (M. Maspero says that the animals were the gods) 'or with the name spelt out in hieroglyphs, often beside the beast or bird. The jackal stands for Anup' (M. Maspero would apparently say that Anup *is* the jackal), 'the frog for Hekt, the baboon for Tahuti; . . . it is not till after Semitic influence had begun to work in the country that any figures of gods are found.' Under Dynasty XII. the gods that had previously been represented in art as beasts appear in their later shapes, often half anthropomorphic, half zoomorphic, dog-headed, cat-headed, hawk-headed, bull-headed men and women. These figures are probably derived from those of the priests, half draped in the hides of the animals to which they ministered. Compare the Aztec pictures.

<sup>15</sup> *Geschichte des Alterthums*, p. 72.

<sup>16</sup> *Egyptian Art*, English translation, i. 54. The word 'fetish' is here very loosely employed.

<sup>17</sup> *Hib. Lect.* p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* i. 124.

<sup>19</sup> *The Arts of Ancient Egypt*, p. 8.

It is now set forth, first, that the earliest gods capable of being represented in art were *local* (that is originally *tribal*), and, second, that these gods were beasts.<sup>20</sup> How, then, is this phenomenon to be explained? MM. Pierret and Le Page Renouf, as we have seen, take the old view of the Egyptian priests that the 'beast-gods are mere symbols of the attributes of divinity. MM. Chipiez and Perrot regard the beast-gods as 'fetishes,' and suppose that the domestic animals were originally worshipped out of gratitude.<sup>21</sup> But who could be grateful to a frog or a jackal? As to the *fact*, their opinion is explicit: 'the worship of the hawk, the vulture, and the ibis had preceded by many centuries that of the gods who correspond to the personages of the Hellenic pantheon,' such as Dionysus and Apollo. 'The doctrines of emanation and incarnation permitted theology to explain and accept these things.' Our own explanation will have been anticipated. The totems, or ancestral sacred plants and animals of groups of the original savage *kindreds*, have survived in religion as the sacred plants (garlic, for example) and animals of Egyptian towns and nomes.<sup>22</sup>

Here we are fortunate enough to have the support of Professor Sayce.<sup>23</sup> He remarks:—

These animal forms, in which a later myth saw the shapes assumed by the affrighted gods during the great war between Horus and Typhon, take us back to a remote prehistoric age, when the religious creed of Egypt was still totemism. They are survivals from a long-forgotten past, and prove that Egyptian civilisation was of slow and independent growth, the latest stage only of which is revealed to us by the monuments. Apis of Memphis, Mnevis of Heliopolis, and Pacis of Hermonthis, are all links that bind together the Egypt of the Pharaohs and the Egypt of the stone age. They were the sacred animals of the clans which first settled in these localities, and their identification with the deities of the official religion must have been a slow process, never fully carried out, in fact, in the minds of the lower classes.<sup>24</sup>

Thus it appears that, after all, even on philological showing, the religions and myths of a civilised people may be illustrated by the religions and myths of savages. It is purely through study of savage totemism that an explanation has been found of the singular Egyptian practices which puzzled the Greeks and Romans, and the Egyptians themselves.<sup>25</sup> The inhabitants of each district worshipped a particular sacred animal, and abstained from its flesh (except on rare occasions of ritual solemnity), while each set of people ate with-

<sup>20</sup> Beasts also appear in the chronological roll of the earliest kings. Turin papyrus (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, Engl. transl. p. 32).

<sup>21</sup> Chipiez and Perrot, i. 64.

<sup>22</sup> Eusebius quotes from Alexander Polyhistor an absurd story that Moses founded a town, and selected the ibis for its protecting animal (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 432).

<sup>23</sup> Herodotus, p. 344.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 344.

<sup>25</sup> Mr. Le Page Renouf ridicules, in the *Hibbert Lectures*, this discovery of Mr. McLennan's, whose original sketch of his ideas was certainly hasty, and not well documented.

out scruple the animal or vegetable gods of their neighbours.<sup>28</sup> Thus the people of Mendes sacrificed sheep and abstained from goats, while the Thebans sacrificed goats and abstained from sheep.<sup>29</sup> To explain this, Herodotus repeats a 'sacred chapter' of peculiar folly. Ammon once clad himself in a ram's skin, and so revealed himself to Heracles, therefore rams are sacred. But on one day of the year the Thebans sacrifice a ram, and clothe the statue of Ammon in its hide, thereby making the god simulate the beast, as in the totem dances of the Red Indians. They then lament for the ram, and bury his body in a sacred sepulchre.<sup>30</sup> In the same way the crocodile was worshipped at Ombos (just as it is by the 'men of the crocodile,' or men of the cayman, among Bonis in South America and Bechuanas in South Africa), but was destroyed elsewhere. The yearly sacrifice and lamentation for the ram is well illustrated by the practice of the Californian Indians, who adore the buzzard, but sacrifice a buzzard with sorrow and groanings once a year. In the same way the Egyptians sacrificed a sow to Osiris once a year, and tasted pork on that occasion only.<sup>31</sup> Thus it seems scarcely possible to deny the early and prolonged existence of totemistic practices in Egyptian religion. We have not yet seen, however, that the people who would not eat this or that animal actually claimed to be of the stock or lineage of the animal. But Dr. Birch points out<sup>32</sup> that 'the Theban kings were called sons of Amen, of the blood or substance of the god, and were supposed to be the direct descendants of that deity,' who was, more or less, a ram. Thus it seems that the Theban royal house were originally of the blood of the sheep and claimed descent from the animal. Other evidence as to the totemism of Egypt may be found in Plutarch, Athenæus, Juvenal, and generally in ancient literature.<sup>33</sup> Thus it remains certain, however and whenever the practice was in-

<sup>28</sup> Herodotus, ii. 42.

<sup>29</sup> Compare Robertson Smith on 'Sacrifice,' *Encyc. Brit.*

<sup>30</sup> Herodotus, ii. 42. 'All the folk of the Theban nome abstain from sheep and sacrifice goats.' 'The sacred animals or totems of one district were not sacred in another.' (Sayce's note.)

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus, ii. 47; Lefébure, *Les Yeux*, p. 44; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 8; Bancroft, iii. 108; Robinson's *Life in California*, 241, 303.

<sup>32</sup> Wilkinson, edit. of 1878, ii. 475, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> *De Is. et Os.* 71, 72; *Athen. Deip.* vii. 239; Juvenal, xv. Plutarch says: 'Even at the present day the people of Wolf-town (Lycopolis) are the only Egyptians that eat the sheep, because the wolf, whom they worship, does the same, and the fish-folk of Oxyrhynchus, when the people of Dog-town were eating that fish, collected dogs and sacrificed them, and ate them as victims,' whence a civil war began. The reader must remember that it would be most hazardous to interpret every bestial form in Egyptian religion as originally a totem. When animal forms were used as hieroglyphs they might readily become attached to divine figures and legends, with no totemistic reference or intention. A number of facts must combine before totemistic character can be demonstrated. Among these facts is the exclusive attachment to, and refusal (except on sacramental occasions) to taste the flesh of the one beast who is worshipped, combined with a belief in descent from or close mystic connection with him.

troduced, that the cat, the goat, the wolf, the sheep, the crocodile, were worshipped by local communities in Egypt, and that, in each district, the flesh of the local sacred animal might not be eaten by his fellow-townsmen. If, then, we find animals so powerful in Egyptian religion and myth, we need not look further, but may explain the whole set of beliefs and rites—the local beast-gods, not eaten by their worshippers, but eaten by the people of other nomes—as a survival of totemism. Or will it be maintained that totemism among the lowest races of Australia, America, Asia, and Africa, sprang from a priestly habit of worshipping the attributes of God under bestial disguises? Among other defects, this theory does not account for the local or tribal character of the creed. If the sheep typifies divine longsuffering, and the wolf divine justice, why were people of one nome so fiercely attached to justice, and so violently opposed to mercy?

The beast-gods of Egypt were the laughing-stock of Greeks, Romans, and Christians like Clemens of Alexandria and Arnobius. Their prevalence proves that a savage element entered into Egyptian religion. But the savage element in its rudest form is only part, though perhaps the most striking part, of the creeds of Egypt. Anthropomorphic and monotheistic conceptions are also present, forces and phenomena of nature are adored and looked on as persons, while the dead are gods, in a sense, and receive offerings and sacrifice. It is true that all these factors are so blended in the witch's cauldron of fable that the anthropomorphic gods are constantly said to assume animal shape: that the deity, at any moment addressed as one and supreme, is at the next shown to be but an individual in a divine multitude; while the very powers and phenomena of nature are often held to be bestial or human in their shapes. Various historical influences are at work in the growth of all this body of myth and observance.

It is certain that many even of the lowest races retain, side by side with the most insane fables, a sense of a moral Being, who watches men, and 'makes for righteousness.'

This sense is not lacking in Egyptian religion, and expresses itself in the hymns and prayers for moral help and for the pardon of sin, and in the Myth of the Destruction of Mankind by the wrath of Ra. Once more, as a feeling of national unity grew up, the common features of the various tribal deities were blended in one divine conception, and various one-gods were recognised, just as in Samoa<sup>22</sup> one god is incarnate in many beasts. We have the sun-crocodile, Sebek-Ra, the sun-ram, Ammon-Ra, just as in Samoa we have the war-god owl, the war-god rail-bird, the war-god mullet, and so forth. The worship of the Pharaoh of the day was also a cult in which all could unite. The learned fancy of priests and theologians was busy at the task of reconciling creeds apparently diverse or opposed.

<sup>22</sup> Turner's Samoa.

In the complex mass of official and departmental gods three main classes may be more or less clearly discerned, though even these classes constantly overlap and merge in each other. Adopting the system of M. Maspero,<sup>33</sup> we distinguish—

- (1) The Gods of Death and the Dead.
- (2) The Elemental Gods.
- (3) The Solar Gods.

But though for practical purposes we may take this division, it must be remembered that, from the religion of the Eighteenth and later Dynasties down to the Greek period, any god may, at any moment, appear in any one of the three categories, as theological dogma, or local usage, or poetic predilection may determine.

The fact is that the Egyptian mind, when turned to divine matters, was constantly working on, and working over, the primeval stuff of all mythologies, the belief in 'a strange and powerful race, supposed to have been busy on earth before the making, or the evolution, or the emergence of man.' The Egyptians inherited a number of legends of extra-natural heroes like the savage Qat, Cagn, Yehl, Pundjel, Ioskeha, and Quahteht, like the Maori Tutenganahau and the South Sea Tangaroa. Some of these were elemental forces, personified in human or bestial guise; some were merely idealised medicine-men, or even actual men credited with magical gifts and powers. Their 'wanderings, rapes, and manslaughters, and mutilations,' as Plutarch says, remained permanently in legend. When these beings, in the advance of thought, had obtained divine attributes, and when the conception of abstract divinity had become pure and lofty, the old legends became so many stumbling-blocks to the faithful. They were explained away as allegories (every student having his own allegorical system), or the extra-natural beings were taken (as by Plutarch) to be 'demons, not gods.'

A brief and summary account of the chief figures in the Egyptian pantheon will make it sufficiently plain that this is the true account of the gods of Egypt, and the true interpretation of their adventures.

Returning to the classification proposed by M. Maspero, and remembering the limitations under which it holds good, we find that—

(1) The Gods of Death and the Dead were Sokari, Isis and Osiris, the young Horus, and Nephtys.<sup>34</sup>

(2) The Elemental Gods were Seb and Nut, of whom Seb is the earth, and Nut the heavens. These two, like heaven and earth in almost all mythologies, are represented as the parents of many of the gods. The other elemental deities are but obscurely known.

<sup>33</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 125.

<sup>34</sup> Their special relations to the souls of the departed is matter for a separate discussion.

(3) Among solar deities are recognised Ra, Ammon, and others, but there was a strong tendency to identify each of the gods with the sun, especially to identify Osiris with the sun in his nightly absence.<sup>35</sup> Each god, again, was apt to be blended with one or more of the sacred animals. 'Ra, in his transformations, assumed the form of the lion, cat, and hawk.'<sup>36</sup> In different nomes and towns, it either happened that the same gods had different names, or that analogies were recognised between different local gods, in which case the names were often combined, as in Ammon-Ra, Souk-Ra, Ptah, Sokar, Osiris, and so forth.

Athwart all these categories and compounds of gods, and athwart the theological attempt at constructing a monotheism out of contradictory materials, came that ancient idea of dualism which exists in the myths of the most backward peoples. As Pundjel in Australia had his enemy, the crow, as in America Yehi had his Khanukh, as Ioſkeha had his Tawiscara, so the gods of Egypt, and specially Osiris, have their Set or Typhon, the spirit who constantly resists and destroys.

The great Egyptian myth, the myth of Osiris, turns on the antagonism of Osiris and Set, and the persistence of the blood-feud between Set and the kindred of Osiris.<sup>37</sup> To narrate, and as far as possible elucidate, this myth is the chief task of the student of Egyptian mythology.

Though the Osiris myth, according to Mr. Le Page Renouf, is 'as old as Egyptian civilisation,' and though M. Maspero finds the Osiris myth in all its details under the first dynasties, our accounts of it are by no means so early.<sup>38</sup> They are mainly allusive, without

<sup>35</sup> 'The Gods of the Dead and the Elemental Gods were almost all identified with the Sun, for the purpose of blending them in a theistic unity' (Maspero, *Rec. de l'Hist. des Rel.* i. 126).

<sup>36</sup> Wilkinson, iii. 59.

<sup>37</sup> Herodotus, ii. 144.

<sup>38</sup> The principal native documents are: the Harris Papyrus of the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty, translated by M. Chabas (*Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 137); the Papyrus of Nebseui (Seventeenth Dynasty), translated by M. Naville, and in *Records of Past*, x. 159; the Hymn to Osiris, on a stele (Eighteenth Dynasty), translated by M. Chabas (*Rec. Archéol.* 1857; *Records of Past*, iv. 99); 'The Book of Respirations,' mythically said to have been made by Isis to restore Osiris, a 'Book of the Breath of Life' (the papyrus is probably of the time of the Ptolemies—*Records of Past*, iv. 119); 'The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys,' translated by M. de Horrack (*Records of Past*, ii. 117). There is also 'The Book of the Dead,' of which many editions exist in French and German: that of M. Pierret (Paris, 1832) is convenient in shape. M. de Naville's new edition is elaborate and costly. Sarcophagi and royal tombs (Champollion) also contain many representations of the incidents in the myth. 'The myth of Osiris in its details, the laying out of his body by his wife Isis and his sister Nephthys, the reconstruction of his limbs, his mythical chest, and other incidents connected with his myth, are (sic) represented in detail in the temple of Philæ' (Birch, ap. Wilkinson, iii. 64). The reverent awe of Herodotus prevents him from describing the mystery play on the sufferings of Osiris, which he says was acted at Sais, ii. 171, and ii. 61, 67, 86. Probably the clearest and most consecutive modern account of the Osiris myth is given by M. Lefébure, in *Les Yeux d'Horus and Osiris*. M. Lefébure's translations are followed in the text; he is not,



any connected narrative. Fortunately the narrative, as related by the priests of his own time, is given by Plutarch, and is confirmed both by the Egyptian texts and by the mysterious hints of the pious Herodotus. Here we follow the myth as reported by Plutarch and illustrated by the monuments.

The reader must, for the moment, clear his mind of all the many theories of the meaning of the myth, and must forget the lofty, divine, and mystical functions attributed by Egyptian theologians and Egyptian sacred usage to Osiris. He must read the story simply as a story, and he will be struck with its amazing resemblances to the legends about their culture heroes which are current among the lowest races of America and Africa.

Seb and Nut—earth and heaven—were husband and wife, or, as Plutarch put it, the Sun detected them in adultery. In Plutarch's version, the Sun cursed Nut that she should have no child in month or year; but, thanks to the cleverness of a new divine co-respondent, five days were added to the calendar. This is clearly a later addition to the fable. On the first of those days Osiris was born, then Typhon, or Set, 'neither in due time, nor in the right place, but breaking through with a blow, he leaped out from his mother's side.'<sup>39</sup> Isis and Nephtys were later-born sisters.

The Plutarchian myth next describes the conduct of Osiris as a 'culture hero.' He instituted laws, taught agriculture, instructed the Egyptians in the ritual of worship, and won them from 'their destitute and bestial mode of living.' After civilising Egypt, he travelled over the world, like the Greek Dionysus, whom he so closely resembles in some portions of his legend that Herodotus supposed the Dionysian myth to have been imported from Egypt.<sup>40</sup> In the absence of Osiris, his evil brother, Typhon, kept quiet. But, on the hero's return, Typhon laid an ambush against him, like

however, responsible for our treatment of the myth. The Ptolemaic version of the temple of Edfon is published by M. Naville, *Mythe d'Horus* (Geneva, 1870).

<sup>39</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, xii. It is a most curious coincidence that the same story is told of Indra in the Rig Veda, iv. 18. 1. 'This is the old and well-known path by which all the gods were born: thou mayst not, by other means, bring thy mother unto death.' Indra replies, 'I will not go out thence; that is a dangerous way; right through the side will I burst.' Compare (Leland, *Algonquin Legends*, p. 16) the birth of the Algonquin Typhon, the evil Malsumis, the wolf. 'Glooskap said, "I will be born as others are." But the evil Malsumis thought himself too great to be brought forth in such a manner, and declared that he would burst through his mother's side. Mr. Leland's note, containing a Buddhist and an Armenian parallel, but referring neither to Indra nor Typhon, shows the *bona fides* of the Algonquin report.

<sup>40</sup> 'Osiris is Dionysus in the tongue of Hellas' (Herodotus, ii. 144, ii. 48). 'Most of the details of the mystery of Osiris, as practised by the Egyptians, resemble the Dionysus mysteries of Greece. . . . Methinks that Melampus, Amythaon's son, was well seen in this knowledge, for it was Melampus that brought among the Greeks the name and rites and phallic procession of 'Dionysus.' (Compare *De Is. et Os.* xxiv.) The coincidences are probably not to be explained by borrowing; many of them are found in America.

*Ægistheus* against *Menelaus*. He had a decorated coffer (mummy case?) made of the exact length of *Osiris*, and offered this as a present to any one whom it would fit. At a banquet all the guests tried it; but when *Osiris* lay down in it the lid was closed, and fastened with nails and melted lead. The coffer, *Osiris* and all, was then thrown into the Nile. *Isis*, arrayed in mourning robes like the wandering *Demeter*, sought *Osiris* everywhere lamenting, and found the chest at last in an *erica* tree that entirely covered it. After an adventure like that of *Demeter* with *Triptolemus*, *Isis* obtained the chest. During her absence *Typhon* lighted on it as he was hunting by moonlight; he tore the corpse of *Osiris* into fourteen pieces, and scattered them abroad. *Isis* sought for the mangled remnants, and, whenever she found one, buried it, each tomb being thenceforth recognised as 'a grave of *Osiris*.' It is a plausible suggestion that, if graves of *Osiris* were once as common in Egypt as cairns of *Heitai Eibib* are in Namaqualand to-day, the existence of many tombs of one being may be explained as tombs of his scattered members, and the myth of the dismembering may have no other foundation. On the other hand, it must be noticed that a swine was sacrificed to *Osiris* at the full moon, and it was in the form of a black swine that *Typhon* assailed *Horus*, the son of *Osiris*, whose myth is a *doublure* or *replica*, in some respects, of the *Osirian* myth itself.<sup>41</sup> We may conjecture, then, that the fourteen portions into which the body of *Osiris* was rent may stand for the fourteen days of the waning moon.<sup>42</sup> It is well known that the phases of the moon and lunar eclipses are almost invariably accounted for in savage science by the attacks of a beast—dog, pig, dragon, or what not—on the heavenly body. Either of these hypotheses (the Egyptians adopted the latter<sup>43</sup>) is consistent with the character of early myth, but both are merely tentative suggestions.<sup>44</sup> The phallus of *Osiris* was not recovered, and the totemistic habit which made the people of three different districts abstain from three different fish—*lepidotus*, *phagrus*, and *oxyrhyncus*—was accounted for by the legend that these fish had devoured the missing portion of the hero's body.

So far the power of evil, the black swine *Typhon*, had been triumphant. But the blood-feud was handed on to *Horus*, son of *Isis* and *Osiris*. To spur *Horus* on to battle, *Osiris* returned from the dead, like *Hamlet's* father. But, as is usual with the ghosts of savage myth, *Osiris* returned, not in human but in bestial form, as a wolf.<sup>45</sup> *Horus* was victorious in the war which followed, and

<sup>41</sup> In the Edfou monuments *Set* is slain and dismembered in the shape of a red hippopotamus (Neville, *Mythe d'Horus*, p. 7).

<sup>42</sup> The fragments of *Osiris* were sixteen, according to the texts of Denderah, one for each nome. <sup>43</sup> *De Is. et Os.* xxxv.

<sup>44</sup> Compare Lettbrun, *Les Yeux d'Horus*, pp. 47, 48.

<sup>45</sup> Wicked squires in Shropshire (Miss Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*) 'come' as bulls. *Osiris*, in the Mendes nome, 'came' as a ram (Mariette, *Denderah*, iv. 78).

handed Typhon over bound in chains to Isis. Unluckily Isis let him go free, whereon Horus pushed off her crown and placed a bull's skull on her head.

There Plutarch ends, but<sup>46</sup> he expressly declines to tell the more blasphemous parts of the story, such as 'the dismemberment of Horus and the beheading of Isis.' Why these myths should be considered 'more blasphemous' than the rest does not appear.

It will probably be admitted that nothing in this sacred story would seem out of place if we found it in the legends of Pundjel, or Cagn, or Yehl, among Australians, Bushmen, or Utes, whose own 'culture hero,' like the ghost of Osiris, was a wolf. The dismembering of Osiris in particular resembles the dismembering of many other heroes in American myth; for example, of Chokanipok, out of whom were made vines and flint-stones. Objects in the mineral and vegetable world were explained in Egypt as transformed parts, or humours, of Osiris, Typhon, and other heroes.<sup>47</sup>

Once more, though the Egyptian gods are buried here, and are immortal in heaven, they have also, like the heroes of Eskimo and Australians, and Indians of the Amazon, been transformed into stars, and the priests could tell which star was Osiris, which was Isis, and which was Typhon.<sup>48</sup> Such are the wild inconsistencies which Egyptian religion shares with the fables of the lowest races. In view of these facts it is difficult to agree with Brugsch<sup>49</sup> that 'from the root and trunk of a pure conception of deity spring the boughs and twigs of a tree of myth, whose leaves spread into a rank impenetrable luxuriance.' Stories like the Osiris myth, stories found all over the whole world, spring from no pure religious source, but embody the delusions and fantastic dreams of the lowest and least developed human fancy and human speculation.

The references to the myth in papyri and on the monuments, though obscure and fragmentary, confirm the narrative of Plutarch. The coffer in which Osiris foolishly ventured himself seems to be alluded to in the Harris Magical Papyrus.<sup>50</sup> 'Get made for me a shrine of eight cubits. Then it was told to thee, () man of seven cubits, how canst thou enter it? And it had been made for thee, and thou hast reposed in it.' Here, too, Isis magically stops the mouths of the Nile, perhaps to prevent the coffer from floating out to sea. More to the point is one of the original 'Osirian hymns' mentioned by Plutarch.<sup>51</sup> The hymn is on a stele, and is attributed by M. Chabas, the translator, to the seven-

<sup>46</sup> *De Is. et Os. xx.*

<sup>47</sup> Magical Text, Nineteenth Dynasty, translated by Dr. Birch; *Records of Past*, vi, 115; Lefébure, *Osiris*, pp. 100, 113, 124, 203; *Livre des Morts*, chapter xvii.; *Records of Past*, x, 84.

<sup>48</sup> *Custom and Myth*, 'Star Myths'; De Bougé, *Nouv. Not.* p. 197; Lefébure, *Osiris*, p. 213.

<sup>49</sup> *Religion and Mythologie*, p. 99.

<sup>50</sup> *Records of Past*, x, 154.

<sup>51</sup> *De Is. et Os. 211.*

teenth century.<sup>52</sup> Osiris is addressed as the joy and glory of his parents, Seb and Nou, who overcomes his enemy. His sister, Isis, accords to him due funeral rites after his death, and routs his foes. Without ceasing, without resting, she sought his dead body, and wailing did she wander round the world, nor stopped till she found him. Light flashed from her feathers.<sup>53</sup> Horus, her son, is king of the world.

Such is a *précis* of the mythical part of the hymn. The rest regards Osiris in his religious capacity as a sovereign of nature, and as the guide and protector of the dead. The hymn corroborates, as far as it goes, the narrative of Plutarch, two thousand years later. Similar confirmation is given by 'The Lamentations of Isis and Nephtys,' a papyrus found within a statue of Osiris, in Thebes. The sisters wail for the dead hero, and implore him to 'come to his own abode.' The theory of the birth of Horus, here, is that he was formed out of the scattered members of Osiris, an hypothesis, of course, inconsistent with the other myths (especially with the myth that he dived for the members of Osiris, in the shape of a crocodile<sup>54</sup>), and, therefore, all the more mythical. On the sarcophagus of Seti the First (now in the Soane Museum), among pictures and legends descriptive of the soul's voyage after death, there is a design of a mummy. Behind it comes a boat manned by a monkey, who drives away a pig called 'the devourer of the body,' referring to Typhon as a swine, and to the dismemberment of Osiris and Horus. The Book of Respirations, finally, contains the magical songs by which Isis was feigned to have restored breath and life to Osiris.<sup>55</sup> In the representations of the vengeance and triumph of Horus, on the temple walls of Edfou, in the Ptolemaic period, Horus, accompanied by Isis, not only chains up and pierces the red hippopotamus (or pig in some designs), who is Set, but, exercising reprisals, cuts him into pieces as Set cut Osiris. Isis instructs Osiris as to the portion which properly falls to each of nine gods. Isis reserves his head and 'saddle,' Osiris gets the thigh, the bones are given to the cats. As each god had his local habitation in a given town, there is doubtless reference to local myths. At Edfou also the animal of Set is sacrificed symbolically, in his image made of paste, a common practice in ancient Mexico.<sup>56</sup> Many of these myths, as M. Naville remarks, are doubtless ætiological—the priests, as in the *Brahmanas*, told them to account for peculiar parts of the ritual, and to explain strange local names. Thus the names of many places are explained by myths setting forth that they commemorate some event in the campaign of Horus against Set. In precisely the same way the local superstitions, originally

<sup>52</sup> *Rev. Archéol.* May 1857.

<sup>53</sup> Plutarch says that Isis took the form of a swallow.

<sup>54</sup> Mariette, *Denderah*, iv. 77, 88, 89.

<sup>55</sup> *Records of Past*, iv. 121.

<sup>56</sup> Herodotus, I. ii. 47; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 80. See also Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, who sacrificed a bull made of paste.

totemic, about various animals, were explained by myths attaching these animals to the legends of the gods. If the myth has any historical significance it may refer to the triumph of the religion of Horus over Semitic belief in Set.

Explanations of the Osiris myth, thus handed down to us, were common among the ancient students of religion. Plutarch reports many of them in his tract *De Iside et Osiride*. They are all the interpretations of civilised men, whose method is to ask themselves, 'Now, if I had told such a tale as this, or invented such a mystery play of divine misadventures, what meaning could I have intended to convey in what is apparently blasphemous nonsense?' There were moral, solar, lunar, cosmical, tellurian, and other methods of accounting for a myth which, in its origin, appears to be one of the world-wide early legends of the strife between a fabulous good being and his brother, a fabulous evil being. Most probably some incidents from a moon-myth have also crept into, or from the first made part of, the tale of Osiris. The enmity of Typhon to the eyes of Horus, which he extinguishes, and which are restored,<sup>17</sup> has much the air of an early mythical attempt to explain the phenomena of eclipses, or even of sunset. We can plainly see how local and tribal superstitions, according to which this or that beast, fish, or tree was held sacred, came to be tagged to the general body of the myth. This or that fish was not to be eaten, this or that tree was holy; and men who had lost the true explanation of these superstitions explained them by saying that the fish had tasted, or the tree had sheltered, the mutilated Osiris.

This view of the myth, while it does not pretend to account for every detail, refers it to a large class of similar narratives, to the barbarous dualistic legends about the original good and bad extra-natural beings, which are still found current among contemporary savages. These tales are the natural expression of the savage fancy, and we presume that the myth survived in Egypt, just as the use of flint-headed arrows and flint knives survived during millenniums in which bronze and iron were perfectly familiar. The cause assigned is adequate, and the process of survival is verified.

Whether this be the correct theory of the fundamental facts of the myth or not, it is certain that the myth received vast practical and religious developments. Osiris did not remain the mere culture hero of whom we have read the story, wounded in the house of his friends, dismembered, restored, and buried, reappearing as a wolf or bull, or translated to a star. His worship pervaded the whole of Egypt, and his name grew into a kind of hieroglyph for all that is divine.

The Osirian type, in its long evolution, ended in being the symbol of the whole deified universe—under-world and world of earth, the waters above and the

<sup>17</sup> *Livre des Morts*, 112, 113.

waters below ; it is Osiris that floods Egypt in the Nile, and that clothes her with the growing grain. His are the sacred eyes, the sun that is born daily and meets a daily death, the moon that every month is young and waxes old. Osiris is the soul that animates these, the soul that vivifies all things, and all things are but his body. He is, like Ra of the royal tombs, the Earth and the Sun, the Creator and the Created.<sup>58</sup>

Such is the splendid sacred vestment which Egyptian theology wove for the mangled and massacred hero of the myth. All forces, all powers, were finally recognised in him ; he was sun and moon, and the maker of all things ; he was the truth and the life, in him all men were justified. His functions as a king over death and the dead find their scientific place among other myths of the homes of the departed. M. Lefébure recognises in the name Osiris the meaning of 'the infernal abode,' or 'the nocturnal residence of the sacred eye,' for, in the duel of Set and Horus, he sees a mythical account of the daily setting of the sun.<sup>59</sup> 'Osiris himself, the sun at his setting, became a centre round which the other incidents of the war of the gods gradually crystallised.' Osiris is also the earth. It would be difficult either to prove or disprove this contention, and the usual divergency of opinion as to the meaning and etymology of the word 'Osiris' has always prevailed.<sup>60</sup> Plutarch<sup>61</sup> identifies Osiris with Hades ; 'both,' says M. Lefébure, 'originally meant the dwellings—and came to mean the god—of the dead.' In the same spirit Anubis, the jackal (a beast still dreaded as a ghost by the Egyptians), is explained as 'the circle of the horizon,' or 'the portals of the land of darkness,' the gate kept, as Homer would say, by Hades, the mighty warden. Whether it is more natural that men should represent the circle of the horizon as a jackal, or that a jackal totem should survive as a god, mythologists will decide for themselves. The jackal, by a myth that cannot be called pious, was said to have eaten his father, Osiris. Thus, throughout the whole realm of Egyptian myths, when we find beast-gods, blasphemous fables, apparent nature-myths, such as are familiar in Australia, South Africa, or among the Eskimo, we may suppose that these are survivals, or we may imagine that they are the symbols of nobler ideas deemed appropriate by priestly fancy. Thus the hieroglyphic name of Ptah, for example, shows a little figure carrying something heavy on his head, and this denotes 'him who raised the heaven above the earth.' But is this image derived from *un point de vue philosophique*,<sup>62</sup> or is it borrowed from a tale like that of the Maori Tutenganahau, who first severed heaven and earth ? The most enthusiastic anthropologist must admit that, among a race which constantly used a kind of picture-writing, symbols of noble ideas *might* be represented in the

<sup>58</sup> Lefébure, *Osiris*, p. 248.

<sup>59</sup> *Osiris*, p. 129.

<sup>60</sup> See the guesses of etymologists (*Osiris*, pp. 182, 183). Horus has ever been connected with the Greek Hera, as the atmosphere !

<sup>61</sup> *De Is. et Os.* 75.

<sup>62</sup> Lefébure, *Osiris*, 159.

coarsest concrete forms, as of animals and monsters. The most devoted believer in symbolism, on the other hand, ought to be aware that most of the phenomena which he explains as symbolic are plain matters of fact, or supposed fact, among hundreds of the lower peoples. However, Egyptologists are seldom students of the lower races and their religions.

The hypothesis maintained here is that most of the Egyptian gods (theriomorphic in their earliest shapes), and that certain of the myths about these gods, are a heritage derived from the savage condition. It is beyond doubt that the Egyptian gods, whom Plutarch would not call gods, but demons, do strangely resemble the extra-natural beings of Hottentots, Iroquois, Australians, and Bushmen. Isis, Orisis, Anubis *do* assume animal shapes at will, or are actually animals *sans phrase*. They do deal in magical powers. They do herd with ghosts. They are wounded, and mangled, and die, and commit adulteries, rapes, incests, fratricides, murders; and are changed into stars. These coincidences between Cahroc and Thlinket and Piute faiths on one side, and Egyptian on the other, cannot be blinked. They must spring from one identical mental condition. Now, either the points in Egyptian myth which we have just mentioned are derived from a mental condition like that of Piutes, Thlinkets, and Cahrocs, or the myths of Thlinkets, Cahrocs, or Piutes are derived from a mental condition like that of the Egyptians. But where is the proof that the lower races ever possessed 'the wisdom of the Egyptians,' and their splendid and durable civilisation? <sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> A curious example of a choice to make between the symbolical and historical methods occurs when we read (in Diodorus, i. 85) that Osiris, like the daughter of Mycerinus (Herodotus, ii. 129), was buried in a wooden cow. The symbolical method explains the cow as 'the goddess of the space under the earth.' The historical method remembers that, in Abyssinia, the dead of a certain tribe are still sewn up in cows' hides, placed in a boat, and launched on the waters (Lefebvre, quoting Speke). Professor Sayce thinks the cow 'must have been a symbol of Isis-Hathor.' What do the Abyssinians think?

## OUR SUPERSTITION ABOUT CONSTANTINOPLE.

A MODERN humorist tells us of an unhappy man who, having been cast into a loathsome dungeon, there lingered in darkness and suffering for twenty years, at the end of which period 'he opened the door and went out.' For a very much longer period than twenty years the energies of England have been imprisoned in the grim circle of European quarrels, with the apparently impenetrable gate of the Eastern question shutting her off for ever from a free use of her natural powers. Beyond doubt it would be an extraordinary deliverance if we were able to follow the example of the hero of the romance alluded to, to 'open the door and walk out;' and, animated by the example and encouraged by the result, I am tempted to ask, 'Why not?'

But before attempting to answer the inquiry it will be worth while to recall some of the conditions of the case as it stands, to review the loss and danger which are involved in the continuance of the existing state of facts, and to appreciate the tenacity of the tradition which keeps us spellbound in a servitude to which it is no longer either our duty or our interest to submit.

For many years past the very phrase the 'Eastern question' has had a sinister sound for Englishmen. That its ramifications were endless was admitted, that its ultimate solution by fire and sword was inevitable was, and still is, an axiom; that, whatever wisdom might be displayed in postponing the end, England must, beyond all power of escape, be involved in the final catastrophe, has always been an equally uncontroverted article of every Englishman's political faith.

That the Eastern question exists is a sorrowful fact, that its solution can only be accomplished by force of arms is probably no less certain; that we are intimately and necessarily concerned in its solution is another, and by no means equally evident proposition. Yet that we are and must be so concerned has been assumed by almost every English statesman during the present century: the assumption is equally general and equally sincere among the leaders of both parties at the present day. For England the Eastern question has always meant and still means the possession of Constanti-



nople ; and, indeed, all its developments are practically subordinate to this one central idea. Half a dozen times we have armed, and nearly as often we have fought on the occasion of some new Eastern panic ; but Constantinople has always, and under every disguise, been the real cause of our alarm.

It is neither wise nor profitable to indulge in general criticisms of the policy of our forefathers. It is not necessary to deny, and it is perhaps respectful to admit, that they knew their own business best. But there can be no doubt as to what they thought their business was, namely, to preserve the balance of power in Europe, and to maintain the position of England as one of the Great Powers of their time. If we admit the correctness of their aim, there can be no doubt that successive Governments fought with admirable tenacity and a great measure of success to attain it. But the result of their exertions has in one respect been far from satisfactory. The policy, which in their hands was possibly a wise and certainly a practical one, has outlived the conditions of its creation, and has survived as a baneful legacy to a time when all the facts which gave it any reality have passed away.

There can be no doubt of the survival. With very few exceptions there is not a public man in England who would hesitate to pledge this country to a war on behalf of Constantinople, and who would not on any platform or in any debate assume as an incontrovertible proposition that the final settlement of the south-eastern corner of Europe could not possibly be accomplished without this country being involved in the conflagration by which it must be preceded.

It is hardly necessary to seek for much further illustration of this truth. Every act of our foreign policy demonstrates it ; the disposition of our scanty forces is a testimony to it ; the fact that the too numerous class of politicians and journalists who live by parading the irreconcilable unorthodoxy of their views on every question on which there is general agreement have not yet made a reversal of our Eastern policy a part of their *répertoire* is an overwhelming confirmation of it.

And yet, at the risk of being classed forthwith among the detestable class to which I have just referred, I venture to believe that the almost universal consensus of opinion which undoubtedly exists on this subject is wrong, and will eventually give way to a new and far more hopeful view with regard to our dangers and our duties in the East. I should certainly not venture to hold this somewhat presumptuous opinion in the face of a reasoned and living faith ; but the dull weight of acquiescence, which is pushing us once more down the perilous incline which ends in war, is not a living faith, but is a survival of form over a spirit and an idea which have long passed away. The conditions under which our Eastern policy was formed are gone, but the policy still guides us, and will end in guiding us

to a catastrophe, unless we open our eyes to the facts of the situation. The awakening may come after the disaster. It will be a thousand times better if by some means or other it may be produced in time to enable us to avoid it.

For England the Eastern question means Constantinople. 'The Russians shall not have Constantinople' is the popular summary of a foreign policy sanctioned for many years by the most correct and diplomatic forms. As to who shall have it that is another question, which the British public and the British Foreign Office have not as yet quite made up their minds about.

For a long time there was no difficulty upon this point either. The Turks had it, and there was no reason to wish that anybody but the Turks should have it. But by the light of recent events it has gradually begun to dawn upon the British mind that the forces which were put in motion under the walls of Vienna in 1683 are not quite extinct yet, and that the fee-simple of Constantinople is not vested in the Ottomans by a tenure which can be depended upon. It has gradually come to be admitted that a final grand catastrophe is in store, which will end in the Crescent being removed from St. Sophia. As to the particular nature of the catastrophe nobody is agreed; who will come out of it alive is also a point of much uncertainty; but that among the nations who by the force of an irresistible law will be compelled to go into it England must be the foremost there seems to be no sort of doubt in the mind of anybody.

Undoubtedly this is a very mournful prospect. It is disheartening to have to sit still without an effort swirling down the rapid stream till we find ourselves carried in one fearful leap over the great cataract into the unfathomable whirlpool of war, and suffering, and misery beyond it. But 'it is inevitable' say the statesmen and diplomatists, 'it is inevitable' echoes the public with a marvellous resignation, 'it is inevitable' is the answer written in every military and naval depôt, in every warlike preparation, in every diplomatic despatch. It is idle to fight against Fate and the immortal gods. But ministers, diplomatists, and a phase of uninstructed public opinion do not represent either Fate or the immortal gods. And when I am told that these things are inevitable, and that the interests of England are inextricably bound up in the solution of the Eastern question, I simply ask, Why? And I hope and believe that before many months are over the British public will have awakened from its lethargy, and will have propounded in much more importunate tones, and with a very much greater certainty of getting prompt attention, my inquiry, and before they move a man or spend a shilling will ask, Why?

I believe that the true answer to the question is not far to seek, nor difficult to uphold. The implication of England in the final catastrophe of the Eastern question is not inevitable, and can only result from an entire misapprehension of our true interests and our

true strength. On every ground of policy and common sense we ought to put ourselves definitely outside the area of disturbance, and to refuse positively and doggedly to be drawn into it on any pretext whatsoever.

In stating the reasons which lead me to this conviction it may be well to begin with one which is exceedingly cogent, but somewhat distasteful to our national pride. We ought not to try and settle the Eastern problem because, to put the matter in its simplest form, *we should fail if we tried*. The English people do not devote much attention to foreign affairs, and it is usually a long time before changes which are patent to foreign observers are brought home to the mass of the public in this country. Since 1855 we have fortunately been engaged in no European war, and during the thirty years that have elapsed since the fall of Sebastopol the military organisation of every country in Europe has undergone a radical alteration. The conditions which existed in 1855 exist no longer, and it is indeed doubtful whether in forming our opinions as to the military power of England we quite take into account the limitations under which we accomplished a fairly successful campaign a quarter of a century ago.

In 1854 the Eastern question had reached an acute stage, and England interfered in arms to secure a satisfactory solution for the time being. To a certain extent our intervention succeeded. This much is remembered by the public, but the most important facts of the situation are forgotten. We fought the Crimean war in alliance with the greatest military power then existing, and in addition to French aid we had the assistance of Turkey and Sardinia, and the more than benevolent neutrality of Austria. At no time had we 30,000 men in line during the war. At the end of the campaign we were ourselves buying soldiers in Switzerland and Germany. In two years, with the help of our allies, and by the expenditure of an incredible amount of life and money, we succeeded in reducing a fortress at the extremity of the Russian Empire, with which there was no existing internal communication, and which could only be reinforced or relieved by regiments which had lost 90 per cent. of their strength on the road to the front. Every condition under which we obtained this qualified and costly triumph is changed at the present day. We were able to get rather under 30,000 men under arms at the Alma; we could probably get rather more than 30,000 under the same conditions at the present day. But at Gravelotte the number of killed and wounded alone was three times the total of the army of the Alma.

For many and most conclusive reasons England has stood still in the matter of military preparation. Europe, for reasons which may be good or may be bad, has not stood still, but on the contrary has

advanced at an appalling rate, till the armed forces available at the call of any one of the great European powers are to be numbered by millions. We are extraordinarily fortunate in being able to dispense with the conscription and all its attendant expenses and dangers, but it is simply folly to shut our eyes to the consequences of our choice. The wealth, strength, and intellect of European nations have for twenty years past been organised for the one purpose of making successful wars. The wealth, strength, and intellect of England have been directed into other channels. An immense advantage no doubt, but it is useless to ignore the consequences of our choice. We are no longer in a position to engage with any prospect of success in a contest with any of the military powers of Europe. We may possibly render some effectual aid by means of a small contingent to the chief combatants in any future struggle; but in such a case we must at once consent to abandon the position of principals for that of not very important subordinates.

I do not mean to say for a moment that our power as a military nation has gone, or that under certain conditions and in certain directions it may not be as great as ever; but the idea of our competing on land with the great armies of the Continent is ridiculous, and when people discuss the part to be taken by us in solving the Eastern question, they will do well to lay this fact to heart.

But the military difficulty is by no means the only or the most important reason why we should abandon all thoughts of mixing ourselves up in European quarrels. Fortunately there are other and much stronger motives for abstention, which make it as desirable for us to avoid a quarrel, as it must be disastrous for us to enter upon one.

In a certain very limited number of years from the present time—it may be two or it may be twenty—Constantinople will have changed hands, and the hands into which it will have fallen will not be those of England. As to the change, there can, humanly speaking, be no doubt whatever. Two centuries ago the backward movement of the Turks began. Things moved slowly then, they move quickly now, but not for a single day has there been a check in the movement. Hungary, Servia, Roumania, and last, but by no means least, Bulgaria, have each in their turn been relieved from the presence of the Turk. Even now little more than Roumelia remains of the European provinces of Turkey. The last chapter has not yet come, but it has very nearly come. The teaching of history is uniform and conclusive, but it is not required to prove that the great city on the Bosphorus cannot much longer remain in the hands of the Ottomans. To see Constantinople and to see the Turks there is enough. The continuance of such a *régime* in the central point of modern Europe is inconceivable, incredible. As to who will be the successors of the Sultan, that must always be a question of deep interest for

England. Whether it is a question which is worth fighting about is an entirely different matter. At present Russia and Austria are racing for the goal. The forthcoming completion of the Bulgarian section of the railway to Constantinople, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the commencement of a new line of railway under Hungarian control, giving a second communication further to the west, are all points which seem to favour Austria at the present moment. On the other hand, the divided nationality of the Austrian army, the unprotected nature of the northern and north-eastern frontier of Hungary, combine with many other circumstances to fortify the position of Russia. This is not the place to go into a discussion of the probabilities of a Russo-Austrian campaign, or the enumeration of the strategic advantages of either power might be prolonged and would form a most interesting study. But one great fact remains clear above all details, namely, that if ever the unaccomplished can be foreseen, and the unknown deduced from the known, an early conflict between Russia and Austria is among the most absolute certainties of the European situation. As to the result, it is of course idle to prophesy, though there can be hardly any doubt that English sympathies would lie and ought to lie on the side of the Kaiser as against the Czar.

But to whichever side the victory for the time being may incline, the mainspring of action on the part of one, at any rate, of the combatants must remain absolutely intact. It is well that English people should realise fully what is the strength of the idea which is behind the descent of Russia to the sea. Looked at from the outside and without prejudice, the situation is a very striking one; the forces at work are enormous. A nation of one hundred millions is shut up against the north pole with no outlets save the Arctic Sea and the shallow and often frozen waters of the Baltic.<sup>1</sup> To all intents and purposes this vast nation is one people—a Russian can be understood from Archangel to Odessa. The imperial ukase is obeyed from Wilna to Vladivostock, and, what is still more important, a single idea can penetrate, and has before now penetrated, the whole of this enormous population. Southward there is the sea, the sun, and free intercourse with the world, but from the sea and all that it implies Russia is practically shut off. There are ports on the Black Sea, it is true, but let us conceive ourselves for a moment in the position of a Russian at Odessa or Sebastopol. Imagine the position of English merchants if every vessel leaving Liverpool were compelled to navigate the Seine for sixty miles under the guns of French forts before reaching the sea, and to accomplish a journey of more than a hundred miles in an inland lake looked up at either end by powerful fortifications. Such is precisely the position

<sup>1</sup> The fact that there are one or two ports on the edge of the North Pacific does not appreciably affect the situation.

of owners of Russian shipping passing through the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. The situation is an aggravating one beyond doubt, an unavoidable one, it will be said, in view of the facts of geography. But we can hardly expect Russia to take this view; as a matter of fact, she does not take it, and never will.

That the irresistible pressure of a hundred million people speaking one language and moved by one idea will break a way to the sea I firmly believe. There are two points at which the sea may be reached: the one is Salonica, the other is Bassorah. Granting that one of these two points for the moment will ultimately be reached, there can hardly be any doubt as to which can be occupied with the least disadvantage and danger to England.

It must not be supposed for a moment that I desire to see a further extension of Russian influence, or an aggrandisement of Russian power. I have seen something of Russia, and I have learnt what I could as to her history and her present condition. A deeper acquaintance and a wider study might alter my views; but at present I must confess that the extension of Russian authority over any portion of the earth's surface seems to me an unmitigated curse and calamity to the spot so afflicted. With such a political system I do not see how any other result could be anticipated. If England had the commission of a knight-errant to fight perpetually against evil-doers wherever found, no doubt a crusade against the Russian Government would be a fitting and useful exercise of her functions. But, as I am very strongly of opinion that we have no such commission, and have quite enough to do in protecting our own inheritance, and in providing for the happiness of our own people, I see no reason for buckling on our armour against Russia merely because of her general iniquities, or because of any action on her part in Eastern Europe, unless and until our own interests are really threatened. At that point I would have us fight instantly, choosing our own ground and our own method, for I have a sufficiently strong belief in the value of England and our Empire to resent at once anything which might seem likely to interfere with our progress. But does Russia on the Mediterranean, or still less Russia fighting in Eastern Europe in order to get to the Mediterranean, interfere with us at all, or at any rate to such an extent as to make it worth our while to spend a man or a shilling in preventing her?

I do not think so. Assume the worst, and picture Russia seated on the Bosphorus with the control of the Dardanelles. According to all the accepted traditions of English statesmanship, such a consummation would be equivalent to the end of the British Empire, the one great and awful calamity to avoid which all our resources should be expended and the four quarters of the world involved in war. But is this so? It would be unfortunate certainly. Constantinople is a

wonderful city, the Bosphorus is a magnificent port. But Marseilles is also a great city, Venice is a great city; Toulon, Spezzia, and Fiume are great ports; and yet in the face of all of them the work of the British Empire goes on and prospers. Why is it so self-evident that the existence of one more great military power upon the Mediterranean could conjure up a danger which the presence of the great French, Italian, and Austrian strongholds has not yet created? To Austria, doubtless, the establishment of Russia at Constantinople may be death; that is owing to the internal constitution of the Austrian Empire, which no power can alter. But for England there is no such danger, and consequently no such need for a conflict.

But it will be said there is the Suez Canal—the Suez Canal is the key to India. Russia on the Mediterranean will threaten the Canal, and will have it in her power to seize the key of India. Now, in the first place, I say that the Suez Canal, save in time of peace, is not the key to India, but that, on the contrary, it is a dangerous temptation laid before our eyes to lead us to neglect the real and only true key to our Indian Empire. The road to India in time of war is round the Cape, and not through the Canal; and if a hundredth part of the money which has been spent in securing us from imaginary dangers in North Africa had been expended upon fortifications and docks at Simon's Bay and Cape Town, the terrible dangers of the present situation would have been reduced to a minimum. I am content to take the judgment of almost any military expert as to the fact that in case of a war with Russia in India we could not rely for a day upon the Suez Canal for the security of our military communications. The detention of a single ship in the waterway might mean a month's delay and the loss of invaluable stores. The uncertainty would paralyse every preparation, the danger would be too formidable to face.

I believe that this proposition is generally admitted among military men, and yet hitherto there seems to have been no adequate recognition of the fact in the disposal of our forces. We still lock up one-third of our troops and half our naval strength in an inland sea in which in time of war every ship must run the gauntlet of half a dozen possible enemies, all favourably posted for attack, with the reasonable probability of ending in an *impasse* if all other dangers be safely avoided. It may, I admit, be wise to fortify Cyprus, or better still to obtain possession of Rhodes; it is always well to have two strings to one's bow. And more important even than this is the strengthening of Aden and Perim. As long as we can shut up the eastern end of the Canal at will to other powers, we are by that very fact placed in a position of extraordinary strength.

The mere strategical advantage of abandoning our dependence upon the Canal route and concentrating all our energies upon the

protection and improvement of that by the Cape would be enormous. But it is absolutely unimportant as compared to the indirect but not less certain gain that such a change of policy would assuredly bring to us. In some respects our power as the arbiter of European destinies has greatly diminished if it has not wholly gone; but in other respects it is, I believe, greater than ever, or rather, I should say, it will become so the moment we take the step to which every fact of our history points.

As a European power in competition with the armed states of the Continent, England is at a hopeless and permanent disadvantage. As a member of a confederated empire of sea-bordered English-speaking states, she will be in an absolutely impregnable position, in which the quarrels and bickerings of the European Governments will be absolutely without importance, and only interesting as a study of contemporary history in its smaller developments. So long as we give hostages to Europe by claiming an interest in its quarrels, and a right to participate in them, so long shall we be at their mercy. The day on which we declare once for all that we have no concern with the domestic politics of Europe, and inform our enemies, if we have any, that if they wish to quarrel with us they must take to the water to obtain satisfaction, we shall enter upon a new and brighter period of our history. At present the indiscretion of a Roumanian patrol, the ambition of a Russian colonel, or the intrigues of a Greek patriot, may drag us at a day's notice into a conflict in which we have nothing to win and everything to lose, and in which we must inevitably spend our blood and money in serving the cause of other nations.

The material and immediate advantages of releasing ourselves from the false position in which we now stand are obvious; but the value of the new policy does not end with its immediate and concrete effect.

At present between England and her colonies there is a theoretical, but not a real equality of conditions. The traditions of our home history and the accident of our home position have bound us up with the continent to a degree of which we are scarcely conscious. The colonies are free altogether from any such trammels. They do not care for European politics, and do not wish to be mixed up with them. It might be that in case of our being engaged in a conflict arising out of some purely European and local question, the colonies, or some of them, would assist us. Probably they would do so. But the assistance would come as a matter of grace, and every occasion on which it was rendered would make a subsequent offer less likely.

It is the enormous privilege of the colonies to be free from all contact with old-world quarrels. If the chief result of our connection with them is to drag them back into the old circle, they not only will not thank us, but they will certainly be inclined to dissolve a



partnership which brings with it such dangerous liabilities. On the other hand, when we have once shaken ourselves free from all continental complications, when we have once fairly convinced European nations that they must settle their quarrels without us, we shall stand on a footing of perfect equality with every other portion of the empire.

The pathways of the sea are in the hands of the British people. The maintenance of them is a common interest to every one of the great mercantile communities which compose the empire. Let it be once clearly understood that at all hazards we are going to preserve the freedom of our communications, and that in case of need every part of the empire will help to defend them, not in deference to sentiment and affection only, but in pursuance of direct and obvious interests, and our position in the world will be one of unprecedented power and security.

I have not spoken of India, but I do not forget that in India we have a land frontier, and, consequently, a weak point. Morally the possession of India is a strengthening force in the national life of our people; the responsibility which its government involves, the opportunities it confers, are useful and elevating influences. But materially our occupation weakens instead of strengthening our position. There ought to be no illusions in this matter. The strength of the empire is its English-speaking population. Our occupation of India is a danger and not a defence. But if we duly set our house in order, it is a danger which we can well afford to face. As soon as we make it clear that not only in theory, but in fact, India is the common possession of the empire, and that while all our countrymen are entitled to share in the honour of administering it, all are equally bound to take part in defending it, we shall have made a great step forward.

Already events are helping to impress upon the colonies the nature and extent of the privilege and of the responsibility. Our real through route to the East has within the last few months been completed through the West. Already the military authorities in India are looking to Australia as a base of supply which can be reached more easily than England. The proper fortification of Esquimalt, Sydney, Singapore, Simon's Bay, and Mauritius will make us absolutely independent of the Suez Canal. Close the Cape route, and Sydney and Melbourne are still open. If the great Australian ports are momentarily unavailable, the Canadian Pacific railway will once more enable us to turn the flank of any enemy. The one and only route, throughout the greater part of which we move on sufferance under the guns of every man-drilling power in Europe, is the one on which we expend all our forethought and all our resources. It is time that we recognised the new facts of the political situation.

I am most anxious that my contention in writing as I have done

should not be misunderstood. My main proposition is this, that the time has come when it is greatly to our interest to cut ourselves off entirely from European complications if we can do so with safety. That we can do so not only with safety but with immense advantage I am convinced. At present we are tied and bound by our fears about the Eastern question. I believe that we can not only afford to see that matter settled without our interference, but that as a matter of fact no interference on our part is likely to bring about a solution particularly favourable to us. I do not wish to see Russia at Constantinople; as friends of civilisation we should all deplore it. But I do not believe that it is either our duty or our interest to use force to prevent her going there. It does not matter to us; it does matter to Austria, to Germany, and to Greece: by all means let them settle the issue among them.

One other small point ought not to be forgotten. We shall not be free of our European fetters as long as we hold Heligoland. Geographically it is a mere point in the ocean, historically it may any day become the cause of a great war. It is time we exchanged it during a period of peace for some other possession. The island is of absolutely no value to us now. It is not fortified, and the day we began to fortify it we should be in danger of war with Germany. Naturally enough the Germans would refuse to see a new fortress raised within sight of their own shores, and just off the mouth of one of their greatest rivers.

Ministers are on the look-out for a policy, parties are on the look-out for a cry. I venture to prophesy that the minister and the party that first comes to the British people with the assurance that they are for ever freed from the miserable competition of European armaments will have earned and will receive the deepest gratitude of a great people. At present there is not a power in Europe which cannot force our hand and is not perfectly aware of the fact. Russia, Austria, Germany, and France all believe, and are probably right in believing, that they can drag us into a hopeless and bloody struggle, on an element where we must always be weak, in a cause which our people do not understand, and for which nine-tenths of them do not care.

All this comes of our forgetting that a new England has sprung up, destined to be infinitely greater and infinitely more powerful than the old on the one condition that she breaks for ever with the old tradition which made her one of the old land powers of Europe, and accepts the new and brighter rôle of the greatest sea power of the world.

I venture to commend this new policy to every speaker who addresses large bodies of his countrymen. No boon will, I believe, be more readily appreciated by the great body of the workers of Great Britain than that of immunity from the wars and rumours of

Wars which have injured them so much. Outside these islands such a policy would be received with consternation by our enemies, with delight by our kinsmen. 'Ex Oriente lux' runs the motto. But for England the message of the East for many weary years past has been one of darkness, not of light. 'Westward Ho!' has been the watchword of our success, and it may well be that only when England, true to her secular tradition, has circled the world with the setting sun, and found along the pathway of the West the true road to the gateway of the East, that we shall be able to rest in the assurance of undisturbed peace, and to adopt for our own motto also, 'Ex Oriente lux.'

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Since the proofs of the above paper were corrected the catastrophe in Bulgaria has taken place. No event could possibly have done more to enforce the conclusions I have asked my readers to arrive at. Even within the last few days signs have not been wanting that the change in English opinion with regard to our duties in the East which I have ventured to prophesy is already commencing. Of course, however much we may regret the Russian *coup d'état* we shall, as a matter of fact, do nothing, though if we follow former precedents we shall talk much. It would be an enormous advance if on this occasion we could give up the talking, or rather transform our usual threatening platitudes into a plain declaration that we have no concern in the matter. There will then only remain the duty of devoting to useful purposes the energy we have hitherto exhibited in our preparations for the crash in the East.—H. O. A.-F.

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY.

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No. CXVI.—OCTOBER 1886.

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*PRISONERS AS WITNESSES.*

ONE of the measures which came to nothing in the last Parliament, and which it may be hoped will be passed by the present one, was Lord Bramwell's Bill for making accused persons competent witnesses in criminal cases.

Something may now be added from actual experience to what is already familiar in theory to all persons who care about such discussions. I refer to the practical working of the statutes which have, in some particular cases, made prisoners competent witnesses. The most important of these statutes is the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which renders persons accused of various offences against women competent, though not compellable witnesses.

These statutes have effected two things. In the first place they have made the law as it stands so inconsistent that it can hardly remain in its present condition. It is a monstrous absurdity that a man should be allowed to give evidence if he is charged with a rape or with an indecent assault upon a female, but not if he is charged with analogous offences, even more disgusting and more likely to be made the subject of a false accusation;<sup>1</sup> that if a man is charged with

<sup>1</sup> The most singular of these contrasts arises no doubt from a slip in the drafting of the Bill. A prisoner is a competent witness if he is charged with indecent assault, but not if he is charged with an assault with intent to commit a rape. Section 20 of the Act of 1885 makes prisoners competent witnesses in the case of all offences under that Act or under 's. 48 and ss. 52-55 both inclusive' of the Offences against the Person Act (24 & 25 Vict. c. 100). An assault with intent to commit rape is punishable not under these sections, but under s. 39 of 24 & 25 Vict. c. 100, which punishes all assaults with intent to commit felony. If no other alteration is made, ss. 61 and 62 of c. 100 and so much of s. 20 as relates to charges of assault with intent to ravish should be included in the references in s. 20 of the Act of 1885.

personating a voter he should be allowed to be examined as a witness, but not if he is accused of personation with intent to defraud; that he should be competent if he is charged with sending an unseaworthy ship to sea or with being unlawfully in possession of explosives, but not if he is charged with manslaughter by negligently causing loss of life on a ship or by negligently dealing with explosives. These and some other contrasts which might be mentioned stultify the law. It is impossible to justify both the rule and the exceptions which have been made to it.

There is, however, another thing which the provisions in question have done. They have exemplified the manner in which the evidence of prisoners works, and have illustrated the principles upon which its importance depends.

I have gained much experience on this matter since the Criminal Law Amendment Act came into force in the autumn of last year. Since that time I have tried a great many cases in which prisoners were competent witnesses. In most of these cases, though not in all, they were called, and I have thus had the opportunity of seeing how the system works in actual practice. My experience has confirmed and strengthened the opinion upon the subject which I have held for many years, and maintained on various occasions,<sup>2</sup> that the examination of prisoners as witnesses, or at least their competency, is favourable in the highest degree to the administration of justice; that the value of a prisoner's evidence varies according to the circumstances of each particular case as much as the evidence of any other class of witnesses does; and that therefore it is as unwise to exclude the evidence of prisoners as it would be to exclude the evidence of any other class of persons arbitrarily chosen.

No theory on which the evidence of prisoners ought to be excluded can be suggested which does not really come to this—that the probability that a prisoner will speak the truth is so much diminished by his interest in the result of the trial that it is not worth while to hear what he has to say. I do not think that anyone ever held this theory completely in the crude form in which I have stated it, for so stated it involves the monstrous result that no prisoner ought to be allowed, even if he is undefended, to tell his own story to the jury, but that all prisoners ought to be confined to remarking upon the evidence given for or against them. This appears to me to reduce the theory to an absurdity. It may, however, be worth while to dwell a little upon the reasons why the theory is absurd. It is, in the first place, obvious that it assumes the prisoner's guilt, for if the truth is in his favour the prisoner's interest is to speak the truth as fully and exactly as he can, and it is therefore probable that he will do his best so to speak it. This remark, if followed out, explains the whole matter. It is waste of time to try to lay down general rules

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., my *History of the Criminal Law*, vol. I. pp. 440-46.

as to the weight of evidence and the credit of witnesses. What really has to be determined is the probability that this or that statement is true; and this task cannot be undertaken unless and until the statement is made. No doubt the interest which a witness has in the result of the inquiry must always be entitled to consideration as bearing upon the probability of different parts of his statement. No doubt also it may in particular cases be not only a leading but a decisive consideration. In such cases due allowance can be made, and the evidence given may be thrown out of account; but the importance of this depends on time, place, and circumstance, and varies from case to case and statement to statement. Interest, in other words, ought in reason to be treated as an objection to the credit of a witness and not to his competence.

No one can deny this who is not prepared to maintain that it was a mistake to alter the old law as to incompetency by interest, and indeed to maintain in addition that it did not go far enough. By that law the smallest pecuniary interest in the event of a trial made a witness incompetent, but no interest in relation to affection or character had that effect. A man was always a competent witness for or against his son or his brother, and he might be a competent witness in a case in which his own character and all his prospects in life were at stake. As regarded all witnesses, prisoners upon trial only excepted, the restriction as to money interest has long since been abolished. Why should a much wider exclusive rule be retained in that single case?

The principal object of this paper is to show by illustrations taken from actual experience that the value of the evidence given by prisoners is exactly like the value of the evidence given by other witnesses, and that though their interest in the result must always be taken into account, and is in many cases so important as to destroy altogether the value of their evidence, there are also many cases in which it is of great and even of decisive importance. These matters are most easily understood by illustrations, and I will accordingly proceed to attempt to prove what I have said by references to actual cases which have been tried before me, and which are so chosen as to illustrate the different degrees of importance which may attach to the evidence of accused persons.

I am sorry to be obliged to take most of my illustrations from cases of sexual crime; but this cannot be helped, because most of the cases in which prisoners are by law competent to testify have arisen under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It is not, however, necessary for my purpose to enter into any details of an offensive character. I will begin with cases which appear to me to illustrate the doctrine that the evidence of prisoners may often be unimportant.

A man was indicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the seduction of a girl under sixteen. About the facts there was no

dispute, but the prisoner was defended on the ground that he believed the girl to be of the age of seventeen. She admitted that she had told him she was seventeen. His counsel said that he should not call the prisoner. He would of course say, if he were called, that he believed the girl, but as this would be merely his own statement as to his own state of mind it would add nothing to the case. His evidence would thus be superfluous. The jury acquitted the prisoner, seeing no reason to doubt that the girl had made the statement, and probably regarding her appearance as such that the prisoner might naturally believe the statement made by her to be true. In this case the prisoner's evidence was sure to be given if asked for, whether it was true or false, and was therefore worthless.

This case is a typical one, and suggests a general principle which may be illustrated in many ways as to the value of the evidence of prisoners and of interested witnesses. It is, that the evidence of a deeply interested witness, given on the side which his interest would incline him to give it, is of no value when the circumstances are such that he cannot be contradicted on the subject-matter of his evidence. This principle is of very general application, and reaches its height when the matter to which the prisoner testifies is a fact passing in his own mind, such as knowledge, belief, intention, or good faith. Did you in good faith believe the girl's statement that she was seventeen and not sixteen? Did you, when at twelve o'clock at night you bought for a small price from a man whom you did not know, and who concealed his face, a quantity of government stores of which he gave no account, know that they were stolen? Did you, when you fired a pistol straight at an enemy and wounded him, intend to do him grievous bodily harm?—are questions which it is idle to ask, because they are sure to be answered in one way, and because no reasonable person would be affected in his judgment on the subject by the answer. Bare reluctance to commit perjury is shown by daily experience to be far too feeble a motive to counteract any strong interest in doing so. No doubt honourable men in common life feel as if it would be morally impossible for them to tell a wilful lie on a solemn occasion like a trial in a court of justice, whether upon oath or not, and many men would no doubt undergo great loss and inconvenience rather than do so; but this reluctance, I feel convinced, proceeds much more than they suppose from the fear of being contradicted and found out. There are temptations under which almost everyone would lie, and in the face of which no man's word ought to be taken. The fact that the most respectable, most pious, and most virtuous of men denied upon oath that he had committed some disgraceful act, especially if the admission that he had done so would involve not only perjury, but a shameful breach of confidence, would weigh little with me in considering the question of his guilt. His character would, or might, weigh heavily in his favour,

but his oath would to my mind hardly add to it perceptibly. Voltaire asked long ago whose life would be safe if even a virtuous man was able to kill him by a mere wish; and the case is the same with regard to perjury. Unite a strong temptation to lie with a strong interest in lying and security from discovery, and it is all but morally certain that the lie will follow.<sup>3</sup>

I will give a few more instances of the way in which this principle works, and I may observe that it affords a rule by which it is often possible to test the justice of the complaint, often used as a topic of grievance by counsel, that the prisoner's mouth is closed. A woman was tried for murder under the following circumstances. She lived as servant to an old farmer on one of the most barren, out-of-the-way moors in England, near the place at which the five northern counties closely approach each other. The only other inmate of the house was a young man, the farmer's son. The old man and the servant were sitting together one evening when the young man came in, and said he had been at the nearest village and seen some one there, about whom he laughed at the girl. The farmer did not know what his son referred to, nor was there any evidence on the subject. The son left the room. The girl also left soon afterwards, and returned after a short absence. The son did not return, and after waiting for him a considerable time the father went to bed, leaving the girl sitting up. A point to which some importance was afterwards attached was that the dogs remained quiet all night, which, it was suggested, went to show that no stranger approached the house. In the morning the girl called the old man down and told him that on going out to see after the cows she had noticed blood on the walls of the cowhouse, which had trickled down from chinks in the floor of a room above it, used as a sort of workshop. In this room was found the dead body of the young man. He had been killed by several terrible blows from a stone-breaker's hammer kept in the room, which was found lying near him; and the position of the body and the hammer made it clear that he must have been stooping down lacing his boots when some one armed with the hammer, striking him from behind, knocked him down with a terrible blow in the face, and afterwards despatched him by breaking his skull. There were various other circumstances in the case, but these were the most important of them. Some which appeared to throw suspicion on the girl were rendered doubtful by the fact that the old man, on whose testimony they depended, completely contradicted at the trial the evidence he had given about them before the magistrates, excusing himself by saying that he was so agitated and broken down by the murder of his son that he could

<sup>3</sup> The following is a quaint illustration of the way in which this matter is sometimes regarded. An old American attorney once observed: 'A man who would not perjure himself to save a woman's character must be such an infernal scoundrel that I would not believe him on his oath, although I knew what he said was true.'



not depend on his memory. The girl was acquitted, and, as I thought, properly, as the whole matter was left in mystery. That she had an opportunity of committing the crime was clearly proved; there was some evidence, though not enough to exclude a reasonable doubt on the subject, to show that no one else could have committed it. Nothing in any way resembling a motive for the crime was proved, or even suggested, and the matter was thus left incomplete.

If this matter had been investigated according to the French system, the girl would have been put in solitary confinement and examined in private for weeks or months as to every incident of her life, in order to discover, if possible, circumstances which would show a motive for the crime which would have been imputed to her, and to sift to the utmost a number of minute circumstances in the case which I have passed over because they were imperfectly ascertained. It is impossible to say what the result might have been, and it is not worth while to consider it, as no one would propose the introduction of this mode of inquiry into this country. The point here to be noticed is that, if she had been a competent witness according to English law, her evidence, assuming her innocence, could have done her no good, nor if she were guilty would it have exposed her to much risk, unless she had gone out of the way to tell lies in her own favour, as a guilty person very probably might. Suppose her innocent—all she could have had to say would have been that she knew nothing about the man's death; that she left the room to look after the cows or for some other purpose; that whilst absent she neither saw nor heard anything suspicious; that, after sitting up in vain for the man's return, she went out again to the cows and found the blood, and so the body. If her guilt is assumed, she would be able to tell the same story, as there was no one to contradict her and nothing of importance to explain. Her evidence, therefore, would have been in the particular circumstances of the case wholly unimportant.

This no doubt is speculation upon what would have happened had the law been some years since what it is now proposed to make it. I will give an instance of the same kind under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. A man was tried for an attempt to ravish, which was undoubtedly committed by some one. His guilt was positively sworn to by the girl herself, and by two if not three other witnesses who were near. His defence was an alibi. He said he was at dinner at his mother's house at the time when the offence was committed. He called a number of witnesses in support of his story, who had seen him at different times on his way there, at the house, and on his way back. The persons in the house gave evidence as to the time during which he stayed there. His own evidence accordingly added only this fact, that between the time when he was last seen going towards his mother's house and the time when he arrived there, he was not en-

gaged in committing the crime, but in walking along the road. On a close inquiry into times and places, it turned out that all that was necessary for him to say, on the supposition of his guilt, was to alter the time of his arrival at his mother's by a very few minutes. Any accused person who was not prepared to admit his guilt would go as far as that in the direction of perjury.

Further illustrations may be found in the case of almost all offences committed at night. 'When you say I was committing burglary or night-poaching' I was in fact at home and asleep in bed, and both my wife and I are prepared to swear to it now that the law has opened our mouths.' If the law were altered, I should expect such defences to be set up in almost every case of the kind; but I should hope juries would be slow to acquit in consequence of it if the evidence for the prosecution were, independently of it, enough to warrant a conviction.

Though the evidence of an accused person on a point in which he is interested and cannot be contradicted ought to be regarded as worthless in the way of proving his innocence, the absence of such evidence may, under particular circumstances, go far to prove his guilt; for it is a fact, and a very strange one, that criminals will now and then shrink from denying the commission of crimes from the actual commission of which they have not shrunk. The working of the Criminal Law Amendment Act has furnished very curious illustrations of this. A girl swore that her master committed an offence upon her in his shop, and that immediately afterwards he suggested to a friend who came into the shop that he should do the same. The friend persuaded the girl (so she said) to go with him to his house to get some grapes, and, when he got there, committed the same offence. That the girl had gone to her master's shop, that his friend had come in and had persuaded her to go to his house to get grapes, was clearly proved; but the commission of the two offences rested upon her testimony, which was in itself open to many objections, showing, to say the least, great inaccuracy and confusion as to time and place, and being in several particulars intrinsically improbable. If the master's friend had sworn to his innocence and had said that all that passed between him and the girl was that he took her to his house and gave her some grapes, and that the rest of her story was false, I think he would have been acquitted, but he refused to be called as a witness. The jury convicted him, I suppose, considering it incredible that a man falsely accused of such an odious crime should not deny it upon his oath when he had the opportunity. The girl's master did give evidence. He swore that the girl's story was totally false as regarded his having committed the crime. The girl, he said, had been sent to his shop (which was some distance from his house) on an errand, and had, after a short interval and some joking with his friend who came in, left it in the friend's company.

The jury acquitted him, being greatly dissatisfied with the girl's evidence. This was a very singular case. It clearly shows that in the class of cases under consideration accused persons will, if the law is altered, have to swear to their innocence, unless the facts of the case are undisputed, or else be taken, and not unjustly, to have confessed their guilt.

No doubt there are cases in which silence does not admit guilt. A number of men were indicted for a rape; their defence was consent, of which there was strong evidence in the prosecutrix's own story. Two of them gave evidence, but the second of the two made such a pitiable exhibition of himself, especially in answering questions asked of him by the jury, that the rest preferred to keep silence. They were all acquitted, but this was because their evidence could not have materially varied the facts, whilst their silence was under the circumstances not surprising and not inconsistent with the defence set up. All that their silence admitted was that they had been concerned in a disgraceful transaction.

Cases sometimes occur in which the evidence of a prisoner is useless because it is out of his power to give the only evidence which would be of use to him. A man was tried for murder. He had spent the greater part of the day before the murder with the murdered man, and was seen in his company late at night near the place where his dead body was discovered next morning. In the course of the morning after the discovery of the murder the prisoner exhibited to several people the murdered man's watch, and finally sold it to a companion, who kept it for some time, and minutely described it at the trial. Hearing of the murder, and fearing he might get into trouble about the watch, the purchaser gave it back to the prisoner. The prisoner did not produce it at the trial, and neither gave nor suggested any account of it. This the jury regarded as being inconsistent with any other supposition than that he did not produce it because it had belonged to the murdered man, and so would, if produced, have procured his conviction. It is obvious that in this case the prisoner's evidence would have been useless, unless he had been able to produce or account for the watch. As the charge against him was murder, he was not a competent witness; but a very similar case under the Criminal Law Amendment Act occurred very lately. A man was indicted for a rape. The question was as to the identity of the prisoner, as to which the account of the prosecutrix was highly unsatisfactory, or at least very doubtful. The prisoner was a soldier. The prosecutrix saw him with other men at the barracks soon after the crime. She hesitated as to his identity, and even denied it at one time, though at the trial she spoke to it with the utmost confidence, giving reasons for her previous mistakes. On this evidence, had it stood alone, the man must have been acquitted. The woman had, however, been robbed of a purse containing three or

four coins, which she specified—one being a half-sovereign, kept in a small compartment of the purse with a separate clasp. It was proved that immediately after the commission of the offence the prisoner was at a public-house, in which he saw an amber mouthpiece for cigars. He bought it from the landlord after some talk, in the course of which he displayed a purse exactly corresponding to the description of her purse given by the prosecutrix, not only in its shape, colour, and material, but in the coins it contained, and the way they were distributed in it. The prisoner said nothing of the purse, and did not produce it. This caused his conviction. He was not called as a witness,<sup>4</sup> and there would have been no use in calling him if he had not been able to produce a purse like the one seen by the publican but different from the one stolen from the prosecutrix.

This was an instructive case in another way. If it had not been for the purse, the prisoner would probably have been acquitted on account of the weakness of the evidence of the prosecutrix, and his evidence would have been immaterial even if hers had been stronger. He was unquestionably near the place at the time of the crime, and had not more than perhaps a quarter of an hour to account for. If he had sworn that he was lounging about the streets (as he had been just before) for this quarter of an hour, and did not commit the crime, his evidence would, for reasons already given, have made no difference. It may seem to be paradoxical to say so, but it is nevertheless true that the class of accused persons who will get least advantage from having their mouths opened are those who are entirely innocent of and unconnected with the crime of which they are charged—people who have nothing to conceal and nothing to explain. The only way in which the most innocent man can prove his innocence of a crime, of which he knows nothing whatever, is by proving (as by an alibi) that it was physically impossible that he should commit the crime; this in many cases he would be able to do only by his own uncorroborated assertion. 'I was sitting quietly writing letters in my library at the time when you say I was committing a crime' would in many cases be all a man could say, and of such a statement he might have no corroboration whatever, and he might well have the means of leaving the room undiscovered.

If, however, there is a possibility of corroboration, the fact that a man can supply, so to speak, the threads on which the corroborating facts are strung may be of the greatest importance. A man was tried for a rape. His defence was an alibi. He gave a complete account of the way in which he passed the whole period during which the crime was being committed, and was corroborated as to several of

<sup>4</sup> This was, I believe, because it did not occur to his counsel that he was a competent witness; the crime was committed before the Act came into force, and the trial took place afterwards. I should have admitted his evidence if it had been tendered.

the incidents which he said had happened during the interval. He had been at work making a bridge over a ditch; he came from thence to a corner of a field, where he heard some children returning from a school feast use language for which he reproofed them. He went to his lodgings and remained there writing a letter for a considerable time, and finally he went to a club to which he belonged at a public-house some short way off. He was corroborated on each of these points. One man had lent him tools for his work and had seen him employed there. The children to whom he had spoken described where he was standing, what he said, and what gave occasion for his reproof. Several little incidents were proved about his writing his letter and leaving it to be posted, and his arriving at his club, and so on. No doubt these facts might have been independently proved, and they might have had the same effect as they had in fact, but nothing could have given the effect of the ease, vivacity, and spirit with which he told his story, his entire absence of embarrassment, and the confidence with which he dealt with all the different questions put to him.

It must never be forgotten in connection with this subject that there are differences between people who tell the truth and people who lie, which it is not easy to specify, but which are none the less marked and real. I have known cases in which a jury has acquitted merely upon hearing an accused person tell his tale, and in which I felt perfectly confident they were right. A girl, between thirteen and sixteen, prosecuted a hawker for an offence against her under the Act of 1885. He had no counsel, and he did not much cross-examine her, but he gave his own account of the matter in a way which led the jury to stop the case and declare that they did not believe a word of the girl's story. Theoretically, the two stories were no more than an affirmation on the one side and a contradiction on the other. The girl affirmed that the man had committed the offence, and that he had, when charged by her and her mother, admitted it; and the mother corroborated her daughter as to the last assertion. The man denied the offence, and said (and in this his wife confirmed him) that when the girl came to his house he threatened to kick her out and prosecute her. More particularly, the girl declared that on a particular day and at a particular place the man called her into the house and committed the offence. The man gave a minute description of where he was and what he was doing on the day in question, of his having met the girl and scolded or, as he called it, 'chastised' her for some fault, and of her behaviour to him on the occasion. It would not be easy even by entering into minute details to give all the reasons for my opinion, but I do not think that anyone who heard this man give his evidence could have doubted its entire truth. He was a grave, elderly man, with no kind of special talent, and with a slight impediment or im-

perfection in his speech ; but all that he said had upon it the mark of honesty and sincerity, and the details which he gave—though, having no legal advice, he was not prepared to prove them by independent evidence—were in themselves some guarantee of his truthfulness. It is little less than a monstrous denial of justice that a man so situated should be deprived of the opportunity of telling the truth in his own behalf under every sanction for his truthfulness that can be devised ; and I think that nothing but the force of almost inveterate habit could blind us to the fact.

It ought not, however, to be forgotten that the opening of the mouths of prisoners opens a way to falsehood as well as to truth, and sometimes to falsehood which it is difficult at the moment to unmask. I have known cases in which—as it appeared to me—failures of justice have occurred because the prisoner, either from artfulness or from mere blundering, kept back till the last moment some more or less specious topic of defence, and brought it out at last when it was too late to test the matter properly. Three soldiers were tried for a rape, which no doubt was committed. The evidence against perhaps the most prominent of them was that he had a bugle upon which he repeatedly blew while the crime was being committed, the whole party being probably more or less in liquor. He swore positively, and with many piteous appeals, that he was not only innocent, but that it was physically impossible for him to blow upon a bugle because he had lost his front teeth, which loss he exhibited to the jury. Several persons in court, and one of the jurymen, professed to be acquainted with playing on the bugle, and one of them swore to his conviction that it was in fact physically impossible that the prisoner should play. The jury, upon this, acquitted all the three prisoners, thinking, no doubt, that a failure in the identification of one of the three greatly shook the evidence against the other two. I was afterwards informed that the bugle was actually taken from the man on his return to the barracks shortly after the offence. Whether I was rightly informed I cannot, of course, say ; but the prisoner undoubtedly by keeping his defence back to the last moment, and then bringing it unexpectedly before the jury, got an advantage which he assuredly ought not to have had.

This trick of keeping back a defence is one of the most dangerous to public justice which could be played by persons accused of crime. I have known many cases of it, and I think it is well worthy of consideration whether, before their committal, prisoners ought not to be examined before the magistrates, and whether a power of adjournment might not be entrusted to judges when such points are raised, in order that they might be properly dealt with.

It would be of little use or interest to multiply these stories. It is enough to say that they show clearly, in respect at all events of one particular class of crimes, that the evidence of an accused person

resembles that of any other witness in all essential respects—that is to say, its value varies from case to case according to circumstances. In the case of a man, truthful, resolute, with a good memory and adequate power of expression, it is great, and may, under circumstances, be decisive. In other cases it is of less importance; in many instances it is practically of no more use than a bare plea of not guilty; and this, I think, is more than enough to show that it ought never to be excluded, but in all cases be taken for whatever it may be worth.

I have already observed upon the circumstance that the numerous exceptions to the general rule of law which have now been introduced into it make the law an absurdity. It is impossible to justify both the rule and the exception. But this is not the only observation which arises upon the present state of the law. Another is, that the class of crimes as to which the most important exception to the rule which incapacitates prisoners as witnesses is made is far from being the one in which that rule is most likely to be mischievous. In regard of offences of an indecent character there is, as a rule, a plain well-marked question of fact. Were certain things done or not, and was the prisoner the man who did them? But in respect of crimes against property this is not the case. Such offences are often complicated transactions, full of details, of which different views may be taken and different accounts given, on the special nature of which depends the question of guilt or innocence. A case of theft, false pretences, embezzlement, or fraudulent bankruptcy will often turn upon matters in which it is of the utmost importance that the prisoner should be examined and cross-examined. I remember a case in which a prisoner was tried for embezzlement. He was defended by counsel, and was convicted. When called upon to say why he should not be sentenced, he gave an account of the transaction which his counsel had never suggested, but which, on questioning the witnesses who had testified against him, appeared to be, to say the very least, so highly probable, that the jury desired to withdraw their verdict, and instead to return a verdict of not guilty, which was done. This was an illustrative case, and one of considerable interest. It shows both the strong and the weak sides of the proposed change in the law. It shows its strong side, because it gives an instance in which a man was enabled by telling his own story to escape from what would presumably have been an unjust conviction. It shows, or rather suggests, its weakness, because it shows how great an opportunity the examination of prisoners might afford for artfully contrived frauds and evasions of justice. Each of these observations requires some development.

To take the strong side first. It must always be borne in mind that the business of prosecuting and defending prisoners, though in some respects the most important branch of legal business, is the least important of all if it is measured in money, and that it is in

many cases in the hands of the lowest class of solicitors and the least experienced class of barristers. A great criminal trial, in which the prisoner has plenty of money, and in which the prosecution is conducted by the Treasury, is susceptible of little improvement, but the case with the common run of criminal business is totally different. If the prisoner is not defended at all, he may, and often does, fall into every kind of mistake. He may have a good defence, and not know how to avail himself of it. He may be shy and ill-instructed, and not put it forward at the proper time. He is probably not aware of his rights in respect to the calling of witnesses, and may therefore not be prepared with them at his trial. If, on the other hand, he is defended, he is in all probability in the hands of a solicitor of the lowest class, to whom he and his friends probably give some very small sum, say 2*l.* or 3*l.* The solicitor gets from the clerk to the magistrates a copy of the depositions, puts on the back of them a sheet of paper endorsed 'Brief for the prisoner, Mr. —, one guinea,' pays some junior counsel 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, and tells him that the nature of the case appears from the depositions. The counsel does as well as he can upon his materials, repeating with more or less energy and ingenuity the commonplaces appropriate to the occasion, and making the most of whatever he may have been able to obtain by cross-examination. The result is, that if the case of a pauper client presents any intricacy or requires any special attention, it is very apt to be mismanaged and misunderstood. I have no doubt that in the case of embezzlement to which I have referred, something like this had happened. The prisoner's counsel was a busy and able man, he had obviously no instructions which deserved the name, and I suppose knew nothing about the case beyond what the depositions told him and what the prisoner could tell him in a few hurried unintelligible whispers from the dock, and so he exposed his client to an imminent risk of conviction.

From dangers of this sort prisoners would be effectually protected by being made competent witnesses. They would be sure, at all events, of telling their own stories and, if the judge was competent and patient, of having them understood.

In order to appreciate the importance of this it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that it is often exceedingly difficult to understand prisoners, and to appreciate the real nature of what they have to say, and also that it is quite essential to justice that they should be understood, and lastly that far the easiest and safest way of doing this is by questioning them. A prisoner, generally speaking, is an ignorant, uneducated man, dreadfully frightened, very much confused, and almost always under the impression that the judge and the jury know as much about his case as he does himself, and are able at once to appreciate whatever he says about it, although what he has to say consists mainly of imperfect allu-



sions which he does not explain. I remember a case in which five or six men were tried for wounding A. with various intents, also for wounding B. with various intents, also for being armed by night in search of game. The defence of some of them was that two parties of poachers set out at night together in company; that at a certain point they separated, one having a white dog with them and the other what they called a red dog; that after they separated the party with the white dog met the keepers and police, and committed the different offences with which all were charged, whereas the party with the red dog had nothing to do with them. The men were tried three separate times on the three charges I have mentioned. It was only by degrees that they succeeded in making their defence intelligible. At the first trial the only hint given of it was by one of the red dog party who asked one of the witnesses the colour of the dog he said he had seen with the men whom he identified. The witness said it was white. 'That's a —— lie,' said the prisoner, 'it were red.' Not a word was said to explain in any way the meaning of the question or the importance of the answer. It requires a good deal both of patience and experience to understand and disentangle the stories which prisoners often set up. At an assize held a few months ago, a good many of the prisoners took it into their heads to write their defences, and to ask that they might be read to the jury. They were strange compositions, but it was usually possible, though difficult, not only to extract from them an intelligible defence, but to examine the witnesses by the help of it in such a way as to test its truth. One prisoner, I remember, who was charged with theft, made bitter complaints, by way of an irregular cross-examination, about his wife, his sister, and several other persons. In his mouth these complaints and reproaches were wholly unintelligible, thanks to the combined effects of ignorance, confusion, fear, and anger; but I found it possible, by giving him hints, which I must own were questions in all but form, to find out what he really meant, which was that the charge against him was a false one, got up from base motives, and founded upon the misrepresentation of innocent actions. The jury thought the defence important enough to justify his acquittal. If he could have been called as a witness, the matter would have been arranged much more clearly and satisfactorily.

In cases of this kind I have no doubt that it would be in the highest degree conducive to justice to make prisoners competent witnesses; but it must not be forgotten that prisoners are not always needy or ignorant. They are in many cases thoroughly well aware of their position, and are well provided with money and with the professional assistance which money will procure. It certainly is to be feared that in such a case a prisoner would be as well advised as to his position, and as to the strong and weak points of his case, that he would be able in the witness-box to lie with skill and effect. I think

that this, especially in capital cases, would be dangerous to the interests of justice. It may be supposed that legal advisers would be too honourable to devise lies for their clients to tell, and I feel no doubt that honourable men would not say openly and crudely, 'You must, in order to save your life, swear this or that.' I do not believe they would do so, but I have no doubt that in the course of the preparation of the case the client would be made fully aware of its weak as well as its strong points. He would be told where his danger lay. He would be asked to give explanations on this point and that, he would be asked whether such and such persons might not be able to testify on such and such points, and he would in practice require no more. It must also be remembered that people do not in real life repose absolute confidence in their legal advisers, nor are they pressed to do so.<sup>5</sup> As a rule they put before their advisers as good an account of what has happened as circumstances permit, and leave it to the lawyers to put the matter into shape. The best proof of this is to be found in the evidence given by the parties in civil actions. In nearly every civil action the parties contradict each other more or less, generally on the vital parts of the case. But I think it would be unjust to throw the blame on the solicitors or on the counsel, though no doubt the evidence given is a good deal influenced by the light which the parties get from their legal advisers as to their legal position, and the bearing upon it of particular facts if established. In cases where life, liberty, and character were at stake, I have no doubt contradictions would become more pointed, and the provision of false or misleading evidence more artful and complete. I have, in short, little doubt that, if prisoners were made competent witnesses, there would be a considerable increase in perjury. The same thing was predicted as a natural consequence of the admission of the evidence of parties in civil actions, and I have no doubt that the prophecy has been fulfilled.

Few actions are, in my experience, tried in the Superior Courts of England and Wales in which there is not a good deal of rash and false swearing, and in a large proportion there is wilful perjury—that is to say, false evidence which cannot be accounted for either by rashness or prejudice or bad memory. I do not suppose, however, that anyone would wish to reimpose the old restrictions upon evidence which made the parties to a suit incompetent as witnesses. After all, courts of justice only show the national veracity as it is; they do not make it what it is. False evidence of every kind might at once

<sup>5</sup> An eminent colleague of mine told me that in his early days at the bar he was asked by the judge to defend a case of murder. He went to the gaol to confer with his client, and asked him, for one thing, how he accounted for the blood with which his waistcoat was covered after the crime. The man seemed puzzled for a moment, and then said, 'Well, sir, don't you think you might say that perhaps my nose might have been bleeding?' My friend wished him good morning, and said he had no more to ask.

be put an end to absolutely by shutting up the courts; but if they are to be open, people must take what they get in the way of evidence. I do not think, however, it can be denied that the change suggested would in fact greatly multiply perjury, and it is to be feared that, unless juries could be got to harden their hearts against accused persons and their oaths, wrong acquittals would become even commoner than they are. Jurors are usually ignorant, good-natured men, quite unaccustomed to the administration of justice, and willing to receive any plausible statement consistent with a prisoner's innocence as being enough at least to raise a reasonable doubt on the subject.

If the change in question should be made, it would, I think, be necessary to modify the old doctrine about proving beyond all reasonable doubt the guilt of an accused person, for it would be a matter of moral certainty that whenever a plausible story consistent with innocence could be devised, the prisoner would swear to it and find others to help him.

My experience upon this part of the subject is taken rather from the civil courts than from actual experience in criminal cases, for it is noticeable that in the many scores of cases which I have tried and to which the rule of evidence laid down by the Act of 1885 applies, the accused person has in every case been too poor to be able to make full use of the resources which the Act lays open to people who have money and are well advised. If it is true, which I do not believe, that the crimes against which the Criminal Justice Act is directed are principally committed by rich men, it is also true that only those exceptional cases in which they are committed by the lowest and most brutal ruffians come into court. I think, however, that the experience of the Divorce Court would confirm what I have said, both as to the necessity of allowing the parties to a suit to be competent witnesses, and as to the practically irresistible nature of the temptation to perjury which their competency provides.

There is one point on which the public naturally feel much anxiety as to the examination of prisoners, and on which I think the experience of trials under the Criminal Law Amendment Act throws great light. Nothing has operated so strongly as the example of France in causing the public to view with distrust and reluctance the proposal to make prisoners competent witnesses. It has been said that nothing which could be gained in the way of additional evidence by the examination of prisoners could compensate for what would be lost by a diminution of dignity in the whole proceeding, and by placing the judge in an attitude of hostility to the prisoner. With this I entirely agree. The spectacle in English courts of the kind of scenes which frequently occur in French courts, apparently without exciting any particular complaint, would certainly completely alter the whole character of our administration

of justice; but I think that it may be clearly proved by experience that the consequence apprehended would not follow in fact, and it is not difficult to explain the reason why it would not follow.

As to the fact we have already abundant experiences. Since the parties to a civil suit were made competent witnesses in 1851, no complaint has been made that they are worse treated than other witnesses. Notoriously, indeed, they are treated in exactly the same way, and those who are familiar with the actual practice of the courts will, I think, agree with me in the opinion that in the course of the present generation the treatment of witnesses has become gentler than it used to be, or, at all events, simpler and more direct. A stronger instance of the way in which the parties to an action are treated, and one which has a closer resemblance to what may be expected in criminal cases than the common run of civil actions, is afforded by the Divorce Court. In no class of cases are equally strong feelings excited, in none is perjury of the most artful kind more common or sturdy and determined; but I do not know that it is alleged (my own experience on the subject is too small to be worth mentioning) that the parties to divorce suits are treated in the witness-box with unfairness or cruelty. Certainly no imputation of any want of dignity or impartiality has been thrown on the distinguished judges who have presided in that court. If this is so, what reason is there to fear that prisoners should be worse treated in the witness-box than the parties are treated in civil cases or in divorce suits?

In the trials in which accused persons are competent witnesses I have not observed the smallest tendency to such treatment. I should say that prisoners were cross-examined rather too little than too much. In particular I have hardly ever heard a prisoner cross-examined to his credit as to previous convictions.

As to the reasons of this, they are, I think, plain enough to any one who is acquainted with the spirit of the system and the nature of cross-examination. An English criminal trial is from first to last a question between party and party, and the position of the judge is one of real substantial indifference, in which he has neither any interest nor any vanity to gratify by the prisoner's conviction. This interest, such as it is, is always in favour of an acquittal, which frees him from the exercise of a painful and embarrassing discretion, and the only questions which he has occasion to ask, either of the witnesses or of the prisoner, are such as tend to throw light on points in the case which for any reason are left in obscurity. In cases where the prisoner is poor and undefended this is a most important function, which at present is often discharged imperfectly, under great difficulties, or not at all, as I have already sufficiently shown. In cases in which a prisoner is competently defended the judge would as a rule be not only able but willing to sit still and listen, leaving the

responsibility of sifting the facts to those whose natural and proper duty it is to sift them. As for cross-examination by counsel, many false impressions prevail. People who take their view on the subject from actual experience are well aware that counsel of any experience never try to prove their case by cross-examination. In respect to prisoners, counsel, in my experience, usually regard their duty as done when they have committed the prisoner to contradicting witnesses not likely either to commit perjury or to be mistaken. I have indeed been greatly struck with the moderation and brevity with which prisoners have usually been cross-examined before me. I think indeed, as I have already said, they have been cross-examined rather too little than too much.

A French criminal trial—and it is from the reports of French trials that English people get the notions unfavourable to the examination of prisoners which commonly prevail—is quite a different process from an English one, and proceeds from entirely different principles. It is in its essence an inquiry into the truth of a charge brought forward and supported by public authority, and the duty of the judge is rather to inquire than to direct and moderate. His examination of the prisoner is directed to this object, and the result, no doubt, is to produce scenes much at variance with what our notions, founded as they are upon principles and on practice of an entirely different kind, approve. It is no part of my present purpose to compare the two systems, or to criticise either of them. It is enough to say that there is no danger that a change in the procedure of the English system, made in exact conformity not only with its principles, but with the practice already established and in use in a large and important class of cases, should introduce amongst us what strike us as the defects of a system founded upon and administered according to totally different principles.

One point which appears to me of great practical importance in the matter of the evidence of prisoners is that provision should be made for their being examined as witnesses before they are committed, as well as at their trial. There cannot be a greater pledge of truthfulness and good faith. It is a common form for solicitors to advise their clients, when asked before their committal whether they wish to say anything, to answer, 'I reserve my defence.' How far this may be a convenient course in the case of a guilty person I do not say, but in the case of an innocent person who has a true and substantial defence to rely upon it is a great advantage to be able to say, 'This defence of mine is not an after-thought, it is what I have said all along. It is what I gave my accusers notice of as soon as I had an opportunity.' An alibi in particular is greatly strengthened if it is set up at once, and that for many reasons. In the first place, such a course gives the prosecution an opportunity of making inquiries and testing the evidence of witnesses. In the second place, the evidence of the

witnesses is less open to attack, either on the ground of a failure of memory or on the ground of subsequent contrivance.

It is more difficult to say how this desirable result is to be obtained. One way of doing it would be to make the accused person not merely a competent but a compellable witness at every stage of the inquiry ; to authorise the magistrates or the prosecutor before the magistrates to call him as a witness ; and to provide that unless he gave evidence at the trial his deposition might be given in evidence. This course would no doubt be effectual, and I do not myself see why it should not be taken. I can understand, however, that there might be a feeling against it. It might be regarded as oppressive, and it might not improbably invest a certain number of police officers with a discretion which they are not fit to exercise. It is not uncommon for officers of the police to act as prosecuting solicitors in some parts of England and Ireland, and it may well be that such an addition to their powers would be objectionable. In matters of this sort the popularity of the law is more important than an increase of its efficiency, unless the increase of its efficiency is very great indeed. It is, however, important to obtain as general as possible a recognition of the fact that to keep back a defence is a suspicious thing, and that to bring it forward on the first opportunity is the strongest pledge of sincerity and truthfulness that can be given.

One point closely connected with this subject is the propriety of adding to the permanent and general law a provision to the same effect as that one which lately proved so useful in Ireland for the detection and suppression of systematic crime—power, namely, to the police authorities to hold an inquiry upon oath with a view to discover the authors of a crime, although no one may have been charged with it. It was one of the proposals of the Criminal Code Commission of 1878 that such a power should be given, and a clause to that effect was introduced into the Criminal Code which that Commission prepared. Upon general grounds I cannot understand the objection to such a measure. The practice exists in most parts of the world, and in England the principle is recognised by one of the oldest of our judicial institutions—the coroner's inquest. Of its utility for the discovery of crime it is necessary only to refer to the case of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. It is, of course, possible to lament that discovery; but there can be no question at all as to the means by which it was brought about. With regard to all questions of the reform of the criminal law, whether in regard to the rules of evidence or otherwise, it must never be forgotten that those who fear that the criminal law may be applied to themselves or their friends for political offences of which they do not morally disapprove do not wish to see the efficiency of its administration increased.

For these various reasons I think that the old rule as to the

exclusion of persons accused of crime from competency as witnesses ought to be entirely abolished, and that criminal and civil proceedings should so far be put upon the same footing. It would, however, be wrong, in advocating such a measure, not to point out one inevitable consequence. It is a consequence which has already been incurred in respect of all civil proceedings, and which I believe to be nearly inseparable from all improvements in the law. There are in all legal proceedings two interests which are diametrically opposed to each other, though their opposition is for the most part concealed, because its existence is one of those disagreeable truths which no one likes to admit. They are goodness and cheapness; either object may be attained, but not both. Up to a certain point it is no doubt possible to combine and promote the two objects at once. If you have a system at once inefficient and costly, a system in which fees are imposed at every step for the purpose of providing for useless officials, it is no doubt possible to increase efficiency and economy at the same time by a reduction of establishments and alterations in the law. This state of things did at one time exist to a considerable extent in regard to litigation in England, and it was possible to get the work better done at a less cost by proper alterations, but even at that time reforms usually were found to mean increased expenditure in the long run; and I think that, in regard to the administration of justice, the question in most cases is whether new elaborations are worth the price paid for them. I have a very decided opinion that in civil cases the procedure in the present day is too elaborate, though some recent efforts have been made for its simplification, I hope with success. I do not think this is so with regard to criminal justice. A certain number of criminal trials are still dealt with, not unfairly, not hastily, but without that degree of care to find out the truth which ought to be employed in every case in which liberty and character, and, indeed, a man's whole prospect of leading a respectable, prosperous life, may be at stake, but which an ignorant unadvised man cannot be expected to employ for himself. Many circumstances, some of which I cannot now remember, have produced a conviction in my mind that, if the whole truth were known, it would be found that many crimes are not so simple as they look, and that prisoners might often, if fully examined, bring to light facts which would set their conduct in an unsuspected light. This, I think, would certainly strengthen trials and might tend to complicate them considerably. Unless some means were taken to secure the taking of the prisoner's evidence fully before the magistrates, it would in all probability lead to the raising of false issues before juries, and make occasional adjournments for the purpose of summoning new witnesses necessary, and thus in various ways give a good deal of trouble to all the parties concerned; but I think it would contribute largely to the fairness of the ultimate result, and this is the main thing to consider.

J. F. STEPHEN.

## COMTE'S FAMOUS FALLACY.

CIRCUMSTANCES, which I need not specify, have led me to consider of late, more carefully than I had ever considered before, the grounds upon which Comte's famous theory or dictum concerning the three progressive states of human knowledge rests, and the amount of truth which it contains. I have long doubted the accuracy of the law of progress as Comte has stated it; the very neatness and plausibility of the statement seem to suggest that it is not likely to be strictly exact; at the same time these qualities also suggest the probability of the existence in it of some strong element of truth. There may be in this case, as in so many others in which mathematical accuracy is impossible, a basis of reality of which it is important to ascertain the nature and limits, while the claim of absolute universality may be incapable of being substantiated, and may tend to throw doubt upon the claim to acceptance which the theory may really possess.

I propose in the following pages to offer to such persons as care for discussions of the kind some observations upon Comte's three states, and to suggest the limitations necessary for the acceptance of the same as an exposition of truth. Or perhaps it may be more correct to say, that I shall lay before the reader such modifications—and they are important modifications—of Comte's statement as seem to me to be necessary, in order to free it from exaggeration and from virtual error. First, however, let us have Comte's own enunciation of his theory, which shall be quoted from Miss Martineau's translation of the *Philosophie Positive*:—

From the study of the development of human intelligence, in all directions, and through all times, the discovery arises of a great fundamental law, to which it is necessarily subject, and which has a solid foundation of proof, both in the facts of our organisation and in our historical experience. The law is this—that each of our leading conceptions—each branch of our knowledge—passes successively through three different theoretical conditions: the theological, or fictitious; the metaphysical, or abstract; and the scientific, or positive. In other words, the human mind, by its nature, employs in its progress three methods of philosophising, the character of which is essentially different, or even radically opposed: viz., the theological method, the metaphysical, and the positive. Hence arise three philosophies, or general systems of conceptions on the aggregate of phenomena, each of which excludes the others. The first is the necessary point of departure of the



human understanding, and the third is its fixed and definitive state. The second is merely a state of transition.

Now in this enunciation of the supposed necessary law of progress, the following are the material points :—

1. Each branch of knowledge passes through three states: the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Scientific.
2. The progress is in the order above indicated.
3. The three states are mutually opposed to each other, and cannot harmoniously co-exist.

I trust to be able to show that no one of these propositions is universally true, but by way of introduction let me give an illustration or two of the philosopher's meaning, in order that we may be in a better position to consider the limitations which should be imposed upon it. I will borrow the first from the writer of the article on Comte in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, who in his turn borrows from 'an able English disciple of Comte':—

Take the phenomenon of the sleep produced by opium. The Arabs are content to attribute it to the 'will of God.' Molière's medical student accounts for it by a *soporific principle* contained in the opium. The modern physiologist knows that he cannot account for it at all. He can simply observe, analyse, and experiment upon the phenomena attending the action of the drug, and classify it with other agents analogous in character.

A still better, because wider, illustration is afforded by the general view of nature taken by thinking men in different epochs of the earth's history. Here we have undoubtedly something which corresponds very much to Comte's theory. In early days natural phenomena were attributed by those who at all thought about such things to direct divine action; the rising and setting of the sun, the phenomena of thunder and lightning, rain, famine, and pestilence, and all the multiform facts of the material universe connected themselves instinctively with the action of a Being, or of Beings, more powerful than man. The only escape from the thought was to be found in not thinking at all—an escape of which probably many availed themselves. This is Comte's theological stage in palpable manifestation. Then comes the metaphysical stage as exhibited by such speculations as those of the Greek philosophers, concerning which we may truly say that they were only *transitional*, scarcely caricatured by Molière's medical student with his *soporific principle*. Yet these speculations had a marvellous hold upon the human mind, and in no small degree probably affect it still; it was only after hard battles and long-continued struggles that nature's abhorrence of a vacuum and the notion of inherent tendencies, and such hypotheses as that of the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, and the like, yielded to the overwhelming claims of inductive science. This is the last step, which has conducted the human mind to some real knowledge of

nature, the metaphysical stage, according to Comte's nomenclature, was truly introductory, and, when it had served its turn, it vanished away and became impossible to all philosophic minds. And thus we may find in the history of physical speculation concerning the material universe a very complete and illustrative example of Comte's law of human progress—a better and more helpful example, I think, than that which the philosopher himself gives us, when he writes as follows:—

The progress of the individual mind is not only an illustration, but an indirect evidence, of that of the general mind. The point of departure of the individual and of the race being the same, the phases of the mind of a man correspond to the epochs of the mind of the race. Now, each of us is aware, if he looks back upon his own history, that he was a theologian in his childhood, a metaphysician in his youth, and a natural philosopher in his manhood. All men who are up to their age can verify this for themselves.

One is afraid in the case of a great philosopher to suggest a homely explanation of his having fallen into a mistake; but it really looks as if Comte had in this sentence generalised from his own experience, and concluded that the movement of his own mind must be representative of that of the mind of every man who is 'up to his age.' I cannot tell how far the experience of the reader may correspond to that described by Comte, but it is not difficult to prove the fallacy of his description by looking round to those whom one knows well, amongst them thinking men, or by examining recorded histories of thoughtful minds. It will be observed that Comte says, not that the theology of childhood will be affected by the speculations of youth, and again by the mature knowledge of manhood,—which is probably very generally, though not quite universally, true,—but that the theology of youth will give way to youthful metaphysics, and this again to manly natural philosophy: in other words, since the three conditions are mutually incompatible, a man who is 'up to his age' must give up the belief of his childhood, and replace a knowledge of God by a knowledge of natural philosophy. Now this view of the case brings us to a point at which we may appeal to experimental fact; and it is open to us to ask whether the dictum of Comte was verified in such persons as the following: Cauchy, Moigno, Sir John Herschel, Clerk Maxwell, Faraday? The mental history of a man like Clifford—and I do not deny that there are others like him—would no doubt tell for Comte's theory; it would show at all events what he means, and would prove that the law enunciated by him has brilliant illustrations. But if anyone will turn from Clifford to his remarkable pupil Ellen Watson, whose interesting biography was published some time ago, he will perceive that it is possible to find in the history of a mind much akin to his own the very reverse of Clifford's experience; that is to say, the case of one who commenced absolutely without theology,

to whom natural philosophy was meat and drink, who found in youth every appetite satisfied by the pursuit of mathematics and kindred knowledge, and who nevertheless in the maturity of her powers, when according to the theory she ought to have been a natural philosopher and nothing else, found her soul 'athirst for God; yea, even for the living God,' and sought the satisfaction of her thirst in the waters of life which Christ gives by the ministry of His Church. Observe, this treatment of Comte's dictum is in accordance with the principles of the Positive Philosophy. A certain fact is asserted as universally true; 'all men who are up to their age can verify this for themselves.' Well, then, try it by a few examples; the dictum breaks down; it is not true in certain cases, and therefore to assert its universal truth is impossible.

When the preceding paragraph was written I had not noticed a passage in Dr. Martineau's 'Types of Ethical Theory,' which I thankfully quote in confirmation of what has been advanced:—

With Comte's assertion in your mind, that every cultivated man has been a theologian in childhood, a metaphysician in youth, and a positivist in maturity, glance down the roll of honoured savans and discoverers since the rebirth of the scientific spirit, and the effrontery of the generalisation is apparent at once. His favourite heroes and precursors, Bacon, Descartes, and Leibniz, give it no support; as applied to Galileo, Huyghens, and the Cassini, to Newton, Pascal, and De Moivre, the maxim is simply ridiculous. And if we are forbidden to expect its evidence so far from Comte's advent, contradiction still meets us in later generations: the whole spirit of John Dalton and Thomas Young, of the two Herschels and the two Ampères, are a protest against it. Are there any names more purely representative of the inductive method, carried into the newest department of physical research, than those of Oersted and Faraday? Of these two, the Englishman, in telling his last thoughts to his countrymen, insisted, like Bacon, on the distinct spheres, but the harmonious coexistence of inductive knowledge and religious faith; and the Dane left for posthumous publication an essay to prove that 'One Mind pervades all Nature.' And notwithstanding the well-known voices that loudly appropriate the agnostic rule, there is no country eminent in modern science that does not record votes of high avail against it; from Fechner in Germany, from Pasteur in France, from the late Clerk Maxwell, from Tait and Balfour Stewart, from Carpenter and Allman in our own country.<sup>1</sup>

Now, however, let us treat the subject more generally; and for this purpose let me ask the reader to go back to the three propositions which were specified on page 473, as the material points in the enunciation of the law of progress.

In the first place, can it be asserted that every branch of knowledge passes through the three states alleged? Test the assertion by applying it to a most important branch, namely, the mathematical. Comte places mathematics first in his list of sciences, telling us that the study of mathematics is an indispensable preliminary to that of all other sciences, and that mathematics must 'hold the first position in the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. p. 434. I would gladly quote, did space allow, a portion of the subsequent paragraph on the failure of *History* to support Comte's view.

Hierarchy of Sciences, and be the point of departure of all education? With which description I do not feel called upon to find fault; it is at least intelligible that a science, which has to do with the fundamental conceptions of number and space, should take precedence of others; we recognise the precedence by the introduction of arithmetic into our elementary schools; but when we come to inquire how this branch of knowledge illustrates the general position as to the universality of the enunciated law of progress, it is not easy to find an answer. Neither history nor reasoning, so far as I know, can suggest to us that mathematical knowledge ever passed through a theological stage. Yet when we are told that 'each branch of our knowledge passes successively through three theoretic conditions,' how can we make an exception in favour of such an important branch as the mathematical? and if the law of progress does not hold in this case, may it not be suspected that there are other failures, and that the law is not so truly universal as Comte supposed it to be?

But, secondly, we are told not only that each branch of knowledge passes through the three states, but that the order is invariably that laid down, namely, Theological, Metaphysical, Scientific. Will this assertion bear to be tested by an example?

Let the example be that of commercial knowledge. The use and power of money, the laws of commerce and exchange, the production and application of wealth, undoubtedly constitute an important branch of science. It is a branch of science, too, which may be contemplated from the three points of view suggested by Comte's dictum; but I venture to say that in such contemplation Comte's order cannot possibly be observed. In fact, the exact reverse of the alleged order is perhaps the only possible one. The science of commerce begins with no theological base, but is built upon the simplest social necessities of man: the natural barter of goods is facilitated by the substitution for the goods themselves of a more convenient medium, such as silver or gold; and the most elementary branch of the science of money consists in weighing out so much silver, as we read that Abraham did when he bought a piece of ground in which to bury his dead. Ages might pass before anyone considered philosophically what were the principles of exchange; even now we know very well that there is much difference of opinion upon many commercial and monetary questions, such as that of bimetallism, the use of paper money, and the like; and it requires much thought and a clear head to master the problems which continually arise in connection with the wide subject of finance. High above this philosophical side of the question towers the theological—it is so high that to some it is almost out of sight—but it exists and is very real; according to this theological view money is a sacred trust, and as such it needs to be dealt with by religious teachers. And so we find St. Paul writing that 'the love of money is the root of all evil;' and

our Lord warning us that it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven, while He did not shrink from the paradoxical assertion that two mites, 'which make a farthing,' are under certain moral conditions of more value than a large quantity of gold and silver. It may be possible therefore to say that commercial knowledge is (1) Scientific, (2) Metaphysical, (3) Theological, but impossible to reverse this order.

And, thirdly, it is asserted by Comte that the three states, the successive existence of which he enunciates, are mutually opposed to each other, and cannot co-exist.

Here once more I venture to doubt the soundness of the assertion, and to support my scepticism by the test of an example.

Let the example be astronomy; a choice which is favourable to Comte's theory, because it is one in which the succession for which he contends is conspicuous, and may be readily admitted. That is to say, we have in the case of astronomy, first, that simple view which suggested itself to the mind of him who wrote, 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy-work;' secondly, the speculations as to the heavens which preceded the exact knowledge of the days of Kepler and those of Newton; and thirdly, the scientific precision characteristic of our own days. It is easy to perceive in this case, and to acknowledge freely, the existence of such a progression as that of which Comte speaks; but still it may be asked, where is the proof of that mutual opposition and incompatibility which is alleged? It is fully granted that science of the most accurate and effective kind is in possession of the field; there is no department of knowledge in which the powers of the human mind and the application of mathematical calculation have been so successful as they have been in this: but is the philosopher, and still more is the theologian, ousted by the success of the mathematician? Are there no problems started, or at least emphasised, by that success, with regard to the origin of things, the nature of the laws which govern the universe, the essence of motion, of force, and other physical mysteries, with which the mathematician does not pretend to deal? and is there any reason why the theologian should not speak as confidently as ever of a divine artificer, whose glory is more and more clearly declared by the heavens, as those heavens are more accurately known? I demur therefore to the assertion that the three states of human knowledge, even when they follow the progression assigned to them by Comte, are destructive each of the others.

\* I will here interpose by way of note the expression of my astonishment that Comte should have laid so much stress upon the invariable sequence of events, amounting to ascertained laws, as the highest result of science. Causes and effects, and more invariable sequence, seem to be the *spolia opime* of scientific investigation. A more invariable sequence, without any reference to causation, may be stronger and surer, but can scarcely satisfy all the demands of human intelligence. There is a story told of some Eastern half-civilised potentate, who in visiting London was so much struck

Therefore, venturing (as I have done) to join issue with Comte as to the truth of each of the three propositions which have been now briefly discussed, or rather tested by examples, I proceed to examine in a more direct manner what may be accepted as true with regard to the three states.

I trust that I shall not be regarded as resuscitating any defunct notions as to the occult powers or qualities of numbers, if I say that there are not a few cases in which the number three appears to exhaust all that is thinkable, and to have in itself a kind of completeness or perfection. Thus in geometry three lines and no less will enclose a space; and in mechanics the fundamental proposition is that of the triangle of forces. Length, breadth, and height exhaust the conception of space. Past, present, and future comprise all time. I might almost cite the proverbial three courses, which are so frequently open to hesitating politicians. And it might even be permissible, if it were necessary, to seek, as some philosophers have done, in the regions of abstract reason an explanation, as at least an explanatory illustration, of the triple character of the great mystery of the Christian Creed.

But I pass from such considerations as these to point out some departments of thought, in which a threefold division appears necessarily to present itself and to embrace the whole subject.

Consider the material universe which we inhabit. The most obvious point of view to a modern thinker will undoubtedly be the scientific. It is needless to say that the scientific study of the material universe must be a very widespread and difficult business. It will include all the physical sciences, mechanics, chemistry, electricity, botany, zoology, geology, physiology, and many other branches. It will be beyond the power of any one mind to grasp; but the study is conceivable, the methods are understood, and by the combined energies of a multitude of workers much has been and is being done. We can conceive of everything being known in this department of knowledge, though we are confessedly far enough distant from the goal at present. But supposing all to be known concerning the material universe that can be known through the medium of such studies as those which have been specified, it is obvious that we shall still leave a large class of questions altogether untouched. Is there no moral tie between the universe and myself? Is there any reason why the said universe exists, and why I also exist? Is there any great purpose to be performed by these existences? Or again, what is the material universe? what is matter? what am I? Questions such as these, which may be suggested in abundance, which force themselves upon every reflecting mind, and which may be

by the aid of a ball, he a certain rope in his chamber producing the phenomenon of a clock striking his door; that he made the experiment repeatedly, and satisfied himself that he had discovered an invariable sequence; but there was no great amount of intelligence either in the experiment or in the discovery.

followed into all kinds of queer ramifications and puzzling consequences, constitute the basis of a study which is altogether distinct from the scientific method of considering the universe. Let us call it philosophical or metaphysical. Whatever name we give to it, it is something different in kind from the method previously described. But we cannot stop here; for the material universe will suggest to a thinking mind something outside itself which is not material: the idea of cause and effect, the postulate that there is no effect without a cause, and the difficulty of conceiving such a complicated yet delicately adjusted system as the material universe without the assumption of a pre-existent presiding mind, lead the thoughtful student to consider the material universe with reference, not merely to itself, which is the basis of science, nor merely with reference to the contemplating mind, which is the basis of philosophy, but also with reference to a first cause of all, lying (so to speak) outside and beyond both; and this is the basis of theology. Observe, I am not saying that the material universe leads by necessary logical consequences to belief in a God—this may or may not be, so far as my present argument is concerned: the point upon which I am insisting is, that the consideration of the material universe must necessarily introduce the discussion whether there be a God or not; if there be, it will lead to other weighty conclusions: but anyhow the study of the universe cannot be complete until it has led the mind of the student up to this supreme question. Moreover, when the mind has been so led, the study would seem to be necessarily complete; for when we have discussed the subject, (1) with reference to itself, (2) with reference to the contemplating mind, and (3) with reference to that which is beyond both the thing contemplated and the contemplating mind, and which is the cause and origin of all the possibilities of the case are exhausted as truly as space is exhausted when we have examined it in all three dimensions.

The view which has now been suggested may receive elucidation and support from observing what has been propounded by notable philosophers before the days of Comte.

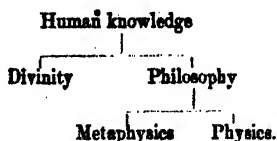
For example, Bacon writes as follows:—

The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other by divine revelation. The light of nature consisteth in the notions of reason and the reports of the senses; for as for knowledge which man receiveth by teaching, it is cumulative and not original; as in a water that besides its own spring-head is fed with other springs and streams. So, then, according to these two differing illuminations or originals, knowledge is first of all divided into divinity and philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed that in this paragraph we have a tripartite division of knowledge. For although Bacon divides it into two, the

<sup>2</sup> *Advancement of Learning*, book II. vol. III. pp. 17-18.

second of his heads is subdivided. The light of nature as he tells us consists in the notions of the mind, and the reports of the senses, which division corresponds pretty well—in fact, if fairly interpreted, corresponds completely—with what we should call metaphysical and physical science: for the metaphysical has to do with ideas of the mind, and the physical depends upon observation of the external world, that is, ultimately upon the senses. Consequently we may represent Bacon's classification of knowledge thus:—



In the paragraph following that which has been quoted above, we again fall upon a tripartite division:—

In philosophy, the contemplations of men do either penetrate unto God, or are circumferred to nature, or are reflected or reverted upon Himself. Out of which several inquiries there do arise three knowledges—divine philosophy, natural philosophy, and human philosophy, or humanity. For all things are marked and stamped with this triple character, of the power of God, the difference of nature, and the use of man.

In this paragraph I understand Bacon to assert that, when the mind of man sets itself to philosophise, or (using a simpler term) to think, on any subject, there will be three lines in which his thoughts may run. First, the man may consider the subject or thing with reference to God; secondly, with reference to other things like itself, that is, with reference to the natural world; or thirdly, with reference to man or to the contemplating mind. So that putting aside all consideration of divinity as such, and confining ourselves to philosophy only, we still are driven by the necessity of the case to admit a divine element, and to discuss any subject which has to be discussed with reference to God and nature and man.

There is thus a bond of similarity between Bacon and Comte; the difference consists in this, that with Bacon the members of the triple division are co-ordinate and harmonious, whereas with Comte they are successive and incompatible. I suspect that Bacon is right, and that consequently Comte is wrong.

To venture to refer by way of further illustration to that curious work of Henry More, which he describes as 'A Conjectural Essay of interpreting the mind of Moses, in the first three chapters of Genesis, according to a threefold Cabbala.'

The heads of the Cabbala are Literal, Philosophical, and Mystical, or Divinely Moral. Now it will be apparent from the very terminology here used that there is a probable connection between the heads of Henry More's Cabbala and the divisions of Comte;



only the order of arrangement is reversed; More's first head corresponding to Comte's third, and vice versa. This will become clearer if we note the substance of the discussions under the three different heads of the Cabbala.

Under the head *Literal*, we find the account of the creation treated as a quasi-scientific history of what took place in the beginning:—

The Earth at first a deep miry Abyss, covered over with waters, over which was a fierce Wind, and through all Darkness. Day made at first without a Sun. . . . The Creation of Fish and Fowl. The Creation of Beasts and Creeping Things. . . . How it came to pass that Man feeds on the better sort of the fruits of the Earth, and the Beasts on the worse.

These are some of the subjects dealt with in the first chapter, and they indicate that the author considered that the history in the Book of Genesis might be regarded positively—in other words scientifically, or in its relation to ordinary human knowledge.

It is very different with the Philosophick Cabbala to which we come next. Here are some indications, taken from the heading of the first chapter, of what the reader is likely to find:—

The World of Life and Forms, and the potentiality of the visible Universe created by the Triune God, and referred to a Monad or Unite. The universal immense Matter of the Visible World created out of nothing, and referred to the number Two. . . . The Creation of Beasts and Cattel, but more chiefly of Man himself, referred to the number Six.

Here we are in a region of Metaphysical, not to say fantastical, speculation.

Lastly, the Moral Cabbala may be judged from the following indications:—

Man, a Microcosm or Little World, in whom there are two principles, Spirit and Flesh. . . . The hearty and sincere love of God and a man's neighbour is as the Sun in the soul of man. . . . Christ the image of God is created, being a perfect Ruler over all the motions of the Irascible and Concupiscible. . . . The Divine Wisdom approves of whatsoever is simply natural, as good.

I do not wish to lay too much stress upon Henry More's undoubtedly fanciful conceptions; but certainly it is curious to observe the analogy between Comte's three progressive states of human knowledge, and More's threefold Cabbala.

Let me proceed to observe that an illustration may be found without going back either to Bacon or to Henry More; it is sufficient to quote the controversy which may be read in the pages of this Review, arising out of Mr. Gladstone's paper on the 'Dawn of Creation and Worship.'<sup>1</sup> Here we have Mr. Gladstone representing the theological side of the argument, Professor Huxley the scientific,

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, November 1864.

and Professor Max Müller, though not taking up the cudgels so distinctly as Professor Huxley, representing the philosophical side.

Mr. Gladstone writes:—

There is nothing in the criticisms of Dr. Réville but what rather tends to confirm than to impair the old-fashioned belief that there is a revelation in the Book of Genesis. . . . Whether this revelation was conveyed to the ancestors of the whole human race who have at the time or since existed, I do not know, and the Scriptures do not appear to me to make the affirmation, even if they do not convey certain indications which favour a contrary opinion. . . . I will now add some positive considerations which appear to me to sustain the ancient, and, as I am persuaded, impregnable, belief of Christians and Jews concerning the inspiration of the Book.

All this marks the point of view theological, and it is emphasised by such language as the following, taken from the article in which Mr. Gladstone replies to the criticism of Professor Huxley, and which he describes as 'A Plea for a Fair Trial.'

I do not think Mr. Huxley has even endeavoured to understand what is the idea, what is the intention, which his opponent ascribes to the Mosaic writer; or what is the conception which his opponent forms of the weighty word Revelation. He holds the writer responsible for scientific precision: I look for nothing of the kind; but assign to him a statement general, which admits exceptions; popular, which aims mainly at producing moral impressions; summary, which cannot but be open to more or less of criticism in detail. He thinks it is a lecture; I think it is a sermon.

Nothing can exhibit more clearly the difference of view between the two writers than these last two short sentences. According to Mr. Gladstone's estimate, the same thing may be a scientific lecture to one mind, a religious discourse to another. One of these does not necessarily pass into the other; the two views may exist simultaneously, they may each contain an element of truth.

Now let us turn to Professor Max Müller. In the postscript to his article, entitled 'Solar Myths,' he attacks Mr. Gladstone on certain points, connected with the subject which he has been discussing. With this attack I shall not concern myself, but shall quote a short passage from the article itself. What I want to illustrate is the manner in which a person of the cast of mind which distinguishes Professor Max Müller, in dealing with the 'Dawn of Creation and Worship,' or with the origin of the religious sentiment, inadvertently approaches the subject from the philosophical side.

The following passage:—

It is something to have gained the conviction, in spite of all that has been said and written to the contrary, that there is no race on earth without what seems to me so peculiar—an intellectual excrescence, namely religion? It is quite true that this has not proved in the least either the theory of a primitive revelation, or the antecedent religious necessities in primitive man, whatever 'primitive man' may mean. But, on the other hand, it even compels us to ask, whether there may not have been the same causes at work in order to produce, under the most different circumstances, the same result—the result from one point of view so irrational, so marvellous, so unexpected, as religion. Whatever form religions may have

assumed, there is one strange feature in all of them, in the lowest and in the highest, in the most modern and the most ancient, a belief in the Infinite—meaning by infinite whatever is not purely finite, and, therefore, not within the cognisance of the senses. It does not matter whether that belief in the Infinite appears as a belief in gods or ancestors, in means and ends, in causes, or powers, or tendencies, in a Beyond, or in the Unknown and Unknowable. The highest generalisation of which all these beliefs admit is a belief in the Infinite or Non-Finite. This fact must form the foundation of the whole science of religion, and may possibly give new life even to the science of thought.

I now pass to Professor Huxley. It will be sufficient for my purpose to quote a portion of the paragraph in which he explains his reason for interposing in the quarrel between Mr. Gladstone and M. R  ville. He writes:—

As the Queen's proctor intervenes, in certain cases, between two litigants, in the interests of justice, so it may be permitted me to interpose as a sort of uncommissioned science proctor. My second excuse for my meddlesomeness is that important questions of natural science—respecting which neither of the combatants professes to speak as an expert—are involved in the controversy; and I think it is desirable that the public should know what it is that natural science really has to say on these topics, to the best belief of one who has been a diligent student of natural science for the last forty years.

Professor Huxley, therefore, criticises Mr. Gladstone from the scientific point of view; we have already seen something of the manner in which Mr. Gladstone meets the criticism. The article closes with a very important page, from which I extract the following:

In the eighth century B.C., in the heart of a world of idolatrous polytheists, the Hebrew prophets put forth a conception of religion which appears to me to be as wonderful an inspiration of genius, as the art of Pheidias or the science of Aristotle: 'And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'

If any so-called religion takes away from this great saying of Micah, I think it wantonly mutilates; while, if it adds thereto, I think it obscures, the perfect ideal of religion.

The antagonism of science is not to religion, but to the heathen survivals and the bad philosophy under which religion herself is often well-nigh crushed. And, for my part, I trust that this antagonism will never cease; but that, to the end of time, true science will continue to fulfil one of her most beneficent functions—that of relieving men from the burden of false science which is imposed upon them in the name of religion.

With the greater part of this quotation I very much sympathise; and I am disposed to believe that upon some such basis, a concordat might be established between Theology, Philosophy, and Science. Only let it be observed that a certain school of scientists will not permit men to walk humbly with their God, because they deny that there is any God with whom men can walk. To walk humbly with our God, if expanded into its full meaning, implies much. It not only assumes the dry fact of the existence of one who can be described

as God, but it also postulates for that Being such qualities as to make humility in His presence the proper mental attitude for beings like ourselves. Still more it postulates such a relation between God and ourselves, that a man can say, 'O God, Thou art my God.' Let philosophers and men of science grant as much as this, and the theologian will grant on his side that, although there are other doctrines besides, still there is abundance of common ground upon which all three classes of thinkers may securely stand without rudely jostling each other.

It would take me beyond my purpose if I should attempt further to adjudicate amongst these three notable champions; but the fact that such men with the same subject-matter before them are so differently impressed, and are led to conclusions so different in their complexions, may suggest that in these days, as in others, knights honest and clear-sighted may look upon opposite sides of the shield. I can quite understand that an intensely earnest mind looking from the theological side should be astonished at the fact and at the manner 'in which in this day writers, whose name is Legion, unimpeached in character, and abounding in talent, entirely put away from them the conception of a deity, an acting and ruling deity;' and yet I can understand that, looking from the physical side, scientific men should maintain that as scientific men they have nothing to do with anything which transcends the region of sense and observation; whilst also it is intelligible that the philosophical inquirer into the origin and relation of the religions of the world may find himself engaged with problems in the solution of which neither the theologian pure and simple nor the scientific investigator can render him much help. But is there not room in the wide world of thought for all three thinkers? may not each learn something from the other two? and is not spiritual equilibrium to be most surely sought in the mutual influence of all three?

In order to illustrate and enforce the view of the subject suggested by these questions, I will venture to propose as amendments to the three assertions concerning knowledge enunciated on page 474 as expressing Comte's theory, these assertions following:—

1. Many branches of knowledge may be contemplated from three points of view—the Theological, the Metaphysical (or Philosophical), and the Scientific.

2. The suitable order of contemplation is not the same in all cases and circumstances, and is sometimes the very reverse of that assigned by Comte.

3. The three modes of contemplation are not mutually opposed, nor incapable of harmonious coexistence.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It may be interesting to notice, in connection with what is here suggested, that the late Dr. Whewell commenced the principal work of his life by publishing the *History of the Inductive Sciences*; that he followed up the history by the *Philosophy*

Let me apply these counter-assertions to some examples, and see what ground we can find for believing them to be true.

Take as a first example *man himself*. This is an example favourable to Comte, and I have given it precedence for that very reason. It may be said that the first contemplation of man is to be found in such a history, or theory, or speculation, or myth (call it what you will), as is contained in the early chapters of Genesis; the basis of such contemplation is the creation of man in the image of God, the delivery to man by God of a moral law, together with the breach of that law and all its consequences; this basis is obviously theological, and nothing else. No philosophy of man can (I apprehend) be produced more ancient than this. But we meet later on with a philosophy more properly so called; we have solemn speculations by Greek thinkers and by Latin followers<sup>6</sup> concerning man's duties and destiny, and the foundations of his morals; these speculations correspond well enough to Comte's metaphysical stage. Then, lastly, we have in these scientific days the distinct science of *anthropology*, by which it is sought to make out all that can be known about *anthropos*, or man; and this is Comte's positive stage. So that it would be difficult to find a case more favourable for the views of the great positive philosopher. But if it be asserted that the theological theory of man is gone by, and that the metaphysical was merely transitional and introductory to the positive or anthropological stage, it may be asked, Where is the proof of this? Is the belief in man's divine origin and his possession of a divine image and a divine life altogether or even approximately exploded? Are there no philosophers who regard ethics as a worthy subject of contemplation and reasoning? and can any one sanely adopt the position that anthropological science is a sufficient substitute for religion and morals? It seems to me more reasonable to contend that, while it is historically true that the study of man has been first theological, secondly metaphysical, and thirdly scientific, the successive platforms of study are by no means opposed to each other, or mutually destructive; on the other hand, each of the three seems to crave the other two. And if—putting history on one side—we consider how the three different views of man can best be classified, I should be disposed to say that the anthropological study should stand first in the natural order; that the insufficiency of the conclusions of natural science concerning a spiritual being like man would lead to the study of him morally, ethically, metaphysically; and that the impossibility of

*of the Inductive Sciences*, which he regarded as a kind of moral to his first work; and that subsequently he published a volume entitled *Indications of a Greater*, which consists chiefly of extracts from the former works. Here we have the order: Positive, Metaphysical, Theological; and each following harmoniously upon that which precedes.

<sup>6</sup> I do not mean that there were no other thinkers except Greek and Latin, but merely refer to these as being chiefly before the minds of his readers.

rising, even by this form of discussion, to the full height of the argument would properly lead to the contemplation of man as in a peculiar sense the image and 'the son of God.' Anyhow, it seems to be simply impossible to take the measure of man with no other aid than that supplied by the instruments and observations of physical science. Let physical science do its best in this as in all other fields, but let it not be asserted that moral and theological science is obsolete or useless; rather let it be candidly considered whether the days, in which the human nature of man is most carefully investigated, may not be also those in which it is specially and supremely important that his divine origin and nature should not be forgotten.

As a second example, also highly favourable to Comte, take our knowledge of nature, concerning which it may be granted that the progression of states historically holds. What need not and cannot be granted is, that the states are mutually destructive. The notion of 'rising from Nature up to Nature's God' may not always be realised; but to say that this progression is impossible may be characterised as at least arbitrary, and as lacking proof both from reason and from experience. It seems to me that if we choose to imagine a thinking being suddenly placed in the plenitude of his powers upon earth, what he would do would be this: he would first examine carefully the universe in which he was placed; then he would be led, by reflection upon himself and his own feelings and aspirations, to guess that there were more things in heaven and earth than positive philosophy could reveal to him; and, lastly, he would be led to the conception of a Great First Cause, or a Lord of Heaven and Earth. When arrived at this terminus, why should not he still hold fast and value the knowledge which his first investigations had procured for him?

One more example shall suffice. Let it be that of time and space. I choose this example, not as in the former cases because it is favourable to Comte, but because on the other hand it is quite incompatible with his theory. Time and space are primarily known to us as connected with the measures of them: time is a matter for clocks and watches, space for a foot-rule; the earliest clock or watch being the sun or the moon, and the earliest foot-rule man's own foot, or a span, or a cubit: and this positive conception of time and space proves prevalent to ninety-nine men out of a hundred even in the present day: it is only the hundredth man who asks, 'Well, but after all, what is space? and what is time?' And then it is one man in millions, an Immanuel Kant, or the like, who tries to tell his fellows what space and time are. In this case it seems perfectly certain that the metaphysical stage did not precede the positive, and it is not easy to see how it could. But what of the theological? So far

from being the first state of knowledge, it might be argued that it is not a necessary state at all. I do not say that this argument would hold good, for indeed I think that the consideration of space and time as conditions of human conceptions leads us almost necessarily to the thought of one whose conceptions are not so conditioned, whose being is infinite, and whose presence is ubiquitous; but still I think it might be argued with some plausibility that space and time have no theological side: anyhow it would be utterly preposterous to maintain that our knowledge of time and space begins with a theological phase, passes through a metaphysical one, and terminates in a positive.

I trust that I am not unfairly dealing with Comte's theory by thus testing it: certainly my intention is to be fair, and certainly Comte asserts that each of our leading conceptions passes through the stages which he describes in the order which he gives, and with the condition of each stage being destructive of that which precedes it. The application in many cases of this theory may be harmless enough, and the assertion of the universality of its application might perhaps by some be regarded at worst as an eccentricity; but when we find that moral and social questions are to be included in the application, or rather that the reduction of moral and social questions to the limits of positive philosophy is the end and aim of Comte's efforts, then we feel that the question of the three states is one of the most serious and solemn that can possibly be raised.

It would take me far beyond my purpose or the convenient limits of this paper to discuss the probable results of Comte's views concerning the right basis of moral and social philosophy being practically realised; but I cannot refrain from saying that I should tremble exceedingly and almost despair concerning mankind, if I could bring myself to believe that these views had any considerable chance of gaining general acceptance amongst us.

For it is not only the history of the world, but the history of each individual man, that is to be subject to this iron law of the three states. 'So strictly,' writes Dr. Martineau,<sup>a</sup> 'does Comte accept and apply this rule, that he names the age at which the youth will complete his evolution: at fourteen he will stand at the upper limit of his theological term, having already run through two prior segments of its length; and at twenty-one he will have left his metaphysics behind, and stand forth the essential Positivist. Such at least will be his history, so far as his education conforms itself to the spontaneous growth of his powers and tendencies of his nature.' Though it is admitted, to quote the same writer, 'that even in the keen defining light of Paris, some shreds of metaphysic network still hang about biology, and for the students of morals a certain Divine nimbus lingers around the head of humanity, and hides its naked

<sup>a</sup> *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. i. p. 412.

zoological affinities.' In other words, it is in vain to ignore the instinct and conscience of mankind, or to drive them out with the pitchfork of Positive Philosophy: they will not be ignored or driven out: even in the most privileged atmosphere *usque recurrent*; they will assert their supremacy, let Positive Philosophers say what they will.

The aspect of the three states which is thus revealed to our minds is unspeakably tragical and sad. It is true enough, only too true, that at the age of fourteen or thereabouts boys not unfrequently, though far from universally, slough off the teaching of childhood, and that after some years of doubt and unsettled conviction they become as men what it has been the fashion to call unbelievers, but what I suppose we ought to dignify with the name of Positive Philosophers: the Christian birthright is sold for the mess of agnostic pottage. I know what may be said about the Religion of Humanity: and I rejoice that at least some compensation, which can scarcely be brought logically within the limits of Positive Philosophy, is offered for the destruction of the possibility of religious faith in the ordinary sense of the word: but in truth it is no sufficient compensation; it is a stone, when we want bread: it is a fiction in which the soul of a philosopher, who has reasoned himself out of a belief in God the Father, may endeavour to find delight, but it is not food for the simple and ignorant, it is mockery to women and children, it is no 'Gospel for the poor.'

Hence it is not difficult to prophesy, with some confidence of the truth of the prediction, that Theology has not that transient character which Comte predicates for it; that it cannot be and will not be rendered obsolete either by Metaphysics or by Positive Philosophy; that it is in fact built 'upon a Rock, against which the Gates of Hell shall not prevail.'

While, however, theology in all its generality and depth and fullness is thus, as asserted, indestructible, the personal share in the treasures of theology, the personal knowledge of God, and personal faith in Him, may be destroyed for any one particular human soul with comparative ease. And it is this consideration, above all others, which has led me to attempt in this essay a simple, and, as I trust, intelligible refutation of Comte's three-headed dogma, or literary Cerberus. The question of the truth or untruth of the dogma is one of terrible practical importance. If it be true, theology vanishes, and therefore *Osés*. We are reduced to the ancient negation, 'There is no God.' And the very neatness and plausibility of Comte's formula, which was taken in the commencement of this essay as suggesting that it is not likely to be strictly exact, nevertheless tends to give it currency amongst a multitude of readers, who are probably not exact thinkers, if they can be described as thinkers at all. 'Let me write the songs of a nation,' said one of keen perception of the workings of a national



mind,† and I care not who makes its laws.' And as with songs so is it very much with epigrams: a man puts some view concerning religion or politics or morality into an epigrammatic form, which supplies it (as it were) with wings, and enables it like thistle seed to spread and propagate after its kind. Thus we are told that God is none other than 'a stream of tendency,' or that 'matter has in it the potentiality of all terrestrial life,' or that 'property is theft,' or that 'the voice of the people is the voice of God,' together with many other epigrams more or less intelligible; and the epigrams if plausible, and falling in with the tastes of those to whom they are addressed, are quoted and quoted until they become almost a part of the popular creed and are accepted as containing deep undeniable truth. In this way, as I believe, much mischief is done; and I can scarcely imagine any event more injurious in its consequences to the moral and religious condition of a nation, than the popular acceptance and general currency of Comte's epigrammatic dogma of the three states. In which belief I have written this essay; and I now submit it to the world, as a humble contribution towards the destruction of a dogma which I hold to be philosophically and practically untrue, and morally and in its consequences pernicious and dangerous.

H. CARLISLE.

## *THE CIVIL SERVICE AS A PROFESSION.*

THERE have been many indications of late of a growing feeling in favour of such an inquiry as the Government has just promised into the condition of the public departments. These indications may or may not be in themselves a cause for uneasiness. There is a large question behind which is worthy of much attention, for it not only vitally affects the future of the Civil Service as a profession, but it has a most direct bearing on those questions of organisation and administration to which public attention has been directed on more than one occasion recently. It is now fifteen years since the system of open competitive examination was adopted in this country as a means of recruiting the staff of our public departments. It has worked a revolution in the Civil Service, and for many reasons the present is a suitable time to review the results, and at the same time to note the nature and tendency of the work of those permanent officials in high position who, reared in the traditions of the old system, have here had to grapple with a question involving many problems of a nature public and social as well as administrative.

The question of the state of the Civil Service is a large one, and I will begin with that aspect of it which meets me significantly at the threshold. Our Home Civil Service has almost ceased to attract into its ranks that class of men which its reformers have always expressed themselves anxious to secure—the men of liberal education, such as go into the open professions; the men who go into the law, the Church, and kindred occupations, and who officer the army and navy. I may divide my remarks under two heads: (1) The break-down of the scheme or schemes now in operation for recruiting the public departments by open competitive examination; and (2) the effect upon those departments of a result so unprovided for.

It will be well to know, in the first place, what we are to understand by the term Civil Service. It is often loosely used, and I do not wish to quote it in the wide sense in which it is sometimes understood. The Civil Service Commissioners deal with all candidates for appointments, and in their last report they state that, during the year 1885, 24,036 cases were so treated. Of this number a large proportion are

those of candidates for appointments which do not come within the scope of my remarks, and which may be described as of a nature subordinate, technical, or special. I shall have to deal only with the ordinary clerical and administrative establishments of the great public departments from the Treasury downwards, which establishments are at present almost exclusively recruited by open competitive examination. The system in force is very simple; with a few unimportant exceptions all the staff enter under two schemes of examination, both open and competitive. The superior clerical establishments are supposed to be constituted from men entering under the higher scheme of examination, which is arranged to suit the attainments of men trained at a public school or university, while the ordinary clerical staff is intended to be recruited under the lower scheme of examination, which only includes the subjects taught at an ordinary elementary school. For the information of those who do not already possess any special knowledge of the subject, and as a help towards a clearer view of the situation, it may be well to give both schemes.

The higher examination is in the following subjects:—

	Marks
English Composition (including Précis-writing) . . . . .	500
History of England (including that of the Laws and Constitution) . . . . .	500
English Language and Literature . . . . .	500
Language, Literature, and History of Greece . . . . .	750
"        "        "        Rome . . . . .	750
"        "        "        France . . . . .	375
"        "        "        Germany . . . . .	375
"        "        "        Italy . . . . .	375
Mathematics (pure and mixed) . . . . .	1,250
Natural Science: that is (1) Chemistry, including Heat; (2) Electricity and Magnetism; (3) Geology and Mineralogy; (4) Zoology; (5) Botany . . . . .	1,000
The total (1,000) marks may be obtained by adequate proficiency in any two or more of the five branches of science included under this head.	
Moral Sciences: that is, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy . . . . .	500
Jurisprudence . . . . .	375
Political Economy . . . . .	375

No subjects are obligatory. The limits of age are eighteen and twenty-four.

The range of subjects, it will be seen, is very wide; and their nature and the character of the papers usually set would, under normal circumstances, render the examination what it is intended to be—a most comprehensive and difficult test to the average of the men turned out by our Universities. The Class II., or, as it is now known, the Lower Division Scheme, is very different in character.

It comprises the following subjects:—

	Marks
1. Handwriting . . . . .	400
2. Orthography . . . . .	400

	Marks
3. Arithmetic . . . . .	400
4. Copying MS. (to test accuracy) . . . . .	200
5. English Composition . . . . .	200
6. Geography . . . . .	200
7. Indexing or Docketing . . . . .	200
8. Digesting Returns into Summaries . . . . .	200
9. English History . . . . .	200
10. Bookkeeping . . . . .	200

No subjects are obligatory. The limits of age are seventeen and twenty.

Here, it will be seen, the subjects do not include any beyond the reach of a boy from an elementary school, and they might be described as such as would be included in what is known as a commercial education.

Now let us see what is the intention of the authorities respecting those who have passed successfully through the ordeal of open competition under these examinations. Both schemes have been in force since the introduction of open competition in 1870; but in 1876, as the result of an inquiry made in 1875, a modification of the original plan was brought about. Up to 1875 only some of the superior offices had a part of their staff recruited under the higher examination, but in that year a proposal was made which has since, unfortunately for the cause of reform, become associated with the name of Sir Lyon Playfair, by which every department was to divide its staff into two grades, each to be separate and distinct and to be recruited under its own scheme of examination. The proposal was adopted by the Treasury, and the scheme formulated by the committee has since been gradually applied to the public departments. Under it the work in each office is intended to be divided into a superior and inferior class, and to be distributed between the corresponding grades of clerks. In the offices where much of the work is of a superior character it was the intention that there should be a large Upper Division establishment, while where the duties were more of a routine and mechanical nature it was proposed that there should be a numerous Lower Division staff. The clerks of the higher and lower grades having entered by different examinations, promotion within the Service from the Lower to the Higher Division was to be a matter of rare occurrence. The scheme provides that the scale of salary in each division shall be uniform throughout the departments, the difficulty presented by the great inequalities in the work in the various offices being met by awarding, in variable amounts, special remuneration over and above salary, to be called 'duty pay,' to those officers in both divisions employed on more important duties than the rest of their colleagues.

This is the scheme for the organisation of the public departments which the authorities of the Civil Service have unfolded and matured

as a necessary sequence to the introduction of open competition. It was avowedly drawn on military lines. At the bottom were to be the Lower Division clerks, the privates of the army. Certain of these were to receive special allowances for performing better work than their colleagues, which the Commissioners said would confer on them a rank resembling that of non-commissioned officers. Then, as in the army, came a chasm, and the barrier between the non-commissioned officers and the Upper Division clerks who were to officer the others was to be crossed only as a rare occurrence. Above all, to complete the military pattern, there were to be a few superior appointments, and these were described and have since been known as 'staff appointments.' The scheme was applied to the public departments in the face of many authoritative warnings as to the probable consequences, and the expression of many grave doubts as to the suitability to a public office of a system of organisation which it was stated could hardly be expected to succeed in a private establishment.

Now let us examine the results. The first and most significant of these, and that which is perhaps calculated to cause most anxiety, is just becoming apparent.

The Civil Service is, by force of circumstances and contrary to intention, being almost exclusively recruited under the lower examination. The full meaning of this has not yet been realised. It is also becoming evident that, whether the young men who have entered and are entering under this lower scheme do or do not form the best material from which to constitute the superior establishments, these establishments must now, also by force of circumstances, be very largely, perhaps exclusively, recruited from these men. Since 1870 to the end of 1885 only 199 candidates have entered under the higher examination, and many even of these, as will be seen, have been successful under circumstances which rendered their appointment very undesirable and inexpedient. During this period some 2,500 appointments have been made under the Lower Division scheme. Many of the departments, including some of the largest and most important, have up to the present made no appointments under the higher examination, recruiting their staff entirely under the lower scheme. In some instances where the higher examination has been tried it has been abandoned, and in others where it is continued no one would think of pointing to the experiment with satisfaction. The idea of recruiting the upper ranks of the staff of the public departments by men entering from the outside simply as clerks, to be placed over the heads of other clerks whose service and experience had given them a grasp of the work of the office, was, of course, to say the least, an unfortunate one from an administrative point of view. No head of a department with any care for the reputation and efficiency of his office would find it

practicable in the long run; and it might have been foreseen that the responsible chiefs would soon find it necessary to evade such a regulation by all sorts of official expedients. But other causes have also been at work to increase the difficulty. Very soon after 1876 it became apparent that the expectation of attracting men of liberal education to the Civil Service under the higher scheme of examination, and with the prospects proposed by the Commissioners, was doomed to disappointment. The records of examinations for such vacancies as have been filled under the higher scheme offer in themselves striking evidence of the unhealthy state of things prevailing. The following table gives a bird's-eye view of the conditions under which these examinations have been held, and the appointments made since 1876:—

Date of examination	Number of competitors	Number of vacancies filled	Number on list of last candidate appointed	Number of marks obtained by first candidate	Number of marks obtained by last candidate appointed
June 1876 . . .	38	4	5	1,840	1,342
March 1877 . . .	48	10	12	1,753	1,110
January 1878 . . .	19	3	4	1,514	1,128
April 1878 . . .	33	9	19	2,283	867
November 1878 . . .	13	5	6	1,810	1,220
April 1879 . . .	28	11	18	2,256	846
October 1879 . . .	21	10	12	2,118	735
May 1880 . . .	48	8	13	1,948	1,095
July 1880 . . .	38	8	20	2,278	840
February 1881 . . .	56	20	25	1,810	865
September 1881 . . .	30	11	13	1,641	1,061
February 1882 . . .	32	3	6	2,034	1,524
June 1882 . . .	35	10	18	2,458	1,169
February 1883 . . .	31	16	21	2,097	697
October 1883 . . .	70	10	23	2,295	1,057
June 1884 . . .	50	18	23	2,548	1,012
March 1885 . . .	03	12	18	2,105	1,123
Total . . .	671	177	265		

The first point which calls for attention here is the relation of the number of candidates who were offered appointments to the total number of competitors. Although these places were intended by the authorities to be 'such as would attract men of liberal education who would otherwise go into the open professions,' the competition for them has been so very slight that in April and October 1879, July 1880, June 1882, and February 1883, the number of competitors who were offered appointments was more than half of those who presented themselves, the Civil Service Commissioners having often to go a considerable distance down the list of unsuccessful candidates to find men willing to accept some of those vacant. In estimating the competition for the vacancies filled 265 appointments must, of course, be taken to have been offered, although the vacancies were only 177, which gives for the whole period an

average of 2.5 candidates to each, a proportion quite exceptional when compared with the other open competitive examinations held by the Commissioners. In the examinations held for the Indian Civil Service, with which these examinations may fairly be compared, the average proportion of candidates to vacancies during the same period was considerably in excess of 5 to 1; and allowing for the fact, which is really not of much importance in a comparison, that there is no preliminary examination for the Indian Civil Service, the difference is sufficiently striking, especially when the close limits of age in the latter case, 17 and 19, are compared with those in the former, which are 18 and 24. In the Lower Division examinations held during the same period the proportion of competitors to appointments, which has been steadily increasing, averaged nearly 7 to 1, and during the last three years it has averaged over 10 to 1.

The figures in the last two columns are very interesting. These show respectively the number of marks obtained in each examination by the first candidate on the list and the number obtained by the last who received an appointment. The first point to be noticed is the extremely small number of marks which on some occasions secured an appointment, the most notable instances being in the examinations held in April 1878, April and October 1879, July 1880, February 1881, and February 1883. On the last-mentioned occasion the last candidate appointed received only 697 marks, the first scoring 2,097. The difference between the marks in the two columns is striking and very exceptional. The standard of proficiency shown by the first candidates on the list is in fact very high, while the last appointments have, on the other hand, very often fallen to men of very inferior merit. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the proposals for a higher establishment uniform throughout the Service, and with the prospects sketched by the Commissioners, have either been abandoned or have practically failed, offices like the Treasury, Home Office, Board of Trade, and others, increasing the confusion by offering appointments to be filled by this examination with scales of salary and prospects arranged according to their own requirements, and much superior to those proposed by the Commissioners. It is for these posts that any real competition exists, the ordinary Higher Division vacancies often going a-begging, and being for the most part filled by men far down the list of unsuccessful candidates whose appointment under those circumstances, and as the result of obtaining a few hundred marks for a mere smattering of information, cannot be regarded as tending to promote either the efficiency or credit of the Service. I would like to give the marks obtained by these candidates in the subjects in which they were examined, but it would occupy too much space, and any one who wishes to pursue the subject further will find the details in the records

published by the Civil Service Commissioners. It is, however, obvious that the small knowledge displayed by such men in subjects, moreover, which, generally speaking, have nothing whatever to do with the details of official work, is a very unsatisfactory qualification for appointment to positions over the heads of trained men who have learned the work of the departments in the Lower Division.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that this examination has not proved a success. It must be understood that the superior establishments of the public offices are at present largely constituted of men who have entered under the old nomination system in force before 1870. Now whatever was to be said against the system of making the Civil Service a close corporation—and there was much from a public point of view—it is at all events certain that towards the close, under the plan of limited competition after nomination, a class of men found their way into the public service which it has always been the desire of reformers to secure, and which has scarcely been represented since the days of open competition. The supply has been cut short, and under present arrangements it is not likely to be resumed.

The Higher Division scheme of examination has broken down: there remains the lower scheme. Under this, between two and three thousand youths have entered since 1870. A considerable sprinkling of men of superior education have up till recently found their way into the Civil Service under the lower scheme, but the supply cannot continue; in my experience it has almost ceased; the competition is too severe, and the examination scheme too low. A man of liberal education would not in the first instance, and probably could not in the next place, find his way into the Civil Service under this examination. He would not, for the prospects (on paper) would not attract him; and he probably could not, because he would stand little chance of attaining the extraordinary proficiency in elementary subjects required to secure success in competition with the crowds of youths which, under the working of the Education Acts, the School Boards and elementary schools throughout the country are now sending into the world to make the most of the knowledge they have acquired. A youth trained at a good elementary school stands a much better chance of success in this examination than one whose parents have given him the benefit of a liberal education, of which, for instance, the acquirement of unusual proficiency in such a subject as handwriting would probably have formed no part. It is, in fact, becoming clear that the efforts of the authorities to regulate the organisation of the Civil Service to what they conceived to be the requirements of open competition are likely to result in nothing more worthy than a scheme under which the public departments are being almost exclusively recruited by open competition in the 'three R's.'



The records of the Lower Division examinations held since 1876 show a very different result from those of the Higher Division. The average proficiency of candidates presenting themselves for examination under the higher scheme has not increased, although the fair competition for the few valuable places offered with the others has, of course, tended to raise the average proficiency of the men in the first section of the list. The following table gives a comparative view of the two examinations:—

Year	Class I. Examinations				Lower Division Examinations			
	Number of competitors	Number of candidates offered appointments	Proportion of candidates to appointments offered	Average marks obtained by candidates offered appointments	Number of competitors	Number of vacancies	Proportion of candidates to vacancies	Average of marks obtained by successful candidates
1876	38	5	7.6	1,605	372	131	2.8	1,613
1877	48	12	4	1,336	578	214	2.7	1,701
1878	65	20	2.2	1,333	325	68	4.7	1,851
1879	49	30	1.6	1,303	950	205	4.6	1,867
1880	86	42	2	1,388	1,313	210	6.2	1,893
1881	95	38	2.5	1,309	1,879	303	6.2	1,883
1882	67	24	2.6	1,718	1,948	193	10	1,950
1883	110	44	2.5	1,298	1,130	156	7.2	1,893
1884	50	23	2.1	1,536	1,646	133	12.3	1,953
1885	63	18	3.5	1,495	1,915	170	11.2	1,971
—	—	Average for the 10 years	2.5	—	—	Average for the 10 years	6.7	—

It will be seen from the above that the average proficiency of the candidates who obtained appointments under the higher examination has been very fluctuating. The proficiency of the successful candidates in the lower examination shows, on the other hand, a steady rise by the pretty regular increase in the average marks obtained from 1,613 in 1876, out of a maximum of 2,600, to the very high average of 1,971 in 1885. The proportion of candidates to vacancies has also rapidly increased from 2.8 in 1876 to 11.2 in 1885, the highest point being touched in the previous year, when it stood at 12.3.

So far the results attending the endeavour to regulate the application of open competition to the public departments by dividing the clerical staff in each office into two distinct grades, each recruited from the outside under its own scheme of examination, may be briefly recapitulated as follows:—

1. That under the scheme of examination for the Higher Division now in force only 199 men have entered the Civil Service since 1870 up to the end of 1885.

2. That the attempt to organise the superior establishments of the public offices on the lines proposed by the Commission of 1873 has been a distinct failure, and that such appointments as have been made to them under the higher examination have been to a considerable degree those of candidates of inferior attainments.

3. That the public departments are being, contrary to intention but by force of circumstances, almost exclusively recruited under the lower examination.

4. That under the severe competition prevailing, this examination is far too low to permit of the entry into the Civil Service of a necessary proportion of men of superior education.

Let us now glance at the question from an administrative point of view, for it is here that we meet it under the gravest aspects. Efficiency and economy are the watchwords in the name of which Civil Service reformers have always worked for good or evil. Let us see what is the result in this case.

There is, indeed, no lack of the necessary public spirit amongst the heads of departments; the efforts to evade principle in the interests of efficiency, which have led to the undue development of the lower scheme, is in itself evidence of this. It is principle which is radically at fault. The system upon which our public departments are administered and the public expenditure controlled is calculated to excite the surprise of any one conversant with the principles upon which any of the great business or commercial establishments throughout the country are worked. At the head of the public departments comes the Treasury, entrusted with some degree of the administrative control of most of the departments, and largely with the financial control of all of them. It might be expected that the staff of the Treasury would in such circumstances consist largely of experienced and capable officials who had served their apprenticeship and earned distinction in other departments, and who would consequently possess some actual knowledge of the work and internal affairs of those offices over which the Treasury exercises so large a control. But nothing of the kind is required. With the exception of the Accounts Branch, the permanent staff of the Treasury consists almost exclusively of men who have entered that office as youths from the outside, and who can have no more actual knowledge of the internal affairs of any department throughout the Service than the clerical staff at the Colonial Office can have of the internal affairs of New South Wales. This is the key-note of the whole system of our Civil Service administration. Everywhere we find the same fatal tendency to place a chasm between the superior establishments and those others which they control and direct. In the cloud of theories which have been discussed since 1870, and the many fancy schemes which have been proposed, the end towards which they should all tend has been missed. Sir Charles Trevelyan, to whom, with Lord Iddesleigh, we owe open competition, stated of the Treasury in 1875 what is even more pointedly true at the present moment:—

In other branches of the public service it is held to be indispensable that those who exercise control should have practical experience of the duties which they are called upon to superintend. . . . But at the Treasury neither the political nor

permanent officers possess, according to the existing system, personal knowledge of any portion of that vast extent of civil and military business which they have to control. The experience of the political officers is parliamentary; the experience of the permanent officers is confined to the Treasury itself. The result is that the internal arrangements and regulations of the different departments are very imperfectly understood at the Treasury, and the general supervision with which that office is charged on behalf of the public is either entirely omitted or performed in what must be pronounced to be, on the whole, a loose, superficial, and perfunctory manner. The actual state and interior working of the establishments by which the revenue of this country is collected, and its communications are maintained, are ordinarily known at the Treasury only by the statements and counter-statements of complainants and heads of departments, which is a mode of obtaining information equally applicable to every other subject, however foreign to the functions of the Treasury.

The same principle holds sway throughout the departments. Let not the public blame their officials when there is apparent cause for censure; it is not always their fault. The difficulties against the best men finding their way to the front are not more baneful in their effect than the conditions under which many of the most responsible positions are occupied. I have spoken of two distinct grades of clerks working side by side, throughout the public offices, but in reality there are three, for below these there are the writers or copyists, who are, in practice, more rigidly excluded from promotion to the Lower Division than the members of this Division are, by the regulations, excluded from promotion to the Higher Division. But this gives no idea of the number of artificial barriers which have been erected at every point, and which prevent the right men from getting into the right places throughout the departments. Let me descend for a moment into detail. Perhaps the only advantage which might be secured to the public service from the present curious attempt to maintain two grades of clerks uniform throughout the departments is that it would be easy to arrange that men should be allowed to secure exchanges and transfers, so as to offer facilities to men of different tastes and qualifications finding suitable work. But this is impracticable. A youth appointed under the Lower Division examination entering one of the departments may after a time feel himself better suited to the duties of another office, but by the time he has learned in what direction his abilities lie it is too late to secure an exchange or transfer, for he cannot do so without losing seniority. He may have a natural bent for statistics and be well suited for the Board of Trade, and find himself in a second-rate office in Edinburgh, or he may have a turn for accounts and finance and find himself concerned with the details of official furniture in the office of works. Even in the same department the clerks entering different branches are practically not interchangeable. A man with considerable administrative ability may find himself in the accounts branch, and another with a genius for accounts may be sent to the secretarial branch, and yet by the time they have come to find that a reversal of their positions would

be advantageous to themselves and the department, they are practically prohibited from obtaining it, for to obtain an exchange or transfer each must forfeit seniority, and this although they serve under the same heads, have entered under the same regulations, and may have passed in the same examination.

For many years no real progress has been made in the work of organising the Civil Service upon the lines either of economy or efficiency. If I may be allowed to make so bold a statement, the whole scheme of 1870 and 1875 must be pronounced to have been a grave mistake: it is doctrinaire, academical, and quite unsuited to the practical requirements of the public offices. It cannot lead to increased efficiency, and, despite expectations to the contrary, it has already proved a costly experiment. A most instructive lesson from a public point of view would be a sight of the bill which the nation has had to pay for it. Two years previous to the scheme of 1875 a parliamentary committee presided over by the late Home Secretary reported, after a most exhaustive inquiry, that the cost of the public departments was excessive, and that in point of numbers the Civil Service was decidedly in excess of its requirements. The following statement from a parliamentary return dated August 1884 will give some idea of how matters stood in 1875, and again seven years later, after the scheme now in force had come largely into operation. The figures given include, I believe, the totals for the departments with the exception of the Post Office and Education Office.

CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENTS						
1875-76		1882-83		Pensions		Paid as Commutation of Pensions between 1st April 1876 and 31st March 1883 (principally to apply scheme of 1875)
Numbers	Cost	Numbers	Cost	1875-76	1882-83	
3,771	£ 1,290,032	4,241	£ 1,374,020	£ 395,770	£ 422,845	£ 350,315

These figures are significant; although in particular cases the increase can be satisfactorily explained. In the Inland Revenue Department, for instance, where the cost of the clerical establishment has risen from 181,254*l.* to 217,783*l.*, the increase is due to improvements in the methods of transacting the business of the department, and is counterbalanced by a saving in other directions. But on the whole the figures cannot be regarded with satisfaction, and however they may be explained I do not think that the future is likely, under the present system, to bring any reduction of the cost shown in 1882-3. The most instructive item is the very large amount of 350,315*l.* for commutation of pensions. This charge arises very largely from the more or less forced retirement of large numbers of officers during the process of applying the proposals of the committee of 1875, and in addition to part of the increase in pensions it represents the bill

which the country has had to pay for the present unsatisfactory scheme, which, with all its other failings, has apparently tended to increase both the numbers and the cost of the departments.

The Civil Service at present is in sore need of enlightened reform. Its reformers hitherto have not been very successful. One of the important professions in the country, it has under their hands come to be practically closed to men of education. The administrative and financial control entrusted to the superior establishments is exercised under the gravest disadvantages, and a most unsuitable and unfortunate system of organisation threatens to seriously impair the efficiency of the ordinary staff. In addition to all, the taxpayer has to face the unpleasant incident of increased expenditure.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

## *THE CHASE*

### *OF THE WILD FALLOW DEER.*

FOR upwards of two thousand years the wild deer have afforded sport and food to the dwellers in the beautiful sylvan glades of 'New Forest.' When first the Romans landed on this island, the district known as 'Ytene,' or 'the furzy waste,' was found by them to be in much the same condition as it is in the present times, that is to say, a combination of wild open wastes covered with heath or furze, with grand woods, whose recesses are concealed by the thickest of covert. And their leader, Julius Cæsar, has handed down to posterity this record of the dwellers in forests, that 'all of their time which is not spent in military exercise is spent in hunting.'

To come one step nearer to modern times, we find Canute, the Danish King, sitting with his Parliament at Winchester in order to draw up a code of forest laws for the preservation of game (and especially of deer) by the side of which all modern game legislation would appear like simple jesting. The amputation of a right hand, the loss of an eye, or even of a man's skin, were the substitutes in those days for the 'two pounds and costs' with which modern justice visits offenders of this class. The old manor of Lyndhurst, with its royal residence or hunting lodge (now called the Queen's House), existed even at that time, and was granted to the Abbot of Amesbury by the Saxon Queen, Elfrida, many years before the Conquest. Greatly altered, of course, it stands now as a memorial of that passion for the chase which successive monarchs, by whom it has been inhabited, added to, or rebuilt, allowed to predominate over every other occupation.

The next phase which came over 'Ytene' commenced less than a dozen years after the Conqueror had fairly established himself in the country. A wild-wooded country, well stocked with all the game which he loved best to pursue, and within easy distance from his capital of Winchester—what could appear more logical to the mind of a conqueror than that this favoured region should be attached, and for ever reserved to his own personal use and enjoyment? And so arose the royal domain of 'New Forest,' and as the game laws were in no case likely to be relaxed by the monarch of whom it is related that he 'loved the tall deer as if he had been their father,' so

it became more than ever felonious even to disturb the quarry which the king delighted to honour. No dog might set its foot within the sacred precincts save those only of certain privileged dignitaries either of Church or State, and the very cur which the miserable husbandman kept as a guard for his premises might only exist if he had been 'lawed,' or so mutilated, that the idea of poaching was for ever banished from his mind. The old stirrup which was the 'gauge' of the dogs that must undergo this penalty hangs to this day in the ancient hall of justice at Lyndhurst, those dogs which could pass through it being exempt, but those whose size prevented their doing so lost, poor brutes, their two centre toes, and were cripples for ever.

So time rolled on, and after three of the blood relations of the afforester had lost their lives in the forest, including the second William himself, a more quiet time set in. The 'Charta de Foresta,' granted by Henry the Second, did much to ameliorate the savage old forest law, and the perambulations of the forest boundaries in the time of Edward the First, which have since been rigidly adhered to, set at rest all question as to whose lands did, or did not, come within the pale of the forest law. But still one crowned head after another took his pleasure in this royal chase. Edward the First was a resident at Lyndhurst, Queen Elizabeth occupied her hunting lodge, and it remained a favourite hunting ground until the Civil Wars occupied the minds of Englishmen with thoughts graver than sport, and the introduction of gunpowder for sporting purposes much altered the system of chasing the deer, and taking them for purposes of food. However, Charles the Second was not unmindful of the forest, for he caused its boundaries to be perambulated, and he nearly rebuilt the old king's house; but it was rather as a park or chase well stocked with deer than as a hunting ground that the forest existed. Much venison no doubt was provided, and a noble head of deer kept up, but we have to take a stride from 1680 to the earlier part of the present century before we again find the royal pack of hounds showing sport in New Forest. Between the years 1820 and 1830 the Royal Buckhounds were again brought down regularly in the months of March and April to hunt the wild deer.

There existed at that time a vast herd of some thousands of fallow deer, and a smaller herd of red deer, about seventy to one hundred in number. These were amply sufficient to show sport, and the spring forest hunting became very popular. It is stated that one season Tilbury, the famous jobmaster, had as many as one hundred hunters standing in Lyndhurst and the neighbourhood to be let out on hire to the various sportsmen visiting the forest; and so the hunting of wild deer (though not at this period the fallow deer) went merrily on year by year up to 1850, and the institution of the 'April month,' so dear to the New Forester, became an established fact; because for those two months in the year, when hunting in other countries has become a

farce by reason of drying winds and hard fallows, the sportsmen from all parts flock in to the moist sheltered forest, and thus enjoy yet a brief season more of the 'sport of kings'—whereby they not only enliven the inhabitants of the New Forest with their society and example, but, moreover, bring much gold into the place, and while they improve and recreate the sport, they also enrich the pocket, of the dweller in the woods, no little to his advantage in both respects.

But this is a digression. Up then to the year 1850 the monarchs of England may be said to have hunted, or to have sent their hounds to hunt, their own deer in New Forest; but now a great change took place. At this period the forest was like a vast park, extending over some ninety thousand acres, abundantly stocked with deer. The traveller saw them lying amid the fern, or standing in the hollows of the old woods literally by hundreds, and one of the greatest charms of this beautiful district was lent by their presence. The small herd of red deer kept entirely to the wilder or more open parts of the forest, but *the* deer of the country—the resident in the woods and the animal in all respects suited to the country was, as now, the fallow deer—the old woodland deer of England, just as the red deer was the inhabitant of the hill country and open heath.

The presence of this large herd of deer in an inhabited district was not altogether an unmixed blessing. The expense too of the large staff of keepers and men to protect them was very great, when added to the cost of maintaining the deer in winter. And so when an agitation was promoted by various landowners and owners of common rights to get the deer abolished in order that their crops might not be damaged nor their cattle feed impaired, it was no wonder that an economical government lent a willing ear to their prayer, and finally bargained to abolish the deer in exchange for a right to plant 10,000 acres in perpetuity, free from all common rights. So the edict went forth, and a 'Jihad' against the deer was proclaimed. The Commissioners of Woods undertook to remove the deer, root and branch, within two years, and very thoroughly their work was done. Nets, guns, snares, and finally, as the deer got scarcer and scarcer, hound and horn were employed to destroy them, and hence arose in modern times the 'chase of the wild fallow deer.'

As the deer became very few in number, so it became quite out of the power of the keepers to get hold of them. The opportunity of good wild sport to be enjoyed was soon observed by Mr. Lovell, a gentleman who had then not long resided in the country, but who had well earned the reputation of a good sportsman and an exceedingly fine horseman, as a follower of the famous Badminton pack. This gentleman having proffered his welcome assistance to the authorities, got together such a pack as he could, chiefly consisting of bloodhounds, some of which every keeper kept, and which he assembled into kennel and induced to run together. Ere long, draft



foxhounds appeared in the pack, and famous runs were obtained, under Mr. Lovell's management, resulting in the death of many deer, until it became a matter of difficulty to find one at all, and practically the deer within New Forest were extinct. *Within the forest* I say, advisedly, for on several sides certain well-wooded manors 'marched' with it, and the hotter the persecution raged against the deer within the forest, the greater was the protection extended to them within these manors, which were only distinguishable from the Crown lands either by an easily surmountable bank or by a line of boundary posts. Therefore, however complete was the destruction of deer within the forest itself, the breed of wild deer never became really extinct in the district, and after the two years were past, and the conditions of the Deer Removal Act had been complied with so far as was humanly possible, a scattered remnant wandered, like the Jews of old, back to their ancient haunts—not indeed, as heretofore, to live a life of security under State protection, but to share with other wild animals the privilege of wandering and fending for themselves in that wild district. So long, however, as a deer was known to exist, an excuse was apparent for a pack of hounds to pursue him with. Thus spring after spring did Mr. Lovell collect from his friends such draft hounds as they could spare, and show the best of sport both to the actual foresters and to strangers from all parts of England, who flocked into the New Forest in April to see a chase so unlike what they were accustomed to, and so genuinely sporting in its character.

The stock of deer seemed like a very widow's cruse, for the same Act of Parliament that prescribed their destruction had authorised the planting of 10,000 acres of young plantation. With this huge mass of almost impenetrable covert to hide in, the deer feared neither hound, man, nor firearm, and in a country so thoroughly congenial to their habits, bred and increased freely in spite of all the efforts of keepers with their guns and of Mr. Lovell's pack. So before many years had elapsed Mr. Lovell could advertise his meets each spring, with but little fear of a blank day, and the New Forest deerhounds became a popular institution in the country. It was still the practice to collect some ten couple of draft foxhounds towards the close of the season and to keep them merely as a temporary pack. The disadvantages of hunting a quarry strange to the hounds in a country full of foxes to which they had been entered and accustomed for many years, will be obvious to all my readers, and it was a marvel to all who witnessed it, how it was that year after year, although ably seconded by his daughters (whose activity either in turning a riotous hound, or in bringing up tail hounds, almost as soon as they were missed, would have been a lesson to many a station-fisted boy, who aspires to the rank of whipper-in on the strength of a resonant whip lash and a rasping voice), Mr. Lovell managed to con-

trol his half-entered hounds and give almost daily such good runs that few strangers would believe that they were not hunting with a regularly established pack. Few men could have succeeded in the same way, and certainly none whose heart was not thoroughly in it and who had not served a thorough apprenticeship in the art of venery as practised in modern times could have even attempted it.

So great, however, was the sport shown by Mr. Lovell that it became felt on all sides that the field was open for something better than a scratch pack. The deer were sufficiently numerous to provide a winter as well as a spring season, and the assistance of a pack of hounds was really indispensable to keep them within limits. Therefore a subscription list was organised and liberally responded to. Hunt servants were engaged and a permanent pack under the management of an influential committee was fairly established. The services of Mr. Lovell as master and huntsman were most judiciously retained, for who but he, who had perpetuated and almost revived the sport, could hunt a wild deer with the same success as had been lately met with?

Almost all the old hounds that had hunted fox were drafted, and a fresh beginning made with young unentered hounds, collected from some of the best and most famous kennels in the kingdom. Rome was not built in a day, and it took some time, by judicious drafting, by careful renewals, and by the aid of much kind assistance, before a good pack such as now brings many a fine buck to bay could be collected. Perseverance is generally crowned with success, and the stranger may go down to New Forest now, confident that he will see as good a hardworking pack of high-bred English foxhounds as he need wish to follow, all entered to the quarry which they pursue, and to that alone, and in respect of nose, tongue, and perseverance, hard to beat. And so we have traced the 'chase of the wild fallow deer' from the days when in the times of the Normans it was the one only sport of the forest, until the present day, when, in spite of adverse circumstances of all kinds, it has been placed in the position of *first* among all the manifold sports of the wild district in which it thrives, to the inhabitants of whom it affords their most popular amusement, while at the same time it enriches their exchequer by attracting from all parts of the world strangers in quest of wild sport in a beautiful country, and to whom the prospect of deer-hunting is a lure more attractive than any other which the district can offer.

So much, then, for a history of the sport, and now a word or two upon the nature thereof, and the manner in which it is carried on. Most people know that the time of the year when bucks are 'in season,' that is, when their venison is in the best condition, is during August and September; then follows the rutting season, during which neither bucks nor does are killed. The season of doe venison com-

menoes about November 1, and continues up to the latter part of January, after which time no venison is, strictly speaking, in season. The New Forest Deerhounds hunt, then, at each of the seasons above mentioned, viz. bucks during parts of August and September, does during November, December, and January; and in addition to this, in accordance with time-honoured practice in this particular country, they hunt the bucks only during March and April. At this time of the year the male deer, although not in season as regards venison, are lean and strong, and in capital condition for running; the fern is all dead, and the forest is bare, somewhat dried up, and in famous order for riding over. At this time, then, the cream of sport is shown to the numerous visitors to the forest. The hunting in August is much spoilt by the dense masses of bracken that cover thousands of acres of ground, which in winter is as bare as a fallow field, and it is more of the nature of cub-hunting for the purpose of breaking in young hounds and getting the pack, generally, into condition. In November sport begins in real earnest.

Nothing runs better than an old doe—one that knows a lot of country, and can stand up for a couple of hours before hounds; but it is not easy, when first the doe is viewed, to distinguish the age of the animal, which any reliable judge can easily do in the case of a buck; thus the pack is sometimes laid on to a two or three year old deer, which will ring and run short until it is killed. In the spring none but full-grown bucks, of six or seven years old, are hunted, and there is no excuse for hunting a deer that is not warrantable, unless hounds unluckily change on to one, too late in the day to recover the line of the hunted deer. It is then a chase of the buck in March or April that I will endeavour to describe.

Let it be one of those glorious spring mornings that now and then gladden the hearts of the sons of men wearied with winter and longing for genial warmth and bright skies. It matters not where the meet may be; in this beautiful country it cannot but be a lovely spot, and the ride to it almost a dream of beauty. In a mile or so we leave the high road and branch off on to springy turf under an archway of grand old beech and oak such as would be the pride of any park in Europe. How green and velvety is the thick moss on the north side of every forest giant, and how bright and glossy are the numerous thickets of holly that clothe the base of almost every other spreading beech. The turf is soft and springy after last night's rain, and every little rill shows how the land is yet full of the rainfall of the sullen winter that is grudgingly retiring. Here we emerge on to a grand open glade; a clump or two of beech shows its vastness as they stand like islands in a sea of grass and heather. What an exquisite tint of pale green is over all that rolling volume of beech trees, and how well it is relieved by the golden tinge which is creeping over the adjacent masses of oak. Through a gate we pass into a vast plantation of fir,

oak, and larch. What a beautiful colour has come on to the larch with the bursting of the innumerable buds on every spray, and how exquisitely patches of it contrast with the more sombre green of the Scotch fir as we stand on the hill top and gaze over a huge sea of verdure rolling for hundreds of acres beneath us. And so down into the valley we plunge, where all is dark green, lighted up with the red stems of the fir—for it is too early yet for the young oaks to burst into leaf and clothe all with the dense mass of foliage that summer brings—and along the wide green rides we canter till we emerge at the crest of the opposite hill, and, passing out on to the heather, pause for a moment to take in the view before us. All around, and as far as the eye can reach, is a rolling expanse of heath and gorse—the latter golden with blossom and redolent with perfume. Across the mind of the northerner flit visions of grouse, of ranging setters, or of well-planned ‘drives,’ as he scans the heather-clad hill-side, but the grand old wood that stands out upon the hill to his left tells him at once that he is in no land of grouse and horned sheep, and that it is a widely different sport that has enticed him into this strange conglomeration of moor and woodland, park and plantation, heath and morass, which go to make up that grand monument of the sporting instincts of our forefathers known as New Forest.

A quarter of a mile further, and under a glorious old grove of beech and oak we find the pack, consisting of some fifteen couples of good-looking hounds attended by two whippers-in, clad in dark green plush, and with the master and huntsman in their midst. Anxiously is he conferring with sundry individuals having all the appearance of keepers; for on these men who act as harbourers much of the sport depends. Very unlike fox-hunting in its preliminary stages is the chase of the deer. These animals, let it be remembered, naturally consort in herds. In this plantation or in that are, it may be, fifteen or twenty deer of which but one or two are huntable. It is, then, the duty of the harbourer to observe these deer when on the feed, to watch or track them to the thicker covert, and to be able to point out to the huntsman the actual track of a warrantable deer—if possible alone, or in company with two or three deer only. Without information of this kind much time must be wasted. Deer after deer of the wrong sort may be found, only to stop hounds on their line; and it will be either by great good luck or by great perseverance on the huntsman's part that a warrantable deer will be found at all while there is light to hunt him by. But to-day all is *coulour de rose*. The report of the harbourer is as favourable as possible. The herd of deer, which comprises all the deer of that sex which frequent this particular district, have moved over the hill into an immense plantation, which for to-day we hope to avoid, and in the wood hard by are two noble bucks, both of warrantable size, but one is an especially fine one. It is past twelve o'clock, and a move is made to the

spot. But first of all the 'tufters'—some two couple of thoroughly staunch, fine-nosed hounds—are selected from the pack. The remainder are taken up in leashes, fastened to a light collar, which each hound wears, and after receiving orders move off to the spot where they are most likely to be at hand when needed. Far better is this than the plan of shutting up the body of the pack in a farmstead or a stable, two or three miles from the scene of action, since they can, in the case of a long tuft, be moved from place to place and never be out of reach of the huntsman.

As soon as all hounds, except the tufters, are secured, the huntsman moves off, led by the harbourer, and we are soon at the spot which he marked, when at five o'clock that day the morning mists lifted as the dawn broke and showed him the deer we hope to handle before the sun sets. Here, then, eight hours afterwards, Mr. Lovell lays his hounds on the line, and it would fairly astound those who have only seen foxhounds drive after a fox, twenty minutes at the outside ahead of them, to see these hounds—of the same breed, and from the same kennels, perhaps, as those which they are accustomed to hunt with—take up the line of the deer, and, with lashing sterns and resonant tongues, work out the line foot by foot, yard by yard, till they fairly settle to it where the deer made his point from his feeding ground to his bed, and drive through the wood at a pace and with a cry that leads every stranger out to believe that the deer has just jumped up in front of them. Not a bit of it! the line is eight hours old, as I have said before, and although the hounds run it hard for a mile on the damp ground under the shade, yet a bit of dry ground brings them to their noses soon enough. Steadily they work it over the heath and dead fern, and 'Moonstone' hits it forward under the beeches. Each hound scores to cry, and they flash a little forward past yonder dense thicket of hollies, and all is mute again. A note on the horn and the huntsman holds them back, and as they pass to the leeward of the thicket you see each head flung upwards; a pause of a moment, and the hounds drive into the thorns as if they 'knew something.' Tally ho! There he goes! and out over the tops of the bushes bounds a grand buck, with horns as wide as the outspread palm of a man's hand, followed in a second by his friend, a deer even bigger than himself. Away go the tufters almost in view, away go master and whip: for, before anything can be done, these two deer must be separated. Nor does this take long; for both of them together plunge into the thickest part of the adjoining plantation. The cry of hounds can be just heard; till in the thickest part of it is heard a crash of music that betokens a view. Our active whip has clapped on to a spot whence he can see more ways at once than ordinary human eyes were contrived for, and in another moment you hear the crack of his whip though, and a gentle rate as almost with a word he has stopped the well-trained tufters, who thoroughly understand what is meant. 'A single deer,

sir, so I stopped them,' is the explanation, 'but he is not the big one.' Hardly are the words spoken when a holloa is heard in the direction from which we all came, and the harbourer arrives breathless—on the raggedest of ponies, with more bits of string in his bridle than ever were seen out of the harness to a donkey cart—to tell us that the big deer has just stolen quietly away on the very line on which he just came. To the uninitiated it seems all right and an extraordinary piece of luck; but to the master and his practised assistants it all 'reads like a book.' Both deer ran together to the thicket, and both no doubt dropped therein; but as the cry of the hounds came nearer and nearer, a vigorous drive from the older and stronger deer sent the 'weaker brother' flying from the covert, while he himself lay squatted securely, although the eager hounds ran almost over his back. Too cowardly, however, to remain in his fancied security, he stole quietly away as soon as he supposed the pack to be fairly settled on the line of his friend, and, overreaching himself, fell plump into the arms of the harbourer.

Here then is one of the chief of the many difficulties encountered by the man who endeavours to hunt the wild deer. The object of every old deer is to substitute another for himself at the earliest possible opportunity, and no pains are spared by him to achieve this object. In fact it may be taken for granted that if once the hounds are laid on to an old and cunning buck there will be on foot, in front of the pack, a younger or smaller deer within twenty minutes. It is here that all the huntsman's skill is required in order to detect the moment that the change takes place even though he may not view the deer, so that as soon as he can be assured that he is not hunting the warrantable deer he started with, he may go back and by a clever cast recover the line of him. However in this case all has gone well; one great difficulty is over and nothing remains but to call up the pack as quickly as possible and to lay them on to the line of the best of the two bucks. Not much time is lost over this, and it is a beautiful sight to see the huntsman bring up the eager well-trained pack clustering close round his horse's heels until he is within a few yards of the line of the deer. Then with one wave of his hand every hound is on the line and a glorious chorus bursts from them as they drive to the front like a field of horses starting for the Derby. Riders must sit down in the saddle and catch hold of their horses' heads if they mean to live with them as they swing over the open heather and grass at a pace that will soon choke off the butcher's boy out for a holiday, and the gentleman in livery who is trying to get the family carriage horse near enough to the front to see *what* mischief his young masters and mistresses are getting into. But it is too good to last—the deer is hardly yet aware that he is hunted, and has gone straight into the thickest part of one of the plantations, where he has again lain down. A check of a moment as the hounds

flash over the line, and then a deafening burst of music as swinging round they wind him and rouse him in their midst. Away he goes, but only runs a short ring, dodging backwards and forwards till a stranger exclaims that he is 'beat already!' Not so; he is but exercising his craft, and, while he turns short enough to baffle the hounds, he searches every thicket in order to push out a younger comrade to take his place and relieve him from the very awkward position he finds himself in. No such luck is in store for him to-day, and ere long, fairly frightened, he sets his head straight and abandoning for the present his wiles he takes refuge in flight. Running the whole length of the covert, he is viewed over the fence and away over the open moorland. Not far behind him are the hounds, and they stream over the heather in what has been well described as 'the mute ecstasy of a burning scent.' Mile after mile is covered; one large plantation is entered, but the pressed deer threads his way through the rides almost without touching the covert, and hardly a check has occurred till after forty minutes of hard galloping the hounds fling up on the further bank of a small river. There our deer has 'soiled,' nor has he very quickly left the cooling shelter; but it is a beautiful sight to see the older hounds carry the scent down the very middle of the water: here questing the bubbles which float on the surface, there trying a rush or alder bough which, hanging over the water, has perchance scraped the deer's back and absorbed some of the scent particles—steadily, if not rapidly, they carry the line down the water with ever and anon a deep note or light whimper as some subtle indication brings to the mind of some veteran of the pack assurance doubly sure that he is on the line of his quarry. A recollection of otter hunting comes involuntarily to the mind of the looker-on as he sees the whole pack driving down the bed of the stream, and he could almost expect to see them throw up and 'mark' at yonder cavernous root. It is a curious faculty, that of hunting the water in this way, and it seems to be born with some hounds, while others never acquire it. Doubtless it is hereditary, like the power of owning a line upon hard roads and similar places which some hounds have possessed in so marked a degree and transmitted to their progeny. But to our chase. A chorus from the pack marks the spot where our deer has left the water, after travelling for over half a mile down it. Yet the hounds cannot at first hunt the line of the wet animal as they could before he entered the river. Ere long, however, the scent improves, and the pack is soon driving along the green mossy glades of a beautiful oak wood, mixed with thickets of holly and blackthorn. Ah! what is that that bounds out of one of these thickets right in front of the leading hound? A doe, as I live! followed, by all that is unlucky! by one, two, three others! Of course the hounds have got a view and naturally are straining every nerve to catch the deer which fresh and not alarmed bound gaily in

front of them. Here then is another of the manifold difficulties which the deer-hunter has to contend with—that of a change on to fresh quarry at the end of a fine run. All seems lost; the hounds are running almost in view, and some of the more desponding of the field turn away for home.

Those who remain to see the end remark hopefully that the huntsman 'is not beat yet'—nor luckily is his horse, or that of his whip, and aided by a turn of speed and a knowledge of the line of the deer, they have got to the heads of the pack before they penetrated into the fastnesses of the neighbouring plantation. A blast on the horn, a rate and a crack of a whip, has stopped the pack, well-trained to do so. And so it is essential they should be, at whatever cost, in a country where this manœuvre must be so often repeated. But now the huntsman has his pack in hand, and it is for him to recover the line of his hunted buck, or else go home. He knows well how far they brought him, but all the ground forward of this point is foiled by fresh deer, and it will be no easy matter to keep clear of the lines which he knows to be wrong. Yet he has a strong opinion withal as to where his deer was making for, and very carefully and with judgment he holds his hounds forward on a wide swinging cast clear of foiled ground. See at the very end of his cast they hit a line, apparently a cold one, but those who know how the scent of a beaten deer fades away to nothing, become hopeful. The hounds too are very keen on the line, though they can hardly carry it on. At a soft place the master catches a glimpse of his slot, and is reassured to find that he is on the line of a single male deer at any rate. See, too, how the deer has followed every little watercourse and rill, however tortuous; none but a hunted deer would do this, and excitement becomes doubly keen after the late reverse, as the hounds' pace quickens and quickens, till the field is galloping again. Now they come down to the banks of a small stream, and carry the line down the water, to where the banks are covered with a dense growth of blackthorn. Suddenly all scent fails on the line, but every hound has flashed out, and on to the bank with his head and bristles up, 'feeling for the wind.' Look out! he is here! and ere the words are spoken the *hunted buck* bounds from the thicket, and strides over the heath almost like a fresh deer. And indeed many who see him think that he is a fresh-found deer, but those who had a good view of him in the morning know well that their huntsman's skill and patience and his good pack of hounds have brought this excellent chase to a satisfactory finish, in spite of every difficulty. The buck runs gaily as long as he is in the open view of all, but as he gains the bushes his head droops, his tail drops flat, his stride contracts, and he shows that 'tucked up' appearance which in all quadrupeds is the indication of extreme fatigue. The hounds are close on him, and he regains the stream only to plunge into the deepest pool, and with



head erect, and noble mien, he 'sets up' at bay. The first hound that dares to approach is instantly driven under water, and crawls yelping from the stream to dry land, but the pack is at hand. The fallow deer can offer no resistance like that of his noble red congener, and in another moment the scene is a confused mass of muddy water, a dun carcase, a pair of antlers, and struggling hounds. Into this chaos descends the active whipper-in, an open knife in one hand and a hunting whip in the other. One rate, and the coast is clear—a flash in the sun—a wave of crimson rolling down the stream, and then two or three men are hauling the dead body of a magnificent deer up the bank surrounded by the pack whose deep baying is answered by the long blast of the horn and the thrilling who-whoop of the huntsman.

Well, it is all over, and we turn homewards not a little delighted with our day; it has been a fair sample of a good woodland chase. A dodging twenty minutes to start with—a flying forty minutes to follow—one long check, and then half an hour of the most interesting hunting possible, terminating in a triumphant kill. One hour and forty minutes in all, and the deer lies dead eight good miles from the spot where the tufters first roused him, although the circuities of the chase have made us travel over far more ground than the point to point measurement shows. We shall have something to say to those faint-hearted sportsmen who 'went home to their tea' when the first reverse seemed to show that the termination of the run might not be all rose-coloured, but perhaps the idea of this detracts very little from our own feeling of self-satisfaction. The long shadows of the trees show us that it is time to seek a guide who knows well these solitudes to steer us to our home, and the setting sun is throwing a golden light on each gnarled trunk as we thread our way over the soft moss glowing in the slanting beams towards home. A chill feeling in the air and a dun look stealing over the distant heath-clad hill tell us that, warm and bright as the day has been, summer is not yet here in earnest, and a cheerful thought of glowing logs at home inclines us to quicken our pace. In all the homeward ride not a soul is encountered save those who have been our companions through the day, and we might from all appearance have been riding through the backwoods of America instead of having for the whole day pursued in a thoroughly wild country the wildest perhaps of all the sports left to us in England—the genuine old-fashioned 'chase' of our ancestors, in which every faculty of hound and of huntsman is most fully brought into play—and all this (strongest thought of all) within three short hours of London, in which busy metropolis it may be that more than one enthusiastic sportsman will lie down to rest to-night who has spent this day with us in the 'Chase of the Wild Fallow Deer.'

GERALD LASCELLES.

### *WHAT GIRLS READ.*

GIRLS, like boys, in recent years have been remarkably favoured in the matter of their reading. They cannot complain, with any justice, that they are ignored in the piles of juvenile literature laid annually upon the booksellers' shelves. Boys boast a literature of their 'very own,' as they would call it. So do girls. If the son has enlisted in his service such able pens as those of Reid, Henty, Verne, Kingston, Aimard, Hughes, Hopes, Hodgetts, Ballantyne, Frith, Fenn, Reed, Stables, Blake, Hutcheson, Edgar and others, the daughter may claim allegiance from a band scarcely less numerous and not less brilliant and worthy. Among them may be mentioned Mesdames Alcott, Dodge, Marshall, Banks, Browne, Beale, Symington, Owen, Sewell, Wetherell, Holmes, Meade, and Yonge. These ladies have endeavoured to do for girls what has now for some years been done for boys. To a considerable extent they have succeeded. But to write for girls is very different to writing for boys. Girls' literature would be much more successful than it is if it were less goody-goody. Girls will tolerate preaching just as little as boys, and to hit the happy medium between the story of philistine purity and the novel of Pandæmoniacal vice is not apparently always easy. Girls' literature, properly so called, contains much really good writing, much that is beautiful and ennobling. It appeals in the main to the highest instincts of honour and truth of which humanity is capable. But with all its merits, it frequently lacks the peculiar qualities which can alone make girls' books as palatable to girls as boys' books are to boys.

This deficiency is not quite the fault of those who aspire to write for girls, but is of the essence of the subjects which offer themselves for treatment. 'Go'—a monosyllable signifying startling situations and unflinching movement—characterises boys' books, and girls' books will never be as successful as are boys' books until the characteristic is imported into them. 'Slow and sure' is not the motto of either reader or writer in these days. Public and publicist are acceptable to each other in proportion as they are ready to conform to the electric influences of the times. When books were few and far between, an author might indulge in long-winded dissertations almost to his

heart's content. Now, if he has a moral to point, he must point it in the facts of his narrative: not in a sermon, which plays the part of rearguard to every incident. Girl-life does not lend itself to vigorous and stirring treatment in the manner that boy-life does. It is far more difficult to enlist the reader's interest in domestic *contretemps* and daily affairs than in fierce combats between nations, or in the accidents of all kinds into which boys and men, by the very nature of their callings, are for ever being led. In the ranks of girls and women it may be conceded are centred the greatest heroism, the noblest devotion, the highest purpose, the longest suffering, the harshest and cruellest of human trials. The courage which meets privation or ignores self for the sake of those near and dear is woman's. It is courage of the first order. The courage which makes a man face boldly an enemy on the field of battle or fling himself into the boiling surf to rescue a fellow-creature is, too, deserving of all honour, but it is, nevertheless, courage of a secondary order and is primarily man's. Heroines like Grace Darling are few. Heroes like Robert Clive are many. It requires to face fever in a loathsome alley, or to minister to the needs of the wounded soldier, a courage dissimilar in all respects to that called forth by the necessity of spiking a gun or swimming out to a wreck. The one is devotion, human, spiritual, Christian; the other is pluck, animal-like in its character, desperate in its instincts. The former is noted by God and lauded by man, but requires an uncommon power to treat adequately from the point of view of the story reader; the latter is easily susceptible of a treatment, feverish and romantic, which may be expected to appeal to the dullest of imaginations. The gore of the battle-field and the flames of the burning building are facts more readily grasped by, and hence more interesting to, the majority of youthful readers than the sick room and injured heart.

These considerations indicate the forces which militate against the popularity of the works deemed suitable for girls. At the same time there are many ladies who have become really famous in this particular branch of literature. At the head of them probably stands Miss Louisa M. Alcott. That Miss Alcott should be able to write the kind of story most likely to interest the young mind, is not surprising to those who have any knowledge of the incidents of her life. The scenes of suffering and resignation, of patriotism, devotion, and love, which she, in conjunction with most of her countrywomen, witnessed during the American Civil War, gave her genius that fillip which enabled her in *Little Women* and many other works to produce stories whose success is said to have yielded her the good round sum of 20,000*l.* in the course of a couple of decades. Miss Alcott has a power almost unrivalled in its exquisite simplicity of making one interested in the most prosaic of matters. The fate of a plum

pudding boiled by the untrained hands of a girl of fourteen becomes under Miss Alcott's pen an affair of nearly as great moment as some of the wildest of situations under other pens. After reading Miss Alcott, it is impossible not to feel that one has learnt a great deal of the susceptibilities and trials of young life, and gained an idea of the surest means of moulding a child's future.

Neither Miss C. M. Yonge nor Miss E. M. Sewell is as much read now as formerly by young ladies on the road from the Nursery to Society. The maiden of fifteen a quarter of a century since was a very different person from the maiden of fifteen to-day in many important particulars. Mothers who, as girls, read Miss Sewell or Miss Yonge, now consent to their daughters studying 'Ouida' and Miss Braddon. Miss Yonge and Miss Sewell have much in common. They were born in the same decade, they aim at inculcating love of the same Church, some passages of their works are not unlike, and in one case they collaborated in the production of a series of readings from the best authorities entitled *Historical Sketches*. Miss Yonge has, however, been more versatile than Miss Sewell. She has written or compiled all sorts of histories, as well as stories and novels. She aims chiefly at imparting instruction, and frequently it is to be feared becomes wearisome in so doing. Her best and most popular work is *The Heir of Redclyffe*, a simple story told with equal simplicity and excellence. Another of her works is *Daisy Chain*, which is considerably spoiled as a book for girls by the minuteness of the discussions on the advantages of certain methods of learning. Ethel May's flights 'from hic, hæc, hoc, up to Alcaics and beta Thukidides' are not likely to secure much sympathetic enthusiasm.

If any complaint is to be made against Miss Sewell, it is that she is too exhaustive. Almost every one of her books would bear cutting down by a third at least, and would in the process gain alike in worth and attractiveness. Miss Sewell's works, however, ought to be much more widely disseminated among girls than they have been recently, and the enterprise of Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. in producing an entirely new and cheaper edition of her *Tales and Stories* is deserving of a word of grateful recognition. A thousand and one moral precepts, admirably put and beautifully illustrated, might be culled from Miss Sewell's pages. She is for ever battling with the misery and the wickedness of 'the scenes wherein we play in.' She aims at holding evil up to the contempt and horror of her audience by placing it in the light of surpassing goodness. Virtue is the white sheet on which she turns her magic-lantern-like art, and shows vice in terrible, if sometimes exaggerated, proportions. Contrast is her means of exemplification; she strives to bring home the advantages of method, moral rectitude, resolution, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, purity, justice, charity, and a hundred other ethical adjuncts by dwelling on their antitheses. To keep young people unspotted from the world is

the absorbing purpose of her work. She implores them to live uprightly in the sight of their Maker, not only with their lips but with their hearts. Only one who feels what she writes could have given us *Amy Herbert*, *The Earl's Daughter*, *Langton Parsonage*, *The Experience of Life*, or, indeed, any of her stories. Religion is Miss Sewell's rock of refuge, and her teaching could not be better defined than in the words of George Crabbe, in his melodious and suggestive poem on 'The Library':—

To thee DIVINITY! to thee, the light  
And guide of mortals, through their mental night;  
By whom we learn our hopes and fears to guide,  
To bear with pain and to contend with pride;  
When grieved, to pray; when injured, to forgive;  
And with the world in charity to live.

In a minor degree these lines would also describe Miss Sarah Doudney. Miss Doudney seems to me to occupy, as a writer for girls, a position analogous in some respects to that of Miss Austen among novelists. Her stories have little plot. Character and nature constitute her chief stock-in-trade. *Michaelmas Daisy*, for instance, as a narrative contains many passages and incidents suggestive of *Pride and Prejudice*. The loving characteristics of Daisy Garnett, and the mean and unkindly prejudices which moved her cousins to persecute her, are brought home to the reader quite as vividly as are the position and disposition of Miss Bennett and the jealousies of Miss Bingley in Miss Austen's work. Miss Doudney, however, is pre-eminently a devotee of nature, and the moral which she strives to inculcate is that which she discerns in nature. She brings home in many ways the truths which the observant may find in the trees and the flowers of the earth. Thus she concludes *Michaelmas Daisy* with an exposition of the story which she conceives may be read in the Michaelmas Daisy after which her heroine, is named and likened: 'It is,' she writes, 'no new tale which the flowers have to tell each other as they stand grouped together in the autumn sunshine; it is only the old story that will never have an end while the earth endures. And yet what a beautiful tale it is, the tale of patience and long-suffering and steadfastness. In all the world perhaps there is hardly any nobler thing than the fortitude which is lovely amid unloveliness and fresh in the midst of decay.' Miss Doudney sees more in the autumn than the mere waning of summer into winter; to her it is an emblem of life's advance, of its decay and repose, when earthly existence is about to be exchanged for that other existence beyond the grave of which we can know little, 'when,' as she writes in *Marion's Three Crowns*, 'the wheat is gathered into garner, the work is accomplished, and the eternal resting time is nigh.' In *Fallen Leaves*, again, Miss Doudney takes the vagaries of nature as symbols of human fortunes.

The story is one protracted inquiry whether individual life is to be characterised merely by leafy profusion, or is to bear golden fruit.

At first sight there may seem to be some likeness between the work of Miss Sarah Doudney and that of Miss Anne Beale. In reality there is none. Miss Beale is also a lover of nature. But whilst Miss Doudney sees far into the inner purpose of the Great Goddess, and reads there as in an open book a divine story, Miss Beale recognises only its external beauty and attractiveness. It is the elements of the surface which particularly inspire her enthusiasm. In Miss Beale's works you perceive the brilliancy of the sunset, and the sparkling dew on the grass in the early morning. You have not, as with Miss Doudney, the very heart of nature exposed before you. Miss Beale, on the other hand, is an equally apt delineator of character, and there is not one of her heroes or heroines whom with a little care one may not know intimately. She understands, too, how to weave a plot. Pathos seems to be her strong point. Her works are full of gentleness and generosity, and it requires a very stout heart to repress the tears which are wont to rise, albeit one hardly can say why, in many passages in Miss Beale's books. She has the knack of securing one's sympathy without allowing one to be conscious of the fact, until the crisis she has in view is realised. Miss Beale's stories deal largely with Wales. *Gladys the Reaper* is an effective combination of Welsh farm and country life and London misery, told with an admirable admixture of pathos and dry humour.

Few better things have been written for young people than this. The loves of Owen and Gladys and of Rowland and Freda, Gladys's self-abnegation until she knew what her parentage was, Freda's regret for the harsh words used to Rowland, when he, a farmer's son, ventured first to tell of his love, Owen's constancy to the girl who was originally a beggar at his parents' door, and Rowland's dignity and sincerity of heart, are one side of a very instructive picture; the relations of Colonel Vaughan and his wife, showing the humdrumness, to give it no harsher title, of married life to two worldly people who have married for lucre rather than love, and of Howell and Netta, which depict the miseries of disobedience and extravagance, as well as the part loving woman may play in reclaiming a scoundrel whose affection for his wife is the one white spot of his black career, form the other side. A book which contains all this is far from superficial. Miss Beale's works are all more or less full to overflowing of powerful character-sketching and moral influence, not so much by direct sermons as by hard facts. Miss Beale's most energetic, if it is not her best, work is *The Pennant Family*. This stirring story of the Welsh coast the author assures her readers is founded on fact, and may be read in the history of Glamorgan under the heading 'Dunraven Castle.'

As I have indicated above, there are, of course, many other more or less well-known writers for girls whose names, however, it is only possible now to mention: Miss Maggie Symington, Miss E. Prentiss, Miss E. Holmes, Miss Holt, Miss Julia Goddard, Miss Meade, and Mrs. Emma Marshall. A word should be said of the works of the latter. Mrs. Marshall has written several good stories for girls. *Court and Cottage*, *Dorothy's Daughters*, *Violet Douglas*, *Helen's Diary*, and *Cassandra's Casket*, are among their number. Mrs. Marshall is for ever describing girls who blunder: *Cassandra's Casket* and *Court and Cottage* both deal with girls who go to live with relations, and who are always getting into scrapes. She writes with the purpose of showing parents and guardians the misery which may be caused to children by failure to understand them. All the anxieties and trouble created by Elfrida in *Court and Cottage* arise simply from her aunts giving her an impression that they do not care for her. In No. XIII. *The Story of the Lost Vestal*, Mrs. Marshall has gone quite out of the beaten track, and has given her readers an instructive and entertaining fiction founded on recent discoveries in the Roman forum. Mrs. Marshall does not do justice to herself as a writer. 'It was Lord Maintree's voice, who was walking swiftly from the gates leading to the stable,' is a specimen of the manner in which she frequently bungles her English.

To turn from girls' books to girls' magazines, there are two only—*The Girls' Own Paper* and *Every Girl's Magazine*—that could be placed advantageously in the hands of anybody, to say nothing of young ladies in their teens. Several girls' magazines have been started in the last few years, but they have speedily died or lapsed into the penny dreadful, composed of impossible love stories, of jealousies, murders, and suicides. *Every Girl's Magazine* is following a line which very few girls of from eight to sixteen will appreciate. It is, in fact, hardly so much a girl's magazine as a magazine of general reading for the household, and it goes out of its way to announce its secularist aims. Perfectly healthy in tone and subject matter though it is, it cannot be compared with the *Girls' Own Paper* for popularity. The latter was started in 1880, and in 1884 was said to have attained 'a circulation equalled by no other English illustrated magazine published in this country.' Whether this is so or not, however, it has undoubtedly met with a success of which editor and proprietors alike have equal reason to be proud. Its good work is unbounded. Probably the best feature of the paper is its prize competitions. These are made the medium of much charity. For instance, in 1885, 700 mufflers and 1,224 pairs of cuffs sent in in competition were presented to occupants of London workhouses, after the prizes had been awarded. Again, at the suggestion of the *Queens of Aberdeen*, the subscribers to the *Girls' Own* raised among themselves 1,000*l.* towards establishing a 'Girls' Own Home' for the benefit of underpaid

London girls of the working classes. The popularity of these competitions is illustrated by the fact that 4,956 girls took part in endeavouring to secure a prize for the best Biographical Table of famous women. One sack crammed full of these required five men to carry it upstairs.<sup>1</sup> The tables came from all parts of the world; from Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Hungary, Greece, Portugal, Gibraltar, India, Australia, New Zealand, China, Canada, Jamaica, Turkey in Asia, Antigua, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chili, Cape Verde Islands, Madeira, and other far corners of the earth. One lady, we are told, was so enthusiastic as to send the table across the seas enclosed as a letter at the cost of thirty shillings. The *Girls' Own* numbers among its contributors many famous ladies and gentlemen, and its great merit is that it does not depend wholly on fiction for its success, but gives interesting articles on all kinds of household matters.

Having indicated the general characteristics of the literature which is published exclusively for girls, let us now glance at its tendency. This is undoubtedly sad, and is the only feature of the great majority of girls' books to which real objection can be taken. It is probably the result of an attempt to avoid the absurdities of extremes. For a long time the custom was, in writing for the young, to make virtue triumphant in the end. Such a view of the relations of life is recognised by the most careless observer to be false. Virtue, far more frequently than otherwise, is found prostrate and helpless at the feet of vice. Virtue may bring its own reward; it may even have proved itself impervious to the onslaughts of the enemy, but it is the exception rather than the rule that honesty and uprightness of purpose should overthrow meanness and wickedness. The struggle between the two sides of human character—the good and the bad—has been coextensive with the existence of the world in the past, and will in some phase or other be coextensive with the future. Civilisation, with all the blessings which it brings in its train, is environed by new and undreamed-of blemishes. But it is the duty of man to recognise the evils which are part of the most virtuous systems, to battle against them, and to be able in the end to show a roll of courage and steadfastness in the cause of right, no matter whether his struggle has brought him victory or not. If he cannot wipe evil off the face of the earth, he can at least prevent evil from being reinforced. If these ladies who, with every good intention, take up pens to write for our girls, would lay before them some such code as this, they would vary considerably their method of treating ethics. As it is, the teaching which comes of girls' books practically amounts to this. If you are wicked you must reform, and when you have reformed you will die! Good young people are not allowed to see many years of life. It is an

<sup>1</sup> Report, R.T.S., 1884.



uncompromisingly severe rendering of the classic axiom 'whom the gods love die young.' I cannot indicate what I mean better than by reference to a story which every one knows, *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Why did Little Nell die? If she was too good for the world, why was she ever brought into it; if she was not, why, in the midst of the sin, the misery, the suffering of mankind, were her sunny presence and beneficent influence removed so soon? This question might be asked with tenfold force of half the works written for girls. Mrs. Marshall in *Court and Cottage* introduces us to a young lady who is wilfully disobedient and disrespectful to her elders. Her headstrong nature gets her into trouble, and she then becomes a good girl; merely to die. So in the case of Miss Doudney's *Marion's Three Crowns*. Marion's conceit is her great sin. When she is brought to a proper sense of her position, she nobly nurses a step-sister ill with small-pox, catches the disease herself, recovers life only to find her face robbed of its beauty, and is through this deprivation deserted by the man she loves. Finally, she rushes into the heart of the cholera-affected districts of London, doing noble work, and reaping love and blessings on all sides. Her reward is to fall a victim to the dread epidemic. Why, again, was Lady Blanche not allowed to live in Miss Sewell's work, *The Earl's Daughter*?

Seeing for whom Mrs. Marshall, Miss Doudney, and Miss Sewell are writing, it is not enough for me to know that the deaths of these heroines constitute the finest passages in their books, just as the death of Little Nell is one of the finest pieces of writing in all Dickens's works. Such stories are, it seems to me, likely to make our keen-witted daughters say, 'Where is the use of my living virtuously, if virtue's reward is speedy removal from the presence of the friends I love?' Virtue triumphant, wide of living facts though it may be, is better than this. Let it be distinctly understood that I give books written especially for girls credit for many excellent qualities. I simply wish now to indicate a direction in which I fear they slightly overdo their good intentions. Neither must what I say in this connection be accepted by those who object altogether to any kind of special 'literature for the young' between the ages of ten and sixteen, as an additional argument in their favour. Girls' literature as a whole shows few signs of a disposition to write down to the reader. If this were so, no condemnation of it could be too strong. Girls' literature performs one very useful function. It enables girls to read something above mere baby tales, and yet keeps them from the influence of novels of a sort which should be read only by persons capable of forming a discreet judgment. It is a long jump from *Æsop* to 'Ouida,' and to place Miss Sarah Doudney or Miss Anne Beale between *Æsop* and 'Ouida' may at least prevent a disastrous moral fall. It is just as appropriate and necessary that girls should read books suitable to their age as that they should

were suitable to them. The chief end served by 'girls' literature' is that, whilst it advances beyond the nursery, it stops short of the full blaze of the drawing-room.

As with boys' literature, so with girls'. That which the working-class lads read is generally of the lowest and most vicious character: that which their sisters read is in no way superior. The boy takes in the penny dreadful; the girl secures the penny novelette, which is equally deserving of the adjective. Because the influence of these love and murder concoctions among girls is not so apparent to the public eye as the influence of the burglar and bushranging fiction among boys, it must not be supposed that that influence is less real. It is, in fact, in many ways not only more real, but more painful. Boys may be driven to sea or to break into houses by the stories they read; their actions are at once recorded in the columns of the daily papers. With girls the injury is more invidious and subtle. It is almost exclusively domestic. We do not often see an account of a girl committing any very serious fault through her reading. But let us go into the houses of the poor, and try to discover what is the effect on the maiden mind of the trash which maidens buy. If we were to trace the matter to its source, we should probably find that the high-flown conceits and pretensions of the poorer girls of the period, their dislike of manual work and love of freedom, spring largely from notions imbibed in the course of a perusal of their penny fictions. Their conduct towards their friends, their parents, their husbands, their employers, is coloured by what they then gather. They obtain distorted views of life, and the bad influence of these works on themselves is handed down to their children and scattered broadcast throughout the family. Where all is so decidedly unwholesome it is unnecessary to mention names. With the exception of the *Girls' Own Paper* and *Every Girl's Magazine*, which are not largely purchased by working-class girls, there is hardly a magazine read by them which it would not be a moral benefit to have swept off the face of the earth. It would be well for philanthropists to bear this fact in mind. There is a wide and splendid field for the display of a humanising and elevating literature among girls. Such a literature ought not to be beyond our reach. Girls can hardly be much blamed for reading the hideous nonsense they do, when so little that is interesting and stirring in plot, and bright and suggestive in character, is to be had.

Girls do not, however, by any means confine their reading to the books and magazines published specially for them. They read of course thousands of standard works every year. But that so-called 'girls' books' continue to be published in shoals annually is sufficient proof that there is a market for them. They are, however, probably read chiefly by the younger girls. Girls well advanced in their teens do not largely affect the class of writers to which Miss Beale and Miss

Doudney belong. American works are greatly in favour, and one of the best girl-stories I have read is Mr. T. B. Aldrich's *Prudence Palfrey*, full of incident and good situations as it is. *The Wide, Wide World* and *Queechy* give place to no books in the English language for popularity among girls old and young. Mrs. Wetherell knew how to write stories true in every particular to nature, and to portray character at once real and ideal. Fleda in *Queechy* is second only, if she is not equal, as a literary study, to Little Nell in *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Whilst both Fleda and Nell are so ideal in their perfect beauty of character that one is conscious such veritable sprites could hardly be found in the every-day world which we know, one is also assured that their existence is not impossible. Fleda indicates what is practicable in women, and, though the linking of her fortune with Carleton's was a happy stroke which has probably done much to make the work a household possession in England, the connection affords an excellent example of the power for good which noble women have over the minds of those whose sympathy they touch. Miss Jessie Fothergill's *First Violin*, Mrs. Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters*, and Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne*, are three works to which the girls of England are much attached. *East Lynne*, in my humble judgment, ought to be placed in every girl's hands as soon as she has arrived at an age when she may find that life has for her unsuspected dangers. The work teaches many lessons valuable to young ladies, especially those of a jealous or impulsive disposition. Girls are, of course, among the chief supporters of the lending library, and eagerly rush after what Mr. Ruskin would call 'every fresh addition to the fountain of folly,' in the shape of three-volume novels. Another phase of their reading is in the direction of boys' books. There are few girls who boast brothers who do not insist on reading every work of Ballantyne's or Kingston's or Henty's which may be brought into the house. *The Boys' Own Paper* is studied by thousands of girls. The explanation is that they can get in boys' books what they cannot get in the majority of their own—a stirring plot and lively movement. Probably nearly as many girls as boys have read *Robinson Crusoe*, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *Sandford and Merton*, and other long-lived 'boys' stories. Nor is this liking for heroes rather than heroines to be deprecated. It ought to impart vigour and breadth to a girl's nature, and to give sisters a sympathetic knowledge of the scenes wherein their brothers live and work. One lady writes to me: 'When I was younger, I always preferred Jules Verne and Ballantyne, and *Little Women* and *Good Wives*, to any other books, except those of Charles Lever.'

It seems to be a habit of the times that any one who undertakes to say anything about any particular branch of literature should append a list of the best books in that class. To indicate a course of reading for men and women is difficult; to indicate such a course for

the young is doubly difficult, and into the perplexing question of what girls should read I do not attempt to enter. Even were I competent to indicate the works most suited for girls' reading, the list would be of no great value. Individual reading must depend upon individual taste, save, of course, when reading solely for study and instruction. I know of only one writer who aspires to point out a course of reading for girls. *Girls and their Ways* by 'One who Knows Them' is a specimen of a kind of work which is constantly being written ostensibly to meet the wants of both parents and girls. The author gives a list of between 200 and 300 books. Over fifty poets from Langland and Chaucer to Jean Ingelow and Sir Henry Taylor must be read; nearly 70 histories, 90 biographies, 25 works of travel, 20 on theology, 12 on science, and 40 of a miscellaneous character. Is there any mental colossus living capable of grappling with this superabundance of literary wares during the allotted years of individual mankind? Just think for a single moment what it would mean to place the whole of these works before a girl. The prospect of having to go through every volume would simply overwhelm her, and she would not read them but skim them. Her friends would soon discover that 'they are as sick that surfeit with too much as they that starve with nothing.' But the gigantic proportions of this course of reading are not its most distinguished feature. Probably no one would guess which are the two chief works any mention of which in the list of books to be read is omitted. They are Shakespeare and the Bible, in themselves a course of reading and without which a course of reading is baseless and insubstantial. In the department of fiction *East Lynne* is ignored. Mrs. Henry Wood ought to feel much gratified at being rejected in such company.

Another book of a somewhat similar character to *Girls and their Ways* is Miss Phillis Browne's *What Girls can do*. Miss Browne gives an account of her own experience as a girl in the matter of reading, which is highly interesting and suggestive. She describes how she managed to get hold of some three-volume novels of a questionable character, and how she used to go to the garret where they were kept, 'sit on the ground and read all day long books of all kinds until she was almost dazed.' When her father discovered how she was employed he was exceedingly angry, and made her promise to open no book for twelve months which he had not placed in her hands. He offered her, doubtless as he thought as an antidote to the novels, Dr. Dick's *Christian Philosopher*. 'I found this work a very decided change,' writes Miss Browne. 'I tried hard to read it, but it was beyond me. The unreal world in which I had been living had spoiled me for the every-day world in which I found myself, and the book to which I turned for solace was not written for such as I.' Miss Browne became very miserable, and her mother intervened on

her behalf. She was then given *Bracebridge Hall*, and other works more suitable to a girl's mind. 'If I might advise as to the kind of story books that should be given to young girls,' she continues, 'I should say, let them be such as give pure, natural views of life and character. Let the moral be suggested rather than direct. . . . Do not be uneasy if the heroine gets into mischief occasionally. A girl that is always good is an anomaly; perfection of character is unusual, and light without shadow is dazzling to the human vision. Above all let the books be cheerful, not sad.'

Miss Phillis Browne's experience constitutes a practical argument in favour of the application of Mr. Ruskin's abstract rules. 'The best romance,' he says, 'becomes dangerous if by its excitement it renders the ordinary course of life uninteresting, and increases the morbid thirst for scenes in which we shall never be called on to act.' Further on he writes, 'Whether novels or poetry or history be read, they should be chosen not for their freedom from evil, but for their possession of good.' That is the very key-note to the whole problem of reading for rich and poor, young and old. It is the standard by which parents and guardians should judge any book they may wish to give their children. The duty and responsibility of making the choice is an onerous one, but must be faced. The young mind is a virgin soil, and whether weeds or rare flowers and beautiful trees are to spring up in it will, of course, depend upon the character of the seeds sown. You cannot scatter literary tares and reap mental corn. A good book is the consecrated essence of a holy genius, bringing new light to the brain and cultivating the heart for the inception of noble motives. Boys' literature of a sound kind ought to help to build up men. Girls' literature ought to help to build up women. If in choosing the books that boys shall read it is necessary to remember that we are choosing mental food for the future chiefs of a great race, it is equally important not to forget in choosing books for girls that we are choosing mental food for the future wives and mothers of that race. When Mr. Ruskin says that man's work is public and woman's private, he seems for the moment insensible to the public work of women as exercised through their influence on their husbands, brothers, and fathers. Woman's work in the ordering, beautifying, and elevating of the commonweal is hardly second to man's; and it is this which ought to be borne in mind in rearing girls. In personal reminiscences we are frequently reminded of the good or evil which resulted to the autobiographer from the books placed within his or her reach. Would that every girl were so fortunate as Miss Louisa Alcott seems to have been. 'When the book mania fell upon me at fifteen,' she writes, 'I used to venture into Mr. Emerson's library and ask what I should read, never conscious of the audacity of my demand, so genial was my welcome. His kind

hand offered to me the riches of Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, and Carlyle, and I gratefully recall the sweet patience with which he led me round the book-lined room, till "the new and very interesting book" was found, or the indulgent smile he wore when I proposed something far above my comprehension; "Wait a little for that," he said; "meantime try this, and if you like it come again." For many of these wise books I am waiting still, very patiently, because in his own I have found the truest delight and best inspiration of my life.'

Perhaps the best reading which girls can possibly have is biography, especially female biography, of which many excellent works have been published. One cannot help as one reads the biographies of great women—whether of Miss Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Fry, or Lady Russell—being struck by the purity of purpose and God-fearing zeal which moved most of their subjects. There are few women who have made themselves famous who have not been in the habit, in all their trials and tribulations, of turning to their Bibles for comfort with a touching simplicity of faith. Young people cannot read too much biography, and, however addicted to fiction they may be, parents will find record of fact an admirable method of balancing their children's mind. Fiction should lend relief to girl-life, biography should impart right principle, and poetry grace. To feast too much on any one of these is unwise, and though probably fiction will always be most popular, girls should be encouraged to read more poetry and much more biography than they are, I think, accustomed to.

Since the foregoing was written I have had placed in my hands some papers which are an important and interesting contribution to the discussion of what girls read. Recently Mr. Charles Welsh, at considerable trouble and expense, collected from various schools replies to a series of questions put with a view to eliciting information from the young themselves as to the literature which they most extensively affect. He received from boys' and girls' schools, thanks to the courtesy of their chiefs, some two or three thousand responses. A thousand of these are from girls of ages ranging from eleven to nineteen. The questions asked were thirteen in number. To give in detail the result of the inquiries would take up a whole number of this Review. I may, however, with Mr. Welsh's kind permission, append a summary of the replies to two of the thirteen questions, viz. 'Who is your favourite author?' and 'Who is your favourite writer of fiction?' The distinction between these questions is somewhat subtle, and young ladies have only rarely given the name of one writer in reply to both. I have therefore thought it best to take the replies to the two together as affording an indication of the favourite author with

the thousand young ladies applied to. Rejecting all names which are not mentioned five times, the result is as follows :—

Charles Dickens . . . . .	330	Bunyan . . . . .	11
Sir Walter Scott . . . . .	226	Miss Braddon . . . . .	11
C. Kingsley . . . . .	91	Mrs. H. B. Stowe . . . . .	11
C. M. Yonge . . . . .	91	Miss Worholme . . . . .	10
Shakespeare . . . . .	73	H. Ainsworth . . . . .	10
E. Wetherell . . . . .	54	Lord Tennyson . . . . .	9
Mrs. Henry Wood . . . . .	51	Miss Montgomery . . . . .	9
George Eliot . . . . .	41	R. D. Blackmore . . . . .	9
Lord Lytton . . . . .	41	W. Black . . . . .	8
Lougfellow . . . . .	31	Defoe . . . . .	8
A.L.O.E. . . . .	30	Mark Twain . . . . .	8
Andersen . . . . .	29	F. Smedley . . . . .	7
Hesba Stretton . . . . .	26	Carlyle . . . . .	6
Canon Farrar . . . . .	22	Miss Edgeworth . . . . .	6
Grace Aguilar . . . . .	21	Miss Havergal . . . . .	6
Grimm . . . . .	19	John Ruskin . . . . .	6
Thackeray . . . . .	18	Lewis Carroll . . . . .	5
Mrs. Walton . . . . .	17	R. M. Ballantyne . . . . .	5
Whyte Melville . . . . .	17	C. Brontë . . . . .	5
W. H. G. Kingston . . . . .	16	Mrs. Gaskell . . . . .	5
Jules Verne . . . . .	16	Mrs. Hemans . . . . .	5
Mrs. Craik . . . . .	14	Mrs. E. Marshall . . . . .	5
Macaulay . . . . .	13	Captain Marryat . . . . .	5
Miss Alcott . . . . .	12	F. Anstey . . . . .	5

This analysis of the voting, as it may be called, suggests some curious reflections to those who have at all studied 'girls' literature.' Hardly one of the recognised writers for girls is mentioned, and without attributing any want of frankness to the young ladies who have voted so emphatically in favour of Dickens and Scott, I cannot help thinking that the list far from adequately represents what girls read. Three things at least I should say contributed to make them vote as they have done. In the first place, doubtless they considered it proper to vote for such names as Scott and Dickens, although perhaps they had not read two of the works of either; in the second, Dickens' or Scott's works are probably in the school or home library, and hence easily get-at-able; in the third, from personal inquiries I am induced to believe that young ladies do not take particular note of authors' names, and such household words as Scott and Dickens occur to their minds more readily than the patronymics of the authors who devote their energies solely to writing for girls. Miss Sewell, for instance, is not mentioned once, neither is Miss Maggie Symington; Miss Sarah Doudney is mentioned only four times, Mrs. Ewing and Marian Farningham only once each. To imagine that Carlyle is more popular with girls than any one of these is absurd. In reply to the question 'What other books have you read?' many books published for girls are mentioned, and, with every respect for the judgment of the young ladies appealed to, I venture to think

that their voting has been somewhat coloured by circumstances more or less accidental. At the same time, unless the above list is to be entirely discredited, it must open the eyes of parents to the real needs of our girls. Mr. Welsh is doubtless correct when he surmises that much of the popularity from the publishers' point of view of books for girls is due to the fact that they are bought by parents and friends for presents. If girls were to choose their own books, in other words, they would make a choice for themselves very different from that which their elders make for them. Allowing, therefore, that the table now given at all represents the degrees of regard in which various authors are held by girls, it should induce those who especially aspire to write for girls to think twice before giving to the world another story on the usual lines.

EDWARD G. SALMON.



## OUR CRAFTSMEN.

THE existence of 'England's Greatness' of course requires no demonstration, however opinions may differ as to its causes. In a poetic or patriotic spirit this greatness has been attributed to a variety of things—to the Bible, to our wooden walls and meteor flag, to the insular position secured to us by the streak of silver sea, to the special excellence of the roast beef of old England, and the still more special excellence of our malt liquors.

There have been those who have respectively argued that the secret of our greatness lay in the possession of our magnificent national debt, a State Church, a House of Lords, the alleged stability-giving see-saw of party government, the addition of Empress to the title of Queen. That in giving us an empire upon which the sun never sets—by many accounted our greatest greatness—our sailors and soldiers also have been prime causes, there can be no doubt. In this connection it is no less true that the Bible has been an instrument of greatness in a sense—in the sense, that is, that where civilisation has taken the form of subjugation or annexation, the missionary has often been the precursor of those instruments of such civilisation, rum and rifles; the sense in which, as fishers of men, we have, as Bulwer Lytton somewhere puts it, baited with a missionary and impaled with a bayonet. The other supposed leading factors of England's greatness mentioned above may be passed over in having been named.

As a prosaic matter of fact, the present-day greatness of the mother country is chiefly the result of our supremacy as a manufacturing nation. We are a manufacturing, even more than we are a shopkeeping or carrying, nation. Indeed, our shopkeeping and carrying are to a great extent the mere outcome and complement of our position in relation to the manufacturing industries. Rightly considered, it will be found that our national greatness and manufacturing greatness are something very like convertible terms. With us coal is the uncrowned king, iron the emblematical sceptre of power. Our machinery is our best war material, our craftsmen our most powerful troops. It may be said that such talk as this might be all very well for weak piping times of peace, or if the millennium had arrived, but that it is out of harmony with an age of wars and rumours of wars, an age in which it has become axiomatic that the best security for peace is always to

be prepared for war. To such objection I would answer that on this point a question of race comes in. It is not a boast but a truism to say that the English are a hardy and high-mettled race, constitutionally brave, and with an historical record and a national prestige which make a feeling of *noblesse oblige* a common possession even to those who may never have heard the phrase. In actual warfare, whether by land or sea, the English have always shown dauntless courage and unconquerable resolution, and there is no reason to suppose that we have fallen from the standard of our fathers either in physique or pluck. With such a breed of men to fall back upon, should the banners of war be unfurled, the modern nation which has the greatest resources for bringing the arts of peace to bear upon the operations of war will in the long run be the most successful in battle; and in this respect, if not in tariff arrangements, England is 'the most favoured nation.'

Taking it, then, that we are a manufacturing nation, and that much of our national greatness arises from such being the case, it naturally follows that our artisan classes constitute one of the most important as well as one of the most numerous sections of the community. They are the *élite* of the working classes, the portion of those classes most capable of making themselves felt in political and social movements. In practice it will generally be found, indeed, that when the working classes are spoken of in association with 'movements' it is really the artisan classes that are meant. In such an association their name—if skilfully worked—is one to conjure with, and many are the strange and contradictory things that have been done or attempted in their name.

The typical artisan is the 'working man' *par excellence*, and the working man, as every one knows, is a man of many friends. He has candid and sugar-candied friends of every variety, from the self-constituted censor calling himself a friend, and posing as a blessing in disguise, to the one who takes the line of friend to the working man and foe to all above him. A friend or leader of the working classes has come to be a profession, and a paying one, while the methods of the friendship have attained almost to the dignity of a fine art. Between their own occasional acts and the regular operations of their professional friends, the working classes are on some points kept well before the public. Their importance in respect to their numbers, their potential political power, their demands—actual or alleged—their social rights and wrongs, and so forth, are fully recognised.

But their importance as craftsmen, as the backbone of our manufacturing industries, is for the most part left wholly out of account. Yet this is the ground upon which they are the most important in relation to the momentous question of national prosperity, in which of course is involved the question of their own material welfare. While they are not less important as craftsmen than as—say—voters, neither

are they less interesting. There need, therefore, be the less hesitation in entering upon a consideration of their position and characteristics in the former capacity, as it is the purpose of the present paper to do. Never, perhaps, was there a time when the subject could be discussed more profitably.

England is still the first among manufacturing nations—a long way the first. Her workmen are still the best in the world, tried by the most practical standards; for, working fewer hours and receiving higher pay than Continental workmen, they enable their employers to undersell Continental producers, and so hold the premier position in the markets of the world. Nevertheless, it is no longer a case of England first, the rest nowhere, as was practically the case a generation or so ago. The total of our manufacturing production to-day is infinitely greater than it was twenty or thirty years back, even allowing for increase of population, but it does not represent the same overwhelming proportion of the manufacturing production of the world that it did at the earlier period. Manufacturing enterprise in foreign countries has been advancing. Nations formerly entirely dependent upon us for certain classes of goods now manufacture them for themselves. Others go beyond this and compete with us in foreign and some even in home markets—a thing they are enabled to do with a greater chance of success by reason of the extent to which the spirit of shoddy has been imported into the practice of our manufacturing arts. Shoddy—using the word in its representative sense—is a curse that has come home to roost. It has degraded the once proud trade blazon of 'English manufacture,' has deservedly depreciated its selling power.

Foreign artisans, too, are picking us up, partly owing to the extent to which mere machine-minding has been substituted for handicraft skill, partly to the schooling they have received at the hands of the English managers, foremen, and leading men whom the more enterprising among Continental employers have with a wise liberality imported, and of course in some measure to continued practice. Meanwhile it is, to say the least of it, an open question whether modern developments in manufacturing systems have not tended to lessen the special skill and special value of English artisans. Here again the spirit of shoddy exerts its baneful influence. Under its operation thousands of workmen are compelled in their own despite to adopt a sloppy style of workmanship, are never allowed to acquire, much less practise, any higher style. Their pay is so arranged that to live, to obtain or retain employment, they must think of quantity only; and experience teaches them that under this state of affairs he is held to be the cleverest workman who is best not at avoiding but at concealing scamped work from the trustful, but unskilled, ultimate purchasers of the work. Frequently, too, shoddy is a means of subjecting bodies of workmen to injustice from public opinion. Outsiders are led to

believes that some depression or disturbance of trade is due to the action of the men, when as a matter of fact it really results from users or consumers having at length detected the bad workmanship, or the adulteration of material, or both, which are the characteristic features of the shoddy principle as applied to manufactures. In such circumstances it is scarcely to be supposed that the workmen concerned can take any special pride or interest in their craft, and the lack of such feeling upon their part is an element of weakness to a trade.

Again, as already hinted, machinery is a great leveller. On the whole, it is of course a boon and a blessing to men. It multiplies the powers of production and ultimately increases the demand for labour. Still, from the point of view here in question it is not an unmixed blessing. The greater the degree to which a machine is self-adjusting and self-acting, the greater the extent to which it requires as an attendant a minder rather than a mechanic, the more perfect it is as a machine. If the machine-minder chances to be also a mechanic, so much the better. He will be able to make his mechanical experience or intelligence tell in his minding. At the same time, there is neither expectation nor necessity that he should be a mechanic. Even among minders who are nothing more than minders, there are varying degrees of skill; but, speaking broadly, the machine-attendant is rather the slave than the master of his machine — has to feed rather than work it. Machine hands, like machine work, can be turned out in quantities. The manufacture of such hands is a very different thing from the making of mechanics. It is to our success in the latter process that we are in a great measure indebted for our superiority over competing nations. Unfortunately, however, the vital importance of keeping up the 'breed' of our artisans is in these later times being overlooked. Employers as a rule think only of what will pay for the passing season, while State provision for mechanical training appears to be a thing undreamed of in our philosophy of national duty or interest.

Subdivision of labour, like machinery, greatly increases 'productive power, but also, like machinery, it has its drawbacks where the formation of the craftsmen is in question. In England the system of subdivision is carried out very thoroughly and minutely and with great results as to output, but under it the all-round workman is disappearing. And the all-round workman in his own trade—who, be it marked, is a very different person from the Jack-of-all-trades—is the best of all workmen. The one-job man may be a very good man at his work and yet be little better than a human automaton—be almost as much a mere machine as the machine he works. But to become a good all-round workman a man must have good mechanical aptitudes of eye, and hand, and intellect; and with these aptitudes and a varied

experience he gains the self-confidence and readiness of resource which are among the most valuable qualities of an artisan. The workman of this stamp is not a machine, he is a mechanic. He puts brains into his work, thinks and plans, and in a rough-and-ready way invents. He understands the capabilities of tools, whether they be simple hand-tools or complicated machines. He can make the fullest use of the automatic adjustments and self-acting gearing which reduce the one-job man to the level of a machine-feeder and nothing more. Where, however, any such accessories are wanting, he is not, like the one-job man, 'floored' by their absence. He can 'rig up' substitutes for them or so vary the methods of executing his work as to be able to dispense with their aid. He is a Mark Tapley among artisans, coming out strongest under circumstances that would simply 'flabbergast' workmen who have allowed themselves to become blindly obedient to, and helplessly dependent upon, automatic appliances.

I remember meeting with a very good illustration of this point in a stray copy of an American trade journal. A chief engineer of a steamer, an 'educated' engineer, one who had passed his Board of Trade certificate examination and would therefore be learned in reading and obeying the various self-registering indicators and gauges with which marine engines are fitted—an engineer of this stamp found himself fifty miles from port with a broken vacuum gauge; a very important gauge to those whose sole trust is in gauges without any reserve of trust in self. Under the loss of his gauge this particular engineer 'showed utter helplessness and proposed immediate return.' The assistant-engineer, however, was another manner of man. He 'saw nothing amiss in a broken gauge or in the absence of one. He traded places with his chief and made the run by feeling. When his condenser felt too hot he gave it more injection.' If the necessities of the situation had required it, this assistant would probably have been able to have done an effective stroke of ship-carpentry, while his chief, if applied to, would no doubt have replied that he was an engineer, and that wood-work was out of his line.

Here we have exemplified the essential difference between the true mechanic and what may be called the machine-made man. The one can turn his hand to anything broadly within the range of his own particular craft, or if need be to more or less cognate work in other crafts, and he has a practical if not scientific knowledge of first principles in relation to the mechanical appliances used in his trade. The other is cribbed, cabined, and confined, alike as to manual skill and intelligent self-resource. The all-round workman requires as a rule very little foremaning, and this enhances his value to employers. On the other hand, his value to himself is greatly increased by the fact that his versatility makes it easier for him than for others to secure employment. If he is a blacksmith, he is equally ready to

take work in a marine or locomotive engine factory or to go into a tool shop or an agricultural implement-making establishment; and, the question of wages and personal comfort apart, it is a matter of indifference to him whether his shop be a new, a repair, or a general one. In the same way, if a carpenter, he can take anything from coffin-making up to cabinet-making or pattern-making. If an engineer, he is prepared to take vice or lathe or to go into the erecting shop.

In practice there are unfortunately difficulties in the way of such a man turning himself to the best account in this respect. Occasionally an employer, or a 'putting-on' manager or foreman, wedded to extreme views upon the system of subdivision of labour, may be prejudiced against a workman of the all-round type. They may have an idea that the man who has heretofore wrought in a marine shop will not be able to hold his own on locomotive work, but, as they have the remedy in their own hand, in case their doubt should be, or appear to be, justified, they do not allow their antipathies to become operative if they really want men.

The greatest difficulty of the all-round workman on this point lies not in the objection of employers, but in the bigotry of fellow-workmen, many of whom have a blind, unreasoning belief in the doctrine of 'each man to his trade'—trade in the mouths and minds of such men generally meaning some single sub-section of a trade. This is emphatically a narrow-minded view, and those entertaining it, acting after the fashion of their narrow-minded kind, strive to frustrate those who seek to give practical effect to wider views of trade limitations.

The policy of obstruction and occasionally of terrorism resorted to for this end makes itself felt chiefly in those trades which are more or less strictly localised. In such trades as the building and engineering, which are carried on all over the country, and which involve a considerable amount of 'knocking about' upon the part of many of those engaged in them, more liberal ideas have a greater though not a complete ascendancy. Altogether, the feeling here referred to is materially detrimental to the interests of the best class of workmen, and in individual cases often inflicts great hardship. Foolish action is generally supported by foolish argument. When the artisan class or any considerable body of them are blamed for indulging in this form of restriction of trade, they frequently reply as though two blacks *did* make a white. They retort that the learned professions—and more particularly the law—set them the example, and argue that a course of action that is right for the legal profession can scarcely be wrong for working men.

Whether or not it is demonstrably true that the legal profession does strictly enforce the principle of each man to his (branch of) trade, whether under the euphemism of legal etiquette they are

guilty of practices that are charged as sins against trades-unionism, I cannot say. If it is true, so much the worse for the profession, and especially so much the worse for those members of the public whom an evil fate casts upon the tender mercies of the profession. But also so much the greater the mistake of working men in following their example to do evil. To the cry of 'Every man to his trade,' in the sense of once that trade always that trade, may fitly be applied the saying, 'It is worse than a crime, it is a blunder.'

On the Continent, I am told, and still more in America, it is no uncommon thing to meet with artisans who have worked not only at two or three branches of one trade, but at two or three distinct trades. Having regard to existing conditions in the mechanical crafts, there is no good reason why such workmen should not be common, though in England such a man in a workshop would be quite a phenomenal personage. In this country there is, as a rule, only one means by which an artisan can benefit by the ability and skill to practise more than one handicraft. If he chooses to become a trade 'Hal o' th' Wynd,' and work for his own hand by uniting in his single self the positions of jobbing master-man and journeyman, he can work at as many trades as he likes, which will mean in practice as many as he can show himself sufficiently competent in to obtain employment. I have known men who in this way respectively combined carpentry and watch-making, house-painting and shoemaking, plumbing and bird-stuffing, cabinet-making and sign-writing, and blacksmithing and coopering. In each case these men turned their hands to the second trade at times when they were out of work at their original calling, and in each case they came to do well between the two trades. When they had not a job at the one, they had at the other, and while thus having constant employment, their earnings, time for time, were greater than they would have been as journeymen at either one of the trades. In the same way, I knew a bricklayer who turned monumental mason, and a moulder who became a sewing-machine and bicycle repairer. In these cases, the men were so successful, that from their single-handed and make-shift beginnings, the one in a backyard, the other in a back kitchen, they became master-men in the fuller sense of the word—were able to organise workshops and employ journeymen.

After this fashion it may be said that it is open to English artisans to change or multiply their trades as often as their tastes, ability, or necessities may make them wish to do so; but practically this fashion is available to but a very limited extent. The leading trades of the country cannot be carried on in a general jobbing-hand style. It is an unavoidable condition of their continued existence that they must be carried on by bodies of journeymen, gathered together in workshops and factories; and to the ordinary factory journeyman desirous of changing his craft and

still remaining a journeyman, the unwritten but powerfully operative law of each man to his trade offers an almost insuperable obstacle. The point is perhaps not one of first-rate importance, but, so far as it goes, it may safely be said that it is bad for the trades and for workmen in them that it should be so. A young fellow on coming out of his time, or even before, may discover that he has mistaken his vocation, or that those who apprenticed him had mistaken it for him. He may know, moreover, or at least believe that he knows, for what trade he has true vocation. He may be willing and anxious to undergo all the struggle and sacrifice legitimately incidental to a change of trade; to work as a learner or improver at low wages, and abide the risk of peremptory dismissal, if he does not show unmistakable aptitude for his new calling. In the case of his not showing such aptitude, the journeyman of a trade need not fear his competition.

On the other hand, if a man who comes into a trade edgeways proves himself to be the right man in the right place, he is one who is likely to do credit to the trade and strengthen it. The perseverance, energy, self-reliance, and instinctive sense of the fitness of things which enable him to conquer the trade, make him a valuable member of it, a living argument for a good rate of pay. On the same principle, the man who is compelled to remain at a trade in which he is, and is conscious of being, a mistake will always be more or less of a hard bargain in it, and will afford a pretence, if not a justification, for low wages.

That this is so, that the changing about of round and square pegs till they find their right holes would strengthen the pegs *en masse*, should be, one would think, self-evident. As a matter of fact it is not. A majority of the artisan classes 'do not see it.' 'Every man to his trade' blocks the way to change. The cobbler must stick to his last, though he may be a bad shoemaker, and might make a good craftsman of another kind. The chief argument brought forward in support of the 'each man to his trade' policy is that it is not right that men who have served a regular apprenticeship to a trade should be subjected to competition from men who have picked up the trade by some irregular and shorter method. There is something in this, though hardly in the direct sense in which the contention is generally applied. Men who pick up a trade must in effect serve an apprenticeship. However clever they may be, they cannot become full-fledged journeymen at a single swoop. Their apprenticeship may be irregular and comparatively short, but in one way or another it is made correspondingly sharp, the path of the picker-up being always a more or less thorny one. That men of mechanical proclivities and with a fair share of *nous* could, if they were allowed, pick up a trade in a relatively short period of time, is no reason for preventing them from acquiring a craft for which they



The conclusion to which such opposition points is, as it seems to me, that the ordinary period of regular apprenticeship is in the circumstances of the present day too long. It exacts a payment from the artisan classes too high and too hard for the value received, a price so high and hard that to men not used to draw fine distinctions it appears to justify a spirit and policy of monopoly and exclusion. When the 'seven long years' which is the usual period of a 'bound' apprenticeship was fixed, the contracting master craftsman expressly undertook to teach the apprentice or cause him to be taught the whole art and mystery of his craft. For this the time was not too long, in some cases might be all too short. We are still within very measurable distance of a time when a boy who was bound to such a trade as the engineering was 'put through the shops.' He went from department to department, gaining a general knowledge of and a certain degree of handiness in each, and only settling down to the branch to which he was found best suited during the last year or two of his 'time.' Consequently, during the greater part of his seven years he was really a learner, and as such probably earned no more than the small rate of wages paid him, any gain that there might be on his work during his last year or two being regarded as in the nature of counterbalance to loss upon him in his first year or two.

Upon those conditions, apprenticeship was an equitable and effective arrangement. The trained journeyman entered upon his career specially qualified for one branch of his trade, and so far qualified in the other branches that he could readily turn his hand to them, could honourably and confidently either seek or accept employment in them. In whatever branch of his trade he did work, his general knowledge of its other branches added to his value, and, being able to change from branch to branch himself, he had less reason than has the one-job man of the present day for holding monopolist views.

But we have in a great measure altered all this. Under the operation of the subdivision of labour, what were formerly branches have in many instances now come to be classed as trades. Where this is not the case, it is a common practice to stipulate that the apprentice to be, or his parents or guardians for him, may select the branch to which he shall be bound, but that, having selected it, he must keep to it, and to it alone. This is a definite arrangement, and, where it is honourably carried out, all that can be urged against it is that it is much more profitable to the masters than to the apprentice. In a great number of cases, however, the understanding is not honourably carried out upon the part of the employer. The letter of the contract is fulfilled, but not the spirit. The apprentice is not only kept to one branch of the trade, but to some single machine or piece of workmanship in it. At the one

thing to which he is thus tied he of course becomes specially expert—and to the masters specially profitable. So much is the latter the case, that employers who in this way evade a fair fulfilment of their contract generally become apprentice farmers as well as—and often more than—manufacturers. Individually they may be successful men, but there can be no doubt that their proceedings tend to injure the manufacturing interests of the country. It is not simply that injustice is done to the particular apprentices whose misfortune it is to be bound to such masters. Apprentice farming for profit, as distinct from journeymen making to meet the legitimate demands of skilled industry, has the effect of overcrowding the trades concerned, and that with incompetent workmen, of lowering their tone and quality, and of weakening them in the battle of international competition. Conscious of this state of affairs, many artisans prefer, if they have the choice, not to have their sons apprenticed. They get them into the workshops simply as boys, letting them take their chance as to the branch of trade to which they may be put. Where this is permitted by employers, the boys are by the good-will of foremen and workmen virtually in the position of apprentices as to opportunities for learning. At the same time they have the substantial advantage over bound apprentices, that if before they are twenty-one years of age they 'fancy themselves,' they can go elsewhere either as journeymen or improvers. In the latter capacity they are likely to obtain varied experience, while their wages, though below journeymen rate, are above apprentice rate. The possibilities of acquiring a trade in this manner are if anything on the increase, and it may be that the question of apprenticeship will settle itself in this manner. If it does not, I would strongly commend the subject to the serious consideration of the artisan powers that be. It is one of vital importance to their class.

As a broad suggestion, I should think that the seven long years of the good old times might be equitably cut down to four in those cases where it was expressly stipulated that the apprentice was to be taught not the whole, but a part only of the art and mystery of his craft. This would tend to induce employers to revert to the practice of teaching the whole mystery. Where it had not that effect it would qualify an artisan as a branch man at a fairer cost than he is now compelled to pay. It would give him fewer years of apprenticeship and more of journeymanhood, or, if he were of that inclining, afford him a wider latitude for picking up a second branch while still young. It may be taken for granted that the narrow-minded among those who had paid a seven years' price for their own trade would be opposed to any reform of this kind; but those who wish to establish reforms must be prepared, not only to meet with, but to ignore narrow-minded and vested interest opposition.

In speaking as I have done of the subdivision of labour, I have of course had no thought of suggesting that it should be done away

with. Any such idea would savour of insanity. The system is a general and national benefit, a prime source of wealth and comfort. Without the immense multiplication of productive power which it gives us, our supremacy as a manufacturing country would be at an end. All that I have wished to point out is, as I have said, that though a great, it is not an unqualified good. As there is some spirit of good in things evil, so most great goods have their attendant drawbacks. To this rule the good thing that we have in the division of labour is no exception, and I have only laid stress upon the fact because it so happens that here the drawbacks tell chiefly against the artisan classes. The workman who under the subdivision system is trained and kept to one piece of work (perhaps the hundredth part, and not an important part), of some elaborate engine or process, will become wonderfully expert at that work. The celerity and accuracy with which he makes use of the special appliances which in such a case are certain to be provided will probably be as remarkable as the mechanical ingenuity of the appliances themselves. But away from this particular piece of work, or deprived of his special appliances, he is comparatively useless. He has no general knowledge or experience, no facility in turning his hand to different though related operations, no adaptability, no talent for mechanical makeshift or improvisation. There are individual exceptions to this position. Some may have been general hands before settling down as single-job men. Others, appreciating the significance (to them) of the situation, may have privately been at pains to qualify themselves for varying their usefulness, or they may be blessed with a faculty for adapting themselves to modifications of trade environment. Generally speaking, however, the single-job man finds himself very disadvantageously situated in these present times of trade fluctuations and revolutions. The range within which he can hope to find employment at which he can be confident of approving himself of market value is strictly limited, and if by some new invention or change of fashion his special work is superseded, he finds himself in a very unfortunate predicament.

By those who have no practical knowledge of the workshop life of the artisan classes a good deal of trade romance is indulged in. When some merchant makes it known that in answer to an advertisement for a clerk at a hundred a year he has had a thousand or more applications, newspapers are given to improve the occasion in social leaders. They adorn the tale in a great variety of ways, but they almost invariably point the same moral. This moral is addressed to parents and guardians and runs—Do not put your sons to clerking, apprentice them to handicrafts. The conclusion here may be a sound one, but some of the premisses from which it is usually deduced are certainly mistaken and misleading ones. It is assumed that mechanics, unlike clerks, need never be out of employment save by their own will or through their own fault. But this

is only intermittently true of any, and is very rarely true of all trades at the same time.

In periods of trade depression—and such periods have increased in frequency and length of late years—thousands of artisans are out of employment, and, as with clerks, some individuals are more unfortunate than others in this respect. Even when trade is moderately brisk it will be found that a considerable percentage of craftsmen are still out of employment. In all the large trades there is a margin of men over and above the average demand. Otherwise it would be impossible to meet the exigencies of occasional spurts and rushes in trade. The latter condition is what constitutes the actual 'pull' of the mechanic over the clerk. In most trades there do come times when the demand for skilled workmen in them is fully up to and even in excess of the supply; times in which there is not only work for all hands, but in which wages rule high and there is overtime to be made—times, therefore, which afford an opportunity of in some measure making up for out-of-work periods. Whether such good times would continue to come if the numbers of the surplus clerk population were added to the ranks of the mechanics, is a question that need not be debated here.

The newspaper moralisers speak off-handedly of the skilled workman earning his two or three pounds a week. That there are artisans who do earn such a rate of pay is most true, but as a general estimate this is decidedly too high. I am not aware that there are any exact statistics bearing on the point, but I feel quite certain that, taking London and the provinces, large towns and small, one trade with another, it would be fully stating, not to say overstating, the case to put the average earnings of artisans at thirty-five shillings a week.

Again, it is said that the clerk is bound to 'keep up an appearance,' however inadequate may be his means to that end; the inference left to be drawn being that the artisan has not an appearance to keep up. This impression is a thoroughly erroneous one. True, there are no formulated sumptuary laws regulating artisan apparel either in or out of the workshop, but there are laws of wont and custom that are none the less powerful because they are unwritten. Dress with the mechanic is not a matter of respectability of appearance only, it is an indication of his character as a workman, and is so regarded. The slouchy, out-at-elbow, down-at-heel craftsman will be slouchy, and coarse, and careless over his work. The slouch is the *bête noire* of managers and foremen, the butt of fellow-workmen. He is the last to be taken on, the first to be dismissed. To him are most frequently applied the 'tongue dressings' in which some foremen are given to indulge, and he is the man of all others most conscious of deserving and least well situated for resenting such dressings. Other things being at all equal, the man who shows up each Monday morning in clean overalls will be taken on or kept on in preference

to the one whose only anxiety—supposing he has any anxiety upon the point at all—is that his unwashed, unwashable, unworkmanlike garments may originally have been of a colour calculated ‘not to show the dirt.’ Out of the workshop, in what stands to the working class as society, the well-paid artisan who did not dress better than, and differently from, the poorly-paid unskilled labourer would lose caste. Not only his fellow-craftsmen, but the labourers also, would despise him.

With artisans it is *de rigueur* to have a ‘customary suit of solemn black’ for Sundays and best, and a second-best suit for evening wear. When to the cost of these is added the cost of wear and tear, both by work and washing, of working clothes, it will be evident, I think, that the charges upon the artisan under the head of keeping up appearances must be to the full as heavy as those upon an ordinary clerk. I am not writing in correction of the mistaken notions here adverted to with any view to dissuading parents from putting their sons to trades rather than to clerking. I am no advocate for keeping trades close by anything in the nature of artificial restrictions. There is no need for any policy of that kind. The evolutionary method is distinctively operative on this head, and is all-sufficient. In the breeding of artisans only the fit and fittest develop and survive, and their competition, though it is with each other, is also with employers, and tends on the whole to extend trade and keep up wages. The mere ‘sticket’ or incompetent clerk is not of the fibre of which mechanics are made. As to the stronger grained kinds of youth, if they have any pronounced natural bent for a mechanical calling, they will probably be put to it. If they are indifferent as between clerking and handicraft work, they are quite as likely to succeed—or fail—in the one as the other. At any rate, in the trades there is room enough for all who are fit. In the nature of things the skilled workmen of the country cannot be few, but also in the nature of things they must be fit, otherwise they will as *craftsmen* perish in the struggle for existence.

The above points of relation between clerks and artisans are well worthy of consideration; still, here they are to a certain extent merely by the way. The point of the general comparison, more immediately in the present connection, is that in which the superior *interest* of a mechanical calling is dwelt upon. The advisers of the crowded-out clerks picture the workman rather as an inspired artist than a commonplace artisan. They speak of him as regarding as almost living things the machine which he works and the wonderful engine or apparatus he is helping to construct. They dwell upon the feeling of delight and consciousness of power which he must experience as the crude material takes form and function under his skilful hands, and suggest that his work must excite in his mind an interest second only to that which agitates an inventor working out

his models. His labour is represented as affording him an infinite variety, under which it is impossible for his trade to stale upon him, and contrasted with which the routine work of an office must indeed be wearisome.

This is a very pretty picture, and one of which personally I can only say, Would that it were true! Unfortunately it is not true. Applied to the bulk of the artisan classes, it is the reverse of true. By the system of subdivision of labour, a man is trained to some single piece of work without any reference to a knowledge of the complicated whole of which it may be a simple part. He is kept to that piece of work day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, until—if he is the kind of man who would take an interest in his work under more favourable circumstances—it becomes a weariness of the flesh to him. His limbs and mind become almost automatical in relation to it. He is rung in and out to work at fixed times, is constantly doing the same thing in the same fashion, and working alongside of other men subject to like conditions. He is not allowed to show—in any practical form, at any rate—interest in any work other than his own, as it is accounted a fault for him to be found away from his own post, and much more from his own department.

In this way workshop life becomes thoroughly monotonous, becomes, in Mr. Mantalini's phrase, 'One demd horrid grind.' A man may work for a lifetime in a tool shop without having any general knowledge of machine construction, or any opportunity of acquiring such knowledge so far as his life in the shop is concerned. Or he may be engaged in a marine or locomotive engine factory, with a similar lack of knowledge of the mechanical principles underlying steam propulsion. So far as his individual powers of output are in question, he may be no worse a workman for this want of general knowledge. Indeed, there are extreme partisans of the subdivision system who contend that he is all the better a workman for it, just as there are people who will tell you that a household servant is all the better for being unable to read or write, as in that case she will not waste time in reading or be able to possess herself of the contents of your postcards. To an easy-going man the circumscribed conditions and monotony of much of our workshop life may not be particularly irksome, any more than a monotonous office routine would be irksome to an easy-going clerk. Still this does not alter the facts that many of our artisans have to work in a changeless millhorse-like round which is depressing to their intelligence; that the fancy portrait of the British artisan set before the out-of-work clerk as a picture of what he might be is not true to life; and that men, like materials, are deteriorated more by rust than wear.

If as a general thing work could be made interesting to the men

and the men be brought to take an interest in the work, it would be better alike for work and workmen; would add to our power and resource as a manufacturing nation. But if it is admitted that only by availing ourselves of the advantages unquestionably inherent in the system of the subdivision of labour can we expect to maintain our lead in international competition—if this is admitted, how, it may be asked, is an intelligent and pleasurable interest in their work to be created in the minds of our craftsmen? The question is an obvious one, not so the answer. Probably there is no complete answer to it. It would be too much to hope that the drawbacks to the subdivision system could be altogether removed. To a certain extent they are, like the advantages of the system, inherent. Moreover, the imperfectibility of 'poor human nature' forbids so full a hope. In the multitude of artisans there are and always will be some weaker brethren, men of muscle and manipulative skill, but so constituted mentally that they have no desire and but little capacity for bringing intelligence to bear upon their work. These are the kind of men, who, if they are by any accident moved out of the one groove in which they have been set running, spoil work for want of putting a few grains of thought into it, and then tell you that they are not paid to think. They have no trade ambition, no desire for trade knowledge beyond being able to turn out the regulation quantity of work, in the execution of which they have attained an automatical efficiency. The *degree* to which such men become mere machines, mere human tools directed in use by the intelligence of others, is less the fault of the system under which they work than of their character. In a lesser—a much lesser—degree even the better and best types of artisans are mechanicalised by being constantly kept at one piece of work. That is a matter of course, is what is aimed at by and expected from the modern methods of manufacturing organisation.

It is more or less true of all men that 'their nature is subdued to what it works in.' Were it not so, the advantages of subdivision of labour would be non-existent. But with the utmost allowance made on this head it still remains true that our skilled workmen would be more efficient specialists if opportunities were afforded them of acquiring a wider general knowledge of the respective crafts in which they are engaged. The great bulk of them are quite capable of assimilating such knowledge, and would be perfectly willing to acquire it under conditions adapted to their environment. That the acquisition of such knowledge would be beneficial to themselves is certain, and it is equally certain that it would be highly beneficial to the manufacturing interests of the country at large.

That the diffusion of such knowledge among our craftsmen is a consummation devoutly to be wished, none except a few bigots will for a moment doubt. The question is, How is the desirable consummation to be effected? Alterations in the conditions of apprentice-

ship and more liberal views on the part of artisans themselves with regard to the 'every man to his trade' idea would, as already incidentally hinted, tend to increase the sum of technical knowledge among our working mechanics.

The one thing most needful, however, is some well-considered imperial measure of technical education. I say this being quite aware that we already have what it pleases the official mind to call a Science and Art Department. Three hundred and fifty thousand a year of public money is voted to this department. Its cost of administration is abnormally high even for a Government department, while the effective results of its executive operations are abnormally low—even for a Government department. Its supposed *raison d'être*, or at any rate its supposed chief function, is to afford technical education, in the shape of science and art teaching, to the working classes at large. The intention with which the department was originally instituted was therefore a commendable one, but in relation to the fulfilment of that original intention the department is a delusion and a snare, more particularly in the metropolis. It does plenty of work of a kind, makes a fairly good show on paper, and official persons or some of them would no doubt claim that it has been, and is, a successful institution. But unofficial persons who take an interest in the matter, and are in positions for forming a judgment upon it, are unanimously of opinion that the Science and Art Department, as at present constituted, is a failure. It not merely does not do the work it was intended to do, but the known fact of its existence, coupled with the complacent assumption in official circles that a Government department against which there happens to be no general outcry must of necessity be fulfilling its functions, the lack of evidential results notwithstanding, blocks the way to reform.

The most and best that can be said for the Science and Art Department as it stands, is that it might serve as a basis for some such organic measure of reconstruction as would make its potential means effectively operative to the attainment of the desired end of promoting technical education of a practically applicable character among the working classes.

Within the compass of this article there is not space, nor is there any great need, to discuss the shortcomings of the department in detail. It is sufficient here to point out that as now organised it has resolved itself into a machine for apportioning and distributing grants earned on passes by cramming teachers, and awarding certificates to cram passed students. These certificates have a certain commercial use and value. They are a necessity to those qualifying for, in their turn, becoming cram teachers under the department; they have a distinct monetary value to elementary teachers taking service under school boards, which pay a few pounds a year more to teachers holding some certain number of science



certificates; they are valuable for advertising purposes to the private coach for competitive examinations, and may occasionally be useful to persons associated with mechanical industries in some other than a handicraft capacity. But in the workshop they are in themselves of neither use nor value.

If a working man joins a science class it is with a wish to obtaining knowledge, not a cardboard certificate. Were the certificate of the department a proof that its possessor had acquired a practical knowledge of a science related to his trade, it would be prized not only for the honour of the thing but on material grounds also. As a matter of fact it is not a proof of this. What in nine cases out of ten it does prove is that the holder was a fairly good 'study' for examination business, and that his teacher was a clever crammer and successful at forecasting the run of the examination questions for the year. At cram examination work, in which no room is left for their practical knowledge to be brought to bear, artisans are not good. Compared with other classes of students in Government science and art classes they come out badly in the matter of passes, and though numbers of them join the classes because nothing better of the kind is open to them, they know as a body that these classes as a means of technical education in connection with the handicraft industries are a dismal failure.

And yet such classes, properly organised, might be of incalculable service to the country. The engineering is, I take it, a trade that would be as largely benefited as any by a sound and generally available system of technical education, and that trade has gained more in the way of such education from the institution of the Whitworth scholarships than from all the efforts of the Government Science and Art Department. The scholarships have been founded with a princely munificence, but their successful results are less due to this fact than to the judgment and common sense displayed by their founder, Sir Joseph Whitworth, the well-known engineer, as an organiser. The competitive examination for these scholarships is not in the 'bookish theoretic' alone, is not mere paper-work answers to a string of examination questions. Here theory and practice are compulsorily combined.

Each candidate has to give proof of his skill in handling the tools and using the materials of his craft, and that in no amateurish fashion. That is the prime condition, and the manipulative skill and the bookish knowledge are so arranged as to act and react upon each other in such a fashion that the competitor whose technical knowledge on the whole is the most practical and the most readily susceptible of being practically applied stands the best chance of success.

Unlike the Science and Art Department certificate, a Whitworth scholarship carries weight with the initiated. A man holding

one of these scholarships may with a considerable amount of confidence aspire to the higher positions in the trade, and on this ground men of social standing above the artisan classes, and who aim only at the higher positions, compete for the scholarships. But to qualify for competition they must go into the workshops and acquire a fair degree of manual skill, and if in course of time they do become masters or managers, they will act all the more efficiently in those capacities by reason of their workshop experience. On the other hand, the weight given to practical skill and knowledge in these competitions induces large numbers of apprentices and young journeymen to become competitors; and though of course all cannot obtain scholarships, the large majority of them benefit greatly by the study and practice they undergo in the attempt to win. As workmen they are more capable and intelligent than they would otherwise have been, and their increased worth in these respects is so much gain to the trade generally as well as to themselves individually.

Here we have technical education properly so called wisely and fitly conditioned to the actualities by which alone it can be made nationally of practical effect. From an extension of this method we might reasonably hope to see our artisans improve in value as artisans. It would give an impetus to mechanical invention, and would beyond question increase the extent and prolong the period of our manufacturing supremacy. Here is a pattern for the Government Science and Art Department to remodel itself upon. Seeing that as a Government department it is supported by Imperial funds, it is but just that the educational facilities afforded by it should be so varied as to give others beside the working classes opportunities for benefiting by them. At the same time, the last-named classes should be the chief and special consideration with the department.

The technical instruction of those classes as a work of national importance in relation to our position as a manufacturing country was avowedly the justification for calling the department into existence. That it has not in any adequate fashion fulfilled its beings, end, and aim, that as at present directed it cannot hope to fulfil it, is matter of common notoriety among those who have the best means for forming an opinion upon the point. If it would justify its continued existence, it must show a much greater regard than it has hitherto done to the first principles of its constitution. It must establish science and art classes to which only artisans and apprentices shall be eligible for admission. Not in any spirit of exclusiveness, but with the object of making the instruction practical and specific, of making it bear as directly as may be upon the trades in which the students are engaged, and so arranging it that it may illustrate or receive illustration from the actual or possible operations of the workshop—this is the direction in which the Government department should

be made to move if it is to accomplish really satisfactory work, and the sooner it begins to move the better it will be for all concerned.

Already a great deal of valuable time has been lost. Ever since the International Exhibition of 1851 the cry for technical education for our artisans has been heard in the land, but as yet it has been a case of much cry and little—very little—wool. If peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war, she has also her struggles for victory, little less severe than those of war and often more persistent. Never before have these struggles been so keen, determined, and in their kind so bitter as they are now. In the modern industrial war of nations it may be said there is 'no discharge.' No country can afford to rest on its laurels. There is no standing still; not to go forward is to go backward.

In so far as we are without a national system of technical education, in so far as we leave our armies of industry uninstructed and untrained in the higher arts of their war, we are not going forward in the fight. So far, England is wanting in her duty to herself. Her slackness here no doubt arises from failure to realise the immense importance of the subject; but the consequences resulting from continued neglect will be none the less dire on that account. Our present attitude in respect to technical education is preparing the way for disaster, if not defeat or disgrace, to our artisan legions. It is foreshadowing a day of lamentation, a time wherein there will be but too good cause to cry that England's industrial glory—and with it much of her national greatness—has departed. With Government the promotion of technical education is clearly a duty. With employers of skilled labour it may not be strictly a duty, but it would certainly be to their interest to aid in the work, and they could, as they would, render very valuable aid.

It is not every employer who has the means, even if he had the will, to follow the example set by Sir Joseph Whitworth. Most masters, however, employing any considerable number of operatives might at very little cost establish evening classes for technical instruction in connection with their workshops. It might be made obligatory upon apprentices to attend such classes, and no doubt numbers of journeymen would join them when they were thus 'handy.' Teachers and demonstrators could in most instances be found among the leading *employés*, and the workshops could be made the best of all demonstration theatres.

That the artisan classes as a body have shown themselves unwisely, not to say culpably, apathetic in the matter of technical education is unhappily but too true. They require a good deal of rousing on this head, but they are rousable. If a technical education movement specially adapted to their needs and upon anything like a national scale were organised, they would move with the

movement, especially when they began to find—as they soon would do—that those who did not avail themselves of the educational facilities offered would have to take ‘back seats’ in their trades. I have repeatedly heard it argued that all that is required in respect to the scientific training of our artisans is to bring them to see their need of such training and to understand the advantage it would be to them. This done, it is said there would be comparatively little necessity for national effort, the means for individual self-education being abundantly accessible to all who had a desire to attain, and capacity to acquire, technical knowledge. This is true in a measure, but only in a measure. To the average student—and it is the average student who must be considered—systematic instruction under competent teachers is much more fruitful in results than unaided self-study.

Moreover—and this is the important point here—means for scientific self-instruction *suited to artisans* are not so plentiful as seems to be generally supposed. Technical text-books and treatises abound, it is true, but they are compiled without any reference to the special wants in this wise of operative artisans. They are for the most part mere cram books. The more advanced ones are too purely and absolutely theoretical to suit working-class students, while the elementary ones are too elementary for them, generally being full of descriptions or definitions of the tools with which craftsmen are already perfectly familiar. The classes of students, considered in the existing scientific self-help manuals are not artisans but those who are either cramming for certificate examinations, or those desirous of amusing themselves with ‘the guinea box of tools.’ So far as book assistance is concerned, the working man’s pursuit of (technical) knowledge is a case of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. What should working men read—with a view to technical culture—is a very difficult question to answer at present. The theorist and the amateur are provided for, but the artisan is not. It would probably not be the least of the benefits resulting from a national movement in favour of technical education, that it would lead to the production of artisan text-books that would justify their title.

In speaking of the absence of technical knowledge among the rank and file, I am not forgetting that our captains of skilled industry stand in the very forefront not only as organisers of labour, but also as practical scientists and mechanicians. But this in itself is no longer sufficient to afford assurances of our being able to maintain our pride of place. The tactics of destructive warfare have not altered more greatly than have the conditions of industrial competition. Prominent among the new conditions is the necessity for rapid changes and modifications in the application of manipulative skill; and to be prepared for this, while still retaining the system of subdivision of labour, it is absolutely essential that our men should have a wider

range of technical knowledge. They require to have their trade drill extended, to be—as well as their tools—easily ‘convertible’ to new uses. It is desirable that as troops they should be made capable of more varied movement and combination, that they should by being more technically intelligent be more plastic in the hands of their commanders. And the needed plasticity, the more ready adaptability to the circumstances arising out of revolutionary movements or abnormal developments in industrial operations, can only be gained under a national system of technical instruction.

If our artisans were educated to a higher, more intelligent comprehension of the arts and mysteries of their crafts, if they understood in a broad and practical way the scientific rationale and mechanical organisation underlying and governing the ultimate results in which their individual pieces of work are subdivisive processes—if our artisans were technically educated up to this point, they would as a body really feel the vivifying interest in their work which at present they are only supposed to experience. They would also have a greater belief and pride in their callings than is entertained by many of them under the existing condition of affairs. This may seem to outsiders a merely sentimental consideration, but as a matter of fact it is of vital importance as affecting the quality of workmen and workmanship.

In every workshop there are numbers of croakers. They are the men who tell you that the ‘trade’ is over-stocked, that it is done for, has had its day, is no longer a trade to put a boy to. This is the sort of stuff they *do* talk to boys who have been put to the trade, often with disastrous effects. According to this stamp of man the times are permanently out of joint, and this world no longer a place for mechanics if they will suicidally persist in adding to their numbers. ‘Look at me,’ such a man will say; ‘I speak from experience, I am in the trade, and I know. I have never a penny to bless myself with till pay-day comes; I am as much out of work as in, and never certain of employment from one week to another.’ This is quite right of himself, and he can point to plenty more like himself. His home is miserable, his family slatternly, himself of poverty-stricken appearance. Foremen are ‘down upon him,’ and more successful—or as he puts it more lucky—fellow-workmen regard him with a contemptuous pity.

If he were an average specimen of the ‘trade,’ he would indeed be a warning against coming into it, an argument for getting out of it. But he is not an average specimen. Though he tries to figure as a martyr, he is only that stock character, the horrid example. He is one of the hard bargains of his craft, is either a duffer, a slouch, or a boozier, incapable, lazy or drunken, or perhaps all three. The men of this stamp are the residuum of the artisan classes, and among the other beneficial effects of the higher training would be its tendency to squeeze out the residuum. The residual type of workman would not exert himself to move up, and, as a consequence, his relative

worthlessness would be so increased that he would no longer be found worth his salt, even in busy times. He would gradually find himself pressed to a lower than the artisan level, and his loss would be the gain of the trade to which he had been attached.

While the croaker is ever ready to call upon you to look upon *this* picture as embodied in himself, he is careful not to direct attention to *that*, as illustrated by the better, more truly representative artisan. The latter, in times of anything like average briskness in trade, can command good work and good pay all the year round, has a comfortable home, saves money, provides through his benefit and trade clubs for the proverbial rainy day, is in his degree respected because self-respecting, and on the whole is a person rather to be envied than pitied.

It may safely be asserted that there never was a time when there were such opportunities for the mechanic as there are at the present day. Every new discovery or development in the resources of civilisation increases the demand for his services. If by such misfortunes as do sometimes befall he finds himself crowded out or superseded in an old country, he is better qualified than most other men to make his way in new countries. In the work of colonisation the practical artificer is required almost contemporaneously with the agriculturist, and the need for him increases with every advancing stage of the work. There are plenty of openings for him. The instances in which workmen rise to be masters or managers are innumerable, while even should he remain a journeyman all his life he may still be happy and in all essential respects a gentleman. If he has manliness enough to keep himself free from the taint of the depraving social competition to keep up appearances, he may live comfortably, have leisure to cultivate the graces, and means to enjoy a fair share of the rational pleasures of life.

The working classes of the country could be confidently relied upon to contribute to the success of any movement for once more making the brand 'Of English Manufacture' a proud and profitable trade device—a guarantee for trustworthy workmanship and honest material, for the articles so branded being what they professed to be, or doing what they were supposed to do. There can be no reasonable doubt either that our artisans might with equal confidence be relied upon—again on grounds of self-interest, if from no higher motive—to play the important part that would fall to them in the successful working out of any national scheme for technical education. It is sometimes contended that while English mechanics are undoubtedly more skilful and self-assured than any others in point of manual skill, they are inferior in point of artistic feeling and capacity for assimilating and applying technical knowledge. This opinion must, however, be regarded as merely theoretic, seeing that it is of necessity founded largely if not wholly upon surmise. Save in individual instances, English artisans have

had no opportunity of showing to what extent they may be endowed with artistic feeling or perception or a faculty for technical knowledge. It appears to me quite fair to suppose that such perception and faculty, so far as they relate to mechanical work, are very likely to be found in latent association with the admittedly superior natural aptitudes for handicraft skill.

In any case, the time has fully arrived when the subject of a higher training for our artisans should be taken up as a matter involving national welfare. Though it does not blaze forth in agitation, it is nevertheless a burning question. Prolonged inactivity with respect to it will certainly not prove to be masterly. If the national value of our artisan classes is to remain unrealised or unacted upon; if their position and power is to be determined solely by a cutting-down competition, in which the chief weapons employed are adulteration and scamping; if, in short, things are to be allowed to go on as they have been going, they must in the nature of events go from bad to worse, and the decline and fall of our manufacturing empire is inevitable. If as a nation we shirk our duty, neglect our interest in this matter, we may cynically or selfishly console ourselves with the reflection that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' We may with a good show of reason hope and believe that the decline will be slow, that the momentum we have acquired will carry us on for at least our time, and that the after-time is for those who live in it to deal with. None the less we shall be tottering to our fall, and in this age of rapid changes and the frequent occurrence of the unexpected, the fall or something approaching it *might* come suddenly.

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## NOT AT HOME.

DESPITE the Malthusian 'checks' upon population, such as misery, disease, war, vice, and 'moral restraint,' most of the races and nations of the world continue to increase and multiply. The fruits of the earth, which are directly or indirectly their food, do not, according to the well-known axiom, increase locally in proportion, and so—to employ the simplest expressions—many mouths have to be separated from the parent community in the quest for the needful bits to put into them. The enormous facilities for locomotion, by which modern science has proceeded so far in reducing the obstacles of earthly space and time, serve to promote this search for subsistence in its practical forms of emigration and travel, and the present century has opened up to us a perfectly new phase of the history of the human race and its breeds. The vast scale of the emigration of the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Latin races of Europe, and of the Chinese, must inevitably, as the years roll on, become still more gigantic. Even now it is almost hopeless to endeavour by any system of statistics to keep pace with the eternal come and go of all the millions of human beings of all countries and all languages who are constantly crossing and re-crossing the oceans and continents of this globe.

Some effort is made in this essay roughly to gauge the extent to which emigration is scattering and mingling the current generations of the leading European nations, and at least to lay the foundations for those more elaborate and complete statistics which may be won at some future time. The following table displays in one direction—the horizontal—the numbers of born natives of each country who are now living out of that country; and at the same time in the vertical columns the numbers of foreigners who reside in each such country. It is important to bear in mind that in the table only the born natives of the parent countries have been considered, descendants of such emigrants becoming absorbed among the natural population of their adopted countries.

It is much to be desired that among the many international arrangements which slowly advancing civilisation gradually brings about—such as the postal union, the telegraph, longitude, universal time, astronomic, currency, and a host of other congresses—statesmen, or at least men of science, would devote some attention to the



establishment of well-devised, universal, and consistent regulations for a periodical and contemporaneous census, accompanied by trustworthy and uniform statistics of emigration, immigration, and re-emigration. The value of such a system, in regard to its influence on economics, would prove incalculable, and it is desired here to direct especial attention to the excellence of the Italian statistics of this nature.<sup>1</sup>

Imperfect as the table now here given admittedly must be, it still analyses and apports among a score of nations or groups of nations no less a total than 18,741,000 of human beings who are 'not at home' to those who may search for them in their native lands; and this large total lends some importance to the conclusions that may be drawn from its analysis.

The first postulate to be laid down in considering the table is that a country which sends abroad a greater number of human beings than it receives from other nations must be considered as contributing the difference to the general total of the population of the rest of the globe. But such a country must not alone be credited with her emigrants, who furnish a real and active proof of the vitality of her population; she must likewise be debited with the foreigners who live within her borders; for they are proof, *pro tanto*, that at least an equal number of her own native population might have continued to exist at home without seeking their fortunes in other lands. Let us now go through the table, commenting first upon the Austrian empire.

*Austria-Hungary.*—In the census tables of other countries are found 337,000 Austrians and Hungarians living out of their own lands. Of these Germany claims 118,000, and the United States 135,500. These figures are but insignificant when compared with the total population of 37,883,000, and this dual State must be set down as contributing the least proportion—only 0·89 per cent. upon that total—of all the great States to the population of the rest of the world. At the same time, the number of foreigners resident in the united monarchy falls short of 183,000, being only about 1 to every 208 of the native population. The Germans in Austria reckon up to some 99,000, as against 118,000 Austrians in Germany; and in spite of the long-standing strife of the Carbonari and the white-coated soldiery, 45,000 Italians now reside on Austrian soil, while only 16,000 Austrians are to be found in Italy.

*Belgium.*—Next comes Belgium, with which little Luxembourg is grouped for convenience, showing a net total population of over 5,800,000, or 485 to the square mile—a ratio of destiny which is only surpassed by Saxony with 514; England and Wales showed 446 in 1881. Of these, 145,500, or 1 in every 39, are foreigners;

<sup>1</sup> *Emigrazione italiana all'estero; Movimento dello stato civile, and Costamento degli Italiani all'estero*, Roma, 1885. Our own *General Report of the Census of 1881*, vol. iv., 1883, is full and interesting.

TABLE showing (A) the numbers of BORN NATIVES of each country now living out of that country, together with (B) the number of resident foreigners, and (C) the balance in favour of or against each country.

	Austria-Hungary	Belgium	Denmark, Norway, Sweden	England (U.K.)	France	Germany	Holland	Italy	Russia (Pro-laud only)	Spain	Switzerland	Other European countries	Asia	Africa	United States and Canada	Mexico and Central America	Australia and Polynesia	Total living out of their own country (A)
Austro-Hungarians	246	..	334	2,913	12,090	117,907	18,995	16,095	..	271	18,184	29,867	..	8,022	135,850	368	..	226,713
Belgians (Luxembourgers)	246	..	..	2,562	422,265	12,255	18,516	565	..	360	600	..	..	637	29,871	..	..	426,266
Danes, Swedes, Norwegians	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
English	..	..	..	8,151	2,225	81,916	1,611	7,302	300	6,548	2,812	4,159	..	29	440,323	839	..	791,493
French	..	..	..	146,863	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	146,863
German	..	..	..	15,725	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15,725
Dutch	..	..	..	38,228	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38,228
Italians	..	..	..	5,257	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,257
Russians	..	..	..	7,169	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,169
Spaniards and Portuguese	..	..	..	14,666	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14,666
Greeks	..	..	..	1,528	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,528
Slaves	..	..	..	4,311	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,311
Other Europeans	..	..	..	1,463	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,463
Chinese	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Asiatics	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Africans	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Americans (U.S.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U.S. Americans	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U.S. Americans, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Not specified	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(B) Total foreigners in each country	182,976	145,906	46,906	293,708	1,801,090	276,731	68,971	59,956	314,507	41,703	211,038	233,787	1,540,244	140,353	7,900,015	6,088,108	789,631	15,743,096
(C) Balance in favour of Balance against	164,037	391,159	743,655	3,864,031	618,437	3,234,435	70,294	1,017,260	..	411,434	3,608	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

\* 5,139 Abyssinians, Madurese, 46,467 Poles, 2,328,739 in Peru alone, 6 Hawaii and English Colonies.

but this industrious and populous country, notwithstanding its long-continued deadlock of political parties, its strikes and its riots—indeed, perhaps partly because of all these—has sent abroad no less than 497,000 of her children, or 8·6 per cent. of her remaining native population. It is true that the greater part of these have not gone far from home—for 463,000 of them are distributed in neighbouring France, Germany, and Holland; but still, according to the postulate, Belgium has a balance to her credit at foot of these tables amounting to 351,000. To lessen the tedium of figures, the nearest round numbers are mentioned in each case where the result is not thus sensibly affected. A salient proof of the worthless character of emigration statistics generally is to be found in the Belgian returns, which show that in the five years ending with 1884 immigration exceeded emigration by 10,014—a manifest absurdity when pitted against the statistics here given. Perhaps the returns are merely for the port of Antwerp.

*Scandinavia.*—Next come Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which are grouped to avoid indefinite extension of the table. The net population of the three countries may be taken at 8,450,000; and in addition thereto 795,000, or 9·4 per cent. of the existing generations, are living abroad. Of these 440,000 are in the United States, and 306,500 are Swedes living in Russian Finland. The average emigration from Scandinavia is now over 77,000 annually. If we glance back to the beginning of this century, we shall see the population of Norway scarcely increasing, and its marriages fewer than in any country but Switzerland. Since then many of the old customs and laws that hampered agriculture have disappeared, manufacturing centres have arisen and flourished, and the growth of the population has proved quicker in such centres than in the country districts. Between 1865 and 1875 the population increased 14 per cent. side by side with constant emigration, and in 1869 there was but one pauper in a hundred, while at home in England there were 5 per cent. To Sweden belongs the credit of the earliest and best-regulated European census, which was taken in 1748, and repeated at first every three, and then every five years. Here is the place to recall the uncomfortable fact that five years later our own House of Lords threw out a bill for an English census on the ground that it was anti-Scriptural and un-English, and we had consequently to wait nearly half a century for the first counting of our numbers. At the same time that these three northern countries send out a host of 795,000 they harbour only 51,000 foreigners, and these are chiefly Germans residing in Denmark (33,152), and Finns and Russians in Sweden and Norway; so that the balance to the credit of the Scandinavian communities in the Not-at-Home account of the world is no less than 744,000.

But we shall now have to deal with much larger figures, and before

taking the case of our own England let us first examine the German empire.

*Germany.*—The vast emigration from Germany in modern years, and its causes, are now commonplaces of contemporary history. No pause is needed here for dwelling upon the innate force and healthy stamina of the breed, its domestic family habits, its calm self-reliance, and its adventurous spirit.

Keep not standing fixed and rooted,  
Briskly venture, briskly roam;  
Head and hand, where'er thou foot it,  
And stout heart are still at home.

The results are a high rate of increase in the population, and a readiness to seek afar relief from the heavy pressure of military service under which Germany and her leading antagonist are now both groaning. The statistics of German emigration are not quite satisfactory, but between 1880 and 1884 a yearly average of 172,750 left the mother countries of the empire by Antwerp, Bremen, Hamburg, Havre, and Stettin. The vast majority of these went to the United States, and the greater portion of the remainder to South America. It is significant that between 1881 and 1883, 125,156 emigrants renounced their German nationality. It is thus not surprising to find the table exhibiting 2,601,000 Germans outside their fatherland, of whom 2,000,000 are in the States, and 110,000 in South America. In Belgium live some 43,000; among the Scandinavians 38,000; in Switzerland 90,000; in Holland 42,000; and in France, where sullen hostility to 'the Prussians' is but ill-disguised, no fewer than 82,000. While the German empire can reckon over two and a half millions of her children in foreign climes, or 5·7 per cent. on the aggregate population of 45,200,000, she affords a subsistence to 293,000 natives of other countries, including 118,000 Austro-Hungarians, 35,000 Scandinavians, 28,000 Swiss, and only 17,000 French, who thus take, but a poor revenge of the 82,000 Germans who have peacefully continued the invasion of French territory. The balance in Germany's favour is thus very large—2,324,000—and is only exceeded by our own.

*United Kingdom.*—It is difficult to avoid terms that may seem inflated when referring to the statistics for the British Isles. A whole section—somewhat heavy, it must be confessed—of modern literature is developing and enveloping the idea of 'Greater Britain.' We have occupied the lands. Perhaps, after all, the most forcible way of putting the facts is to say boldly that English must indubitably be—is even now—the leading language of the globe. It was a saying of Coleridge's that Shakespeare can never die, and the language in which he wrote must with him live for ever. This is somewhat too finely poetical for the present purpose. Shakespeare and all English literature apart, it is because the language echoes from

millions on millions of English mouths all over the habitable earth and its oceans, that it lives and must live everywhere, whether as the pure well undefiled, or as 'American,' Pidgin, Brother-tongue, or even as the Negro-English of Surinam.

It may confidently be said that the number of born natives of the three kingdoms now living out of them is largely understated in these tables as 4,200,000; and still every possible source of information has been consulted; but the exact figures will never be elicited until we have an international census union. The figures are, however, vast as they stand, and put England easily at the top of the scale of nation-making, people-giving races. A native of the famous old Comté de Foix was once asked by Napoleon what his country produced. 'Men and iron,' said the Gascon. What flimsy fustian this retort becomes if the little department of the little Ariège, as the country now is called, be compared in the light of these statistics with Britain and its Black Country. In the 4,200,000 given above no account has been taken of 215,374 soldiers and sailors on foreign service; but adding these, we arrive at the almost incredible fact that every eight persons of the home population are now represented abroad by a native-born 'Britisher,' who has not been chosen as their representative by the ballot or by any other known mode of election, and who goes about his business in quiet neglect of 'our glorious constitution' and the 'supremacy of the House of Commons.' This great world-movement, which will be the making—or the marring—of the mother-country's future, proceeds calmly, silently, as the operations of nature, behind the backs of noisy do-nothing political parties, as certainly, as inevitably, as the planets roll around the sun.

The number of foreigners resident in England is unexpectedly small, falling short of 294,000, or, deducting 10,564 sailors, merely 283,000, being about 1 in 124 of the population. These are chiefly merchants' clerks, teachers, servants, German bakers, Russian and German tailors, French milliners, and Italian musicians. The balance in England's favour (3,885,000) in the account here produced is therefore very large indeed, being more than half again as great as that of Germany, which is nearly a third more populous than England. It may be noted here that the Census Tables of 1881 (vol. iv. p. 105) show that in fifty years at least 8,880,000 emigrants, foreigners included, left our shores.

*France.*—While the balance in favour of all the other chief European countries is more or less considerable, the balance is against France, and it is besides a very large balance on the wrong side. The facts relating to the population of the country and its almost stationary condition are common problems of economics, but it is not usual to see them treated from the present point of view. As a matter of fact, considerable want of knowledge on the subject

may be detected, and the following passage is found in a recent publication by no means devoid of usefulness. Mr. James Bonar, in his 'Malthus and his Work,' observes that—

There are few foreigners in France; the numbers of the French people are neither swelled by immigration nor reduced by emigration. . . . Taking the absence of immigration as balanced by the absence of emigration, we are brought to the conclusion that the population of France is stationary by its own deliberate act (pp. 167, 168).

This writer seems to rely for this portion of his information upon the *Times*, but one need only turn to that excellent repertory of statistics the 'Almanach de Gotha' (p. 715), to find that there were in December 1881 no less than 1,001,090<sup>2</sup> foreigners resident in France. To these, in considering the French population proper, we must add 77,046 other foreigners who have naturalised themselves in the country, and we thus find every thirty-fourth human being in France to be a 'stranger'—a sufficiently surprising and significant fact. In 1872 the foreigners were only 1 in 49, in 1861 they were 1 in 75, and in 1851 the proportion was but 1 in 94. It will thus be seen that the peaceable invasion of France is proceeding at a sure and increasing rate. It is as though nature, abhorrent of a vacuum, as the maxim of 'the ancients' maintained before Galileo's time, were stepping in to fill the gaps which the French make or suffer in their own population. Rural France, as distinguished from urban, actually lost 820,000 of its population between 1876 and 1881, as M. Toussaint Lona has shown. Turn now to the handy figures furnished year by year in the 'Annuaire des Longitudes' (p. 484), and it will be seen that the 1881 population of 37,672,048 must be reduced by 1,078,136 in order to arrive at the actual numbers of French people in France, which is thus found to be only 36,593,912. The population in 1876 was 36,905,788, from which 836,264 foreigners must be deducted; and comparing this with the corresponding numbers for 1881 above given, it will be seen that the slender yearly increase of the French population proper is now only 29 per 10,000, instead of 41 as given by the Government statisticians.

So much for immigration. As to emigration, it is true it does not go on upon a large scale, but from 1878 to 1884 there was an efflux of 30,000; and the annual amount is on the increase. But these statistics of French emigration are not in any way to be relied on. In the first place they only deal with French ports, and with North and South American destinations; but numbers doubtless depart from Belgian, German, and English ports for those and other continents, and probably go to swell the emigration statistics of the three countries mentioned at the expense of the credit of France, for the meagre tale of emigrants just quoted seems wholly insufficient

<sup>2</sup> The *Annuaire Statistique* for 1883 gives eighty less.

to account for the 268,600 Frenchmen born in France who are now borne on the census returns of North and South America (see Table A). Furthermore, these French emigration figures take no account at all of land-migration, and thus ignore completely 52,200 French who live in Belgium, 17,300 who have chosen Germany for their workshop, 10,800 who are in Italy, 17,600 in Spain, and nearly 59,000 who live within the Swiss frontiers. In all, nearly 483,000 French born in France are in the position of emigrants all over the world, and although the total is less than that furnished by Belgium, and but little in excess of the numbers placed to the credit of Spain and Portugal, it must be taken into account, and, when set against the 1,001,090 foreigners who are inside French boundaries, reduces the balance to the debit of France to 518,000.

The Rev. Mr. Malthus chiefly devoted his speculations to the consideration of flourishing races with rapidly increasing populations, his goal, adopted from the American colonies, being duplication in twenty-five years. But he wholly omitted to consider among his 'checks' positive or preventive, whether war, disease, or vice—he completely left out of sight such an undoubted fact as the decay of races, the dying-out of a people, as so many families die out, because of a failure of fertility, no matter to what complexity of causes that failure may be due. Vicious irregularities may have a partial or an extensive effect in the direction of a check; but an economist must be slow to believe that a whole nation of thirty-seven millions, or, omitting children, twenty-seven millions of greatly differing characters and origins, can, by individual but universal assent, keep down the population; and even if they did so it would be, after all, only the strongest, the ultimate evidence of the weakening of the procreative instinct, and therefore of the certain dying-out of the race.

At the same time Malthus avowed his desire for a longer life for the living, and fewer births for the sake of fewer deaths. Had he prophesied this for France, it would have been a wonderful hit, for there the average duration of life has risen from 28 to 37 years since the beginning of the century, while the annual deaths have fallen from 276 in 10,000 to 223. At the same time the annual births have also fallen from 318 in 10,000 to 249, while the number of marriages remains the same. Thus it may safely be said that the present apparent small increase in the population—29 per 10,000 annually, as shown above—is, in reality, not an accession of new lives, but chiefly a postponement of the termination of old ones. Had the death-rate remained as it was in 1801–10, the population would now be actually diminishing at the rate of 27 per 10,000 (276–249). The causes of the decrease of the death-rate are various, but not complex. The advance of applied medical and sanitary science counts for something; and the doubling of the pro-

duction of meat, corn, and almost everything else, has brought greater plenty and comfort. It is calculated that the total supply of food from home and foreign sources is fourfold what it was fifty years ago, while foreign trade has been multiplied by six. As regards individual wealth, M. Levasseur made a very cautious estimate, eleven years ago, when he said it had more than doubled since 1800. And with all this the annual number of marriages has remained stationary, and their total, including the widowed, falls far short of the English rate, being but 2,803 per 10,000 against England's 4,488.

It is impossible to quit this subject without a word upon the size of French families. The average number of births to ten marriages was forty-two, from 1801 to 1810; it is now but thirty, that is three to each marriage; and of course one death among the three would leave the population stationary. Last year free schooling was voted for the seventh child in every family that had so many, and this measure resulted in the discovery of 213 such families, 107 of which had more than seven, and 4 as many as thirteen children each. The fourth fargard of the *Vendidad* supports the assertion of Herodotus (i. 136) that the ancient Persian monarchs gave prizes to those who had most children. In 1798 Pitt brought in a bill for extending relief to large families, and Malthus argued against it that if by artificial encouragement a Government increases the mouths without increasing the food, it only brings the people nearer to starvation; and though stalwart numbers are a strength, starving swarms are a patent weakness. But this style of argument cannot apply to contemporary France, where the general and individual wealth and comfort are, as has been shown, considerable and notorious.

*Italy.*—Although Italy has of recent years been making serious progress in the direction of consolidation, and has shown singular national common sense in devoting herself to the process of settling down after her long revolutionary struggles, the generality will be somewhat unprepared to receive the large scale of her emigration. Her excellent statistical tables of 1881 show no less than 1,077,000 Italians residing in other countries. South American States absorb the largest proportion of these, namely 403,000; and next comes France, where public works attract vast numbers of Italian labourers, with 241,000; the United States with 176,000, and Africa with 62,000. Emigration is going on at an increasingly rapid pace; 147,000 having left the mother country in 1884, including 33,000 for Austria-Hungary, 38,000 for France, and 44,000 for South America. Taking the population of Italy at 29,861,000, we find that those living abroad are equal to 3·67 per cent. on that total; and as there are only 60,000 foreigners resident in Italy, she can claim a credit balance on the general world account of over a million, thus coming third among the great emigrating European countries, and being outstripped only by England and Germany.



\* *Russia*.—If home-raled Finland be excepted, statistics of the foreigners resident in unwieldy Russia have not been obtained. From the census returns of other countries, it is found that 148,000 Russians and Poles are living out of their country. The United States contained in 1880 the largest proportion of these, namely 26,000 Russians and 48,000 Poles; and 20,000 Russians entered the States in 1884. Germany follows with 15,000. In England and Wales there are some 11,000 Poles.

*Spain and Portugal*.—The Peninsula can claim 453,000 of its inhabitants in foreign countries, thus very closely approaching France, although the gross population is two-fifths less (population 21,743,093). South America absorbs the vast majority of Peninsular emigrants (337,000), France holds 75,000, and the United States figure for 28,000. Portugal sent abroad 133,000 in the ten years 1872–81, of whom 130,000 were for America.

*Switzerland*.—The indefatigable, money-loving, and thrifty Swiss are to be found in many countries. Table A reckons up 207,000 of them, equal to a percentage of 7·9 on a net population of 2,635,000. It is, however, somewhat surprising to find at the same time no less than 211,000 foreigners in the cantons, and this not in the tourist season, when Tartarin is on the Alps, but in December 1880. The conclusion is that these large numbers have actually settled in Switzerland, and on analysing the total it is found that the great majority come from adjoining countries: 90,000 from Germany, 59,000 from France, 42,000 from Italy, and 13,000 from Austria. This results in a small balance of 15,000 against the Swiss. The emigration figures, which can scarcely be complete, were 13,500 in 1883, and only 8,900 in 1884.

*Asia*.—The vertical column headed 'Asia,' and the horizontal lines for 'Chinese' and 'Other Asiatics' in Table A, necessarily contain information of a most rudimentary and unsatisfactory nature. For instance, the largest item—1,351,828 Chinamen—consists mainly of a mere guess that there are a million Chinese in Siam, the balance being taken from the Dutch statistics of Java and Madura. The total of 1,512,000 gives but a faint idea of the swarms of industrious and yellow men who continually issue forth from the populous middle kingdom. The number of Chinese who entered the United States up to 1884 was 289,024, but in that year only 8,420 immigrated. The 50,032 Asiatics shown in Peru are probably for the most part Chinese. Coolie emigration from India, for the Mauritius, Réunion, Natal, English and French Guiana, the English and French West Indies, the Fiji Islands, and Surinam is now 18,000 a year; it has been as high as 25,000 (1875).

*Africa*.—The African statistics must also be considered incomplete, consisting, as they do, chiefly of Egyptian, Algerian, and Tunisian figures only, if we except the case of those English popula-

tions for which vol. iv. (p. 106) of the Census Papers of 1881 has been combined with other information.

*America.*—We shall do no more than direct attention in a general way to the large number of born foreigners who are now in the American continents, North and South. They amount to more than thirteen millions, out of our gross totals of nearly nineteen millions. United States immigration, which first sprang into great activity in the decade 1841-50, reached its highest point, 730,000—'2,000 a day'—in 1882. In 1884 it had sunk temporarily, no doubt, to 461,000. At the same time, it will be seen that these immigrant hosts have by no means permanently settled down, for 3,529,000 Americans now live outside their proper countries. It is to be regretted that the inconsistent modes of framing its statistics adopted by different countries preclude a complete analysis of the figures, which there was no choice but to amalgamate for the United States, Mexico, the rest of North America, and South America. The emigration from Canada to the States is noteworthy; a million having crossed the frontier before 1884, and 48,000 more in that year. Forty-four per cent. of the Canadian immigrants of 1881, '82, '83, passed on to the States. There are, *per contra*, 78,000 natives of the States in the Dominion. It is a significant fact that Mexico now holds nearly two millions of born Europeans, or 38 per cent. of her population. As regards South America, Brazil showed an immigration, at Rio de Janeiro, in four recent years, of 93,000 Europeans, chiefly Portuguese, Italians, and Germans. But this is far surpassed by the Argentine Republic, which received in the same years 278,000 immigrants, mainly from Italy, Spain, and France. The numbers for 1884 were 103,000, whereas Brazil had only 18,000 in that year. In Uruguay the immigration is about two thousand a year.

*Australasia.*—As to Australasia and Polynesia the information—except for our own larger colonies—is meagre in the extreme, and the figures in this column clearly fall far short of the truth. The Australian colonies show an immigration of 394,000 in 1882 and 1883; but 263,000 also emigrated in those years, leaving a balance of only 131,000 immigrants, or 65,500 yearly.

*Jews.*—This paper would belie its title if it ignored the race which of all others is pre-eminently 'not at home.' The growing reluctance—of sectarian origin—to inquire into the religions, or the irreligions, of the people in England, France, and other countries, renders it impossible to compile statistics which the Jews themselves could not compile without an organisation which would provoke antagonism in many quarters. The following figures do not account for quite three millions of this teeming breed, and it will be seen that three countries—Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Roumania—contain the vast majority of the numbers here set down. Every

tenth individual in Vienna is now a Jew, and the Hebrews number 1 in every 22 in Austria, and 1 in 24 in Hungary:—

Austria (1880) . . . . .	1,005,394	Switzerland (1880) . . . . .	7,373
Hungary (1880) . . . . .	638,314	Bosnia and Herzegovina	
Germany (1880) . . . . .	561,612	(1885) . . . . .	5,805
Greece (1879) . . . . .	5,792	Servia (1878) . . . . .	3,492
Roumelia (1880) . . . . .	4,177	Belgium (1880) . . . . .	3,000 ?
Denmark (1880) . . . . .	3,946	Sweden (1880) . . . . .	2,963
Roumania . . . . .	400,000 ?	Luxembourg (1880) . . . . .	777
Holland (1879) . . . . .	81,693	Canada (1881) . . . . .	667
Great Britain (1871) . . . . .	40,000 ?	Peru (1876) . . . . .	408
Tunis . . . . .	45,000 ?	Spain (1877) . . . . .	402
Italy (1881) . . . . .	38,000 ?	Orange Free State (1890) . . . . .	67
Persia . . . . .	19,000 ?	Norway (1875) . . . . .	34
Bulgaria (1881) . . . . .	14,250	Samos (1884) . . . . .	1
India (1881) . . . . .	12,008	Total . . . . .	2,910,052
Australia and New Zealand			
(1883) . . . . .	10,351		

There are now but 400 Jews in Spain. At the end of the fifteenth century, before the Inquisition, the expulsion, and the *marranos*, they numbered upwards of a million in Andalusia, Castile, Léon, and Murcia alone. The Jew in Samos must be a wandering one, and recalls the Turkish legend that an Israelite once went prospecting to Mitylene, but levanted again the next day when he saw the natives weighing the eggs they bought in the bazar.

A last brief paragraph for the Jäts or Rom, whom we know as Gipsies. Enumerations between 1878 and 1881 give 79,393 in Hungary, 37,393 in Bulgaria, 27,289 in Servia, 19,549 in Eastern Roumelia, and 200,000 in Roumania. This last number requires corroboration; but wherever the Jew goes the Romany goes:—

In each land the sun does visit  
He is gay whate'er betide;  
To give space for wandering is it  
That the world was made so wide ?

JOHN O'NEILL.

## *THE CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT.*

'**PARLIAMENT AND THE CHURCH**' is the title of an article in this Review for October of last year by Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P., characterised by a calmness and moderation which encourage a belief that the burning question of disestablishment may be argued with such fairness that even if the controversialists do not ultimately agree they may at least understand each other. Such, at all events, is the feeling with which I scrutinise Mr. Borlase's article; and I am confident that an ultimate resort to Parliament will be infinitely more hopeful if reasonable men will, by previous discussion, prepare for the questions at issue a solution for which legislative confirmation may be required.

Mr. Borlase opines that 'Parliament should declare itself unable to deal with ecclesiastical legislation in any shape or form;' but I venture to postpone from the outset of our inquiry a proposition which, if admitted as an axiom, should be admitted only at the inevitable conclusion of inquiry, and not as a preliminary rule which of itself would preclude inquiry.

Local self-government, to which Mr. Borlase would assign full power to manage the affairs of the several districts within its control, cannot, I submit, be trusted to originate or amend the laws touching Imperial interests such as religion or taxation. That duty is one vested in the legislature. The office of local government should be restricted to the administration of the law when it is statutably determined.

The relation of the Church to the State, or, in other words, to Parliament, is essentially one of the subjects with which no authority less than the Imperial Parliament can deal; and the consideration of so weighty a subject requires a clear view of the matter in contention, of the contending parties, and of the principles which should govern the discussion. 'The case for disestablishment' prepared by the Liberation Society is inspired by an undeviating enmity to the Church, and the sentence which it suggests implies the absolute disintegration and dissolution of the Church as an organised religious society. But there are Churchmen and Dissenters, Conservatives and Liberals who, wishing no ill to the Church, see in her connection with the State evils so serious that disestablishment may be accepted as the means of restoring to her the freedom which should pertain to

every religious society. Mr. Borlase apparently takes this view, and he cites among her grievances the inability to vary her formularies or improve her discipline; the unreality of the *Congé d'élire* when accompanied with the *Præmunire* and the consequent appointment of her bishops, nominally by the Crown but effectively by the Prime Minister; the resort to Parliament as indispensable to the extension of the episcopate in England, and generally the hindrance to any change in ecclesiastical law by the necessity for Parliamentary concurrence reluctantly given or refused. These grievances are real, but they are remediable without a revolution. Those who desire the moral and industrial advancement of the people must also desire the improvement of all religious and educational agencies, including those of the Church of England, pre-eminent in their antiquity and widespread influence. Religious nonconformists may therefore be expected not to thwart, but to support, legislative propositions tending to facilitate her spiritual labours and amend her discipline. Nonconformists exult, not unnaturally, in their deliverance from the disabilities which weighed upon them in past generations and in their actual freedom from any practical grievance. I gladly join with Mr. Borlase in pleading 'that in common with all other religious communities the Church of England should have a 'fair stage and no favour;' but when he further pleads 'that the Church should herself desire to bring about 'a position of equality' (religious equality, which the Rev. Guinness Rogers defines to be equality of churches), one is obliged to ask for a precise definition of this term.

Mr. Borlase does not offer one, but I submit that, whatever may be the other conditions of 'religious equality,' one would be imperative—viz. the repeal of the Act (of 1700 A.D.) for the Limitation of the Crown, which enacts 'that whosoever shall come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.'

So long as this statute remains unrepealed, there can be no religious equality between the Church of England and the sects which, notwithstanding this disparity, enjoy the largest and most unqualified religious liberty. In virtue of its connection with the Crown, the Church has certain privileges, but they are hardly of a character to constitute a practical grievance to the 150 sects who have them not. For instance, Anglican bishops sit in the House of Lords, but Anglican clergy are excluded from the House of Commons. Anglican clergy are protected in their ministrations, but it is in their own parish and against the intrusion of their own brethren. The clergy have no legal power to exclude dissenting ministers from their parish if within it there should be a congregation prepared to welcome them. On the other hand, the House of Commons is open to the eloquent preachers and practised ministers of all dissenting denominations, while the Church submits to the

exclusion of Anglican deans and canons. The reverend Nonconformist orators in the House of Commons are a far greater power in the State than they would be in the House of Lords. There are the sentimental grievances of precedence arising out of the existence of a National Church, but it will be for the country to determine whether it is expedient to relieve these sentimental sufferers by the sacrifice of the monarchy. Mr. Borlase, I submit, exaggerates the softness of Parliament to entertain and assent legislatively to measures approved by the Church and Convocation, and to which, in the interest of the nation, no objection can be raised. Members who felt themselves disqualified from intervening actively in the discussion might be satisfied to give their assent under a persuasion that the measure in question would prove beneficial to the National Church, and therefore to the nation. Time spent in passing an unopposed Church Bill could not be time wasted. Nonconformists who will at one time assert their nonconformity will at another claim the full privilege which could pertain to them as members of the National Church to share in the consideration of whatever may redound to the efficiency of the Church. In so doing they are quite within their rights, for no sentence of excommunication has been passed upon them, and their only needful qualification is a charitable and patriotic spirit.

Church dignitaries are advised by Mr. Borlase to make their Church the 'Church of the people,' and to substitute for the title 'Established Church' its ancient name 'Ecclesia Anglicana.' The advice is hardly needed. As understood by learned dignitaries, 'the establishment of the Church of England means the recognition of the Church of England as the national organisation for the profession and the teaching of the Christian religion.' The State, when it allied itself with the Church at the Reformation, assumed to itself certain prerogatives which have proved injurious to spiritual independence, and may now, if enforced, be found so intolerable as to necessitate a resolute resistance. In a country holding religious liberty as a sacred principle, the requisite relief ought not to be a matter of controversy; and those alone would refuse it who, hating the Church, would aggravate her difficulties in order to drive her to the acceptance of freedom with disestablishment and disendowment.

Mr. Borlase seems, almost as a matter of course, to assume that the Church is to be presently disendowed upon the scheme of the Liberation Society—a scheme which, after he wrote his article, was disowned by the eminent Nonconformists at the Temple Conference on November 19, 1885, and by the Liberation Society itself, with an implied rebuke to their confiding followers who had been beguiled into thinking that 'Practical Suggestions' were suggestions meant to be carried into practice.

Foreseeing disendowment, Mr. Borlase comforts himself with the anticipation that even that calamity will not paralyse the Church's work, but that the wealth devoted to its service in recent times would have been even more liberally provided had there been no establishment to fetter the gift. That what the *Spectator* calls 'the crude, cruel, and ridiculous scheme' of the Liberationists would not wholly ruin Churchmen, and that they would strive to the utmost to compensate the Church for the wrongs inflicted on her, I readily believe; but surely it is a strange political morality which would connive at an act of spoliation because forsooth the sufferer had friends able and willing to keep him alive. Mr. Borlase insists on the excellent purposes to which the confiscated Church property might be applied, in the relief of destitution and the education of the people. Has Mr. Borlase forgotten that this country is distinguished for its legal provision for the destitute through a highly organised Poor Law, and that the Church is the earliest educator of the people, not only in her churches, but in her grammar schools and parochial elementary schools, and that up to 1870 the work of education was, and has remained, chiefly in the hands of Churchmen, aided and advised by the National Society as the organ of the Church?

I will not follow Mr. Borlase through the details of the palliatives with which he would considerably mitigate the severity of the 'crude and cruel disendowment.' I pass rather to the evidence before me that there is a strong reaction following upon the exposure of the perversions of history and fallacious arguments which pervade the Liberationist literature, and culminate in the now discredited 'Practical Suggestions.'

On the 19th of November of last year a conference on disestablishment was held at the City Temple, Holborn. The Rev. J. Guinness Rogers presided, and the importance of the meeting was marked less even by the large attendance of well-known men than by the selection as president of a 'pronounced Liberationist.' The speech of the chairman is distinguished by a profession of friendliness towards the Church which is most gratifying, and from it I select portions which will constitute a fitting prelude to the subject of this article.

Mr. Rogers based his argument on this proposition:—

*If it be a right that what we on the Nonconformist side call 'religious equality,' then certainly there will be somewhere or other a method found of treating this question of disendowment in such a manner that no party will have any just ground to complain of being injured.*<sup>1</sup>

The acceptance of this proposition involves its converse: the 'religious equality' requiring a method of disendowment which gives any party just ground to complain of being injured, *cannot be right.*

<sup>1</sup> *Nonconformist*, November 1886.

If I thought any proposition for religious equality involved the disintegration of the Episcopal Church of England, I should pause a long time before I could take part in it. We care only to make our friends understand that we really mean them no harm. I say distinctly, as in the presence of Him to whom I have to account, that I mean no harm to the Episcopal Church.

Mr. Rogers concluded his speech by enjoining that 'the discussion should be maintained in the spirit of sweet reasonableness,' that argument and not invective should be employed, and that 'all should endeavour to speak the truth in love.'

Nothing more encouraging than these friendly protestations could have been desired, and a peaceful solution of the differences may have seemed probable even when the speaker said: 'We do not believe we shall work any harm to the Episcopal Church by disestablishment, even though accompanied by disendowment.'

But churchmen have a strong impression that disestablishment and disendowment would work serious harm to the Church and people of England, and in support of that impression they display the scheme of the Liberation Society, and in particular they point to the provisions which would (1) sever religion from all legal connection with the State, (2) secularise the endowments of the clergy, and (3) allow the conversion of all sacred buildings to common and profane uses.

Don't be misled, interposes Mr. J. G. Rogers; no scheme has yet been framed to which any one authority is bound.

I am committed to no scheme, nor is the Liberation Society. The Liberation Society has published what are called 'Practical Suggestions,' and these 'Practical Suggestions' have been improperly regarded as a definite scheme of disendowment. They never professed to be anything of the kind. . . . They were the outline of a brief put into the hands of a prosecuting counsel, or rather counsel for the plaintiff—that and nothing more.

'Nothing more!' Is not that enough? I will quote from the *Case for Disestablishment*, p. 167:—

At the close of 1874 the Executive Committee of the 'Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control' appointed a special committee to obtain legal and other information required for the preparation of a scheme of disestablishment, and to offer suggestions which might aid in the framing of such a scheme. The suggestions so prepared were presented to the Triennial Conference of the Society on the 1st of May, 1877, and were published by direction of the Conference.

The scheme, carefully prepared, has been widely disseminated, and has been the source of the instruction assiduously conveyed to the classes who from want of better and truer teaching were disposed to be tempted by the secular advantages connected with the plunder of the Church. The tardy exposure of the conspiracy has roused an



indignant feeling and resolute resistance which has made even its promoters pause.

The Rev. J. G. Rogers, a 'pronounced Liberatorist,' repudiates all responsibility for the Liberatorist scheme of which he minimises the importance as embodying only 'practical suggestions'—only 'practical suggestions'? Short of a Parliamentary Bill, what could more explicitly propound the intended action than 'Practical Suggestions;' and why, if they were not meant to commit Mr. Rogers, has he allowed so many years to pass without publishing his disclaimer and stopping the circulation of these alarming suggestions? Churchmen generally will concur with Canon Curtis in welcoming these tardy disclaimers as *very good news* which they will be glad to spread (Holborn Temple Conference).

In justification, however, of the vigorous defensive preparation Churchmen have made, it is only reasonable that they should show the evidence upon which their action has been grounded.

Most opportunely a letter from the Rev. J. G. Rogers in the *Nonconformist* of the 4th of November, 1880, meets my eye. In this letter, prefaced by a disclaimer of hostility to the Episcopal Church and an avowal of 'admiration for the good men it contains, and of sympathy in its true spiritual work,' Mr. Rogers professes his aversion for endowments of all kinds, and proposing that the National Church should be placed on the same level as Congregational churches, he is unconscious of any desire to do it wrong. Mr. Rogers deprecates the endowment of Nonconformist chapels; he even regrets the zeal which in some cases has discharged the mortgage loan through which the chapel was built, thus lessening the burden on the congregation, for he believes 'that a church is strengthened and helped by being trained in habits of self-reliance.' Self-reliance is a virtue of which I would not dispute the merit, nor would I detract from the ennobling effect upon a congregation of a constant training in liberality for the sake of religion. I know not a parish in which Christian liberality is not preached on behalf of the Church's work, even although the preacher may be himself adequately endowed through the liberality of former ages, and in virtue of that endowment acquires an independence of temporal provision which enables him without fear to declare the whole counsel of God and to rebuke sin without dreading the disfavour of the rich and powerful.

Mr. Rogers does not perceive how essentially the independence of the clergy is involved in the theory of the Church as stated in No. 62 Leaflet of the Church Defence Institution:—

1. That true religion is not a human invention but a Divine revelation.
2. That the Church is a society of which Christ is the Founder and the Head.
3. That the Church has been ever taught and governed—first by Christ's apostles—and subsequently by bishops and clergy acting with the authority transmitted to them by perpetual succession from their Divine Master.

4. That the Church of England, teaching the doctrines of Holy Scripture, holding the true faith, administering the true sacraments, and possessing true orders, is a living branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church.

5. That the fabrics and endowments of each parish church and ancient cathedral were freely devoted to God's service centuries ago by the then owners of the soil.

6. That the State, as the guardian of the Church's property for the people's sake, preserves it for religious purposes, and protects the clergy in their pastoral ministrations.

7. That the endowments of the Church require constant accessions to meet the spiritual necessities of a rapidly increasing population, but that these accessions have been and are freely made by individual liberality in each generation, and not from the taxation of the people.

The ancient endowments of the Church secure, so far as they extend, the independence of the clergy; and although the necessity of fresh churches in the present century has been too large to permit the clergy to be wholly provided for out of the annual products of invested gifts, yet the principle is always asserted, and the rule is that no church can have a district assigned to it or a minister appointed until a revenue of 150*l.* a year is secured, and the cost of the fabric is fully discharged. By what caprice is it argued that annual subscriptions are laudable, but their capitalised amount is denounced as 'benumbing and paralysing'? Mr. Rogers may honestly hold these opinions, and consistently he counsels the National Church to strip itself of its properties and revenues, and in its unfettered freedom exert its spiritual powers to the quickening of faith and zeal in all its members. But Churchmen take a different view of the question. They appreciate Mr. Rogers's solicitude for the freer action of the Church, and would welcome his assistance in the removal of the hindrances to her more perfect organisation and action, but they do not perceive how her spiritual influence can be promoted by her being sent forth freed from her burdens, but naked and penniless. No, not quite naked nor penniless. Mr. Rogers would leave the Church in possession of its 'private property,' if it has any. He proposes only that the State resume the possession of any *national* property which it now enjoys (wrongfully), and he defines as *private* property all property which has been given to the Church within sixty or, as some say, seventy years, and as *national* property all earlier endowments. Now it may save trouble to agree at once with extreme Liberationists that there is no distinction in principle between Church property of the earlier and the later date. History records some two millions as State grants in later times to the construction of churches. With that exception, all Church property, of whatever kind or period, stands precisely on the same footing (Church Defence Leaflet No. 61, sects. 5 and 7).

Whether as ancient or modern endowments, the gifts in buildings,

in tithes and glebe-lands, were made not to the nation, but to the Church, in various localities and at various times. The Church, it must be remembered, is not a corporation holding lands or property—it has no funds of its own; it is a society knit together by its organization, its laws of worship, orders, and discipline, but the actual property of the Church is vested in the life-interests of the various occupants of the several dioceses, chapters, and parochial benefices. Of these gifts the State or nation became the trustee; of these endowments it became the guardian.

The endowment once made was irrevocable; neither the patron who made it, nor his successors, nor the State as trustee, could without sacrilege divert to secular uses the property once dedicated to God's service. And this remark applies alike to endowments dating back one thousand years and to one made within a twelvemonth. The proposal to abstain from confiscating recent constructions or endowments is a cunning attempt to purchase, by a promise of their own immunity, the acquiescence of existing patrons and incumbents in the sequestration of the rights of future generations. But the device would assuredly fail; the patrons and clergy of our day would scorn the despicable bribe, nor would any trustworthy historian be found to countenance the fiction that at any period of its existence the structures and endowments given to the National Church ceased to be given to God and assumed the character of private property to be resumed for secular purposes at the will of the donors or their heirs with the gracious permission of the Liberation Society.

Has Mr. Rogers ever thought how impossible it would be to classify churches and parsonages according to their age, so as to satisfy, even if it did exist, the opposition of selfish and personal interest? Within thirty years I built a church in London which I conveyed with its funded endowment to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and transferred the patronage, the clergy-house, and its appendages to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Mr. Rogers promises that the whole of that property shall be respected; will he respect also the church and the parsonage of the parish in which I live? The church dated back some three centuries, and the parsonage, of very ancient construction, I found in ruins. I rebuilt them both; are they to be confiscated in virtue of their ancient foundation, or are they to be respected in virtue of their modern reconstruction? If the latter, then I must warn Mr. Rogers that the abatements from the structural value of the cathedrals, churches, and parsonages, which constitute so attractive a figure in the Liberationist budget, will be so serious as to leave a surplus value worth impounding peaceably, but not worth fighting for. In the diocese of Oxford some four-fifths of the parish churches have been rebuilt, and the ungrudging restoration of our cathedrals may be seen exemplified in the adjacent county by the treatment of

the glorious Abbey of St. Albans, which is under restoration at a cost yet undefined, but already exceeding 100,000*l.*, of which Lord Grimthorpe alone has, it is said, contributed more than 50,000*l.*

Mr. Rogers (*Nonconformist*, November 19, 1885) holds

that when everything had been done that equity requires in the way of disendowment the Church of England would remain the most richly endowed church in Christendom. Modern endowments would be dealt with on an entirely different footing from those which were given when there was really a National Church, when the Church and the nation were one, when, therefore, what was given to the Church was given to the nation. There was a wide distinction in equity and principle between these classes of endowment. . . . The change in the position of the Church and State was gradual. In the eye of the law the Church of England included Dissenters. The Church of England, in a legal sense, was the nation.

Mr. Rogers here contends that 'there was a time when the Church was the nation, and when, therefore, what was given to the Church was given to the nation,' and may therefore be dealt with by the nation at its discretion. Not so; the endowments of old were given to God's service, and were locally assigned in perpetuity to the successive life-tenants of the several religious houses and parochial benefices constituting the office-bearers in the visible society known as the English Church. Of these properties the State, as the source of law and order, became the trustee and guardian for the people's sake; and I ask, when and by what statute did the religious society known as the Church of England lose its legal designation as the National Church? 'The change was gradual,' says Mr. Rogers. Change in what? In its legal designation there has been none. A change in the relative proportion of the number of declared dissidents from its communion there has been, because, with the progress of the spirit of religious liberty and the removal of religious disabilities, the differences of religious thought which had always subsisted, but which had been forcibly suppressed, were openly avowed and generated the formation of organised sects. In all fairness the old National Church must be entitled to retain for the religious use of its present adherents the endowments settled upon it to perpetuate the worship and service of God upon definite creeds, formularies, organisation, and discipline.

These have remained essentially unchanged. Dissenters from the doctrine and discipline of the Church have, in the exercise of their liberty, founded new sects, but their secession from her public worship cannot justify them in claiming the property of the institution they have deserted.

In what Archbishop Tait called their 'fanatical hatred' of the Church, Liberationists impeach her nationality upon pleas which contradict each other. 'The Church,' they say, 'is not national,

because she has ceased to be representative of the nation. . . . she was national so long as the State suppressed the existence of religious difference and the consequent formation of separate communities. She ceased, ergo, to be national when the advance of learning taught a lesson of toleration and permitted religious liberty to develop into sectarian organisms. Religious differences have existed from the very birth of Christianity; but how can the existence of Dissent be a reproach to the Church when its visibility is the assertion of the sacred principle of religious liberty? Of the blessing of religious unity no Churchman doubts; he laments that God should not be worshipped by all men with one mind and one mouth; but while holding that the path presented to him is the most perfect way, he cherishes no enmity towards Dissenters, and fully believes that, pursuing holiness according to their knowledge, they may be saved through the merits of the one Divine Redeemer of mankind.

Again, the Liberationists insisted that the Church would forfeit her nationality when she ceased to embrace a majority of the population, and to realise this plea of condemnation they made gigantic efforts, by the compilation of unauthoritative and irrelevant statistics, to exhibit results placing Churchmen in a numerical minority, while they frustrated the religious census, which they feared would show a very different result.

In the *Nineteenth Century* of January 1881 I had exposed these spurious statistics and their irrelevance to the conclusion built upon them by the Liberation Society. In a volume published in 1881, entitled *Church Systems in England*, the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers thus notices my argument:—

When a lay defender of the Established Church attempts to make the right of disestablishment depend upon one of the other Churches obtaining a numerical preponderance over the other, he mistakes or misrepresents the nature of the controversy. 'If any one of the sects,' says the Right Hon J. G. Hubbard, member for the City of London, in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 'attained a larger following than the Church, it must, by a general consensus, supersede it as the expression of the religious profession of the country and take its place in the Constitution, but short of such transposition the perpetuation of the monarchy involves the perpetuation of the National Church with which it has been welded by statute with the special object of "securing our religious laws and liberties." If this be the kind of reasoning which contents the mind of an eminent member of the Established Church, himself a Privy Councillor, it is not surprising that there should be such widespread confusion of thought in relation to this controversy. . . . It is singular that any intelligent man could ever entertain the belief that the religious profession of a nation was to be determined by the mere counting of heads. . . . Numbers are not an unfailing test of truth, of righteousness, or of intelligence. . . . Is a Church which sets forth doctrines repellent to the intellect of the age and country, and which insists on a servile submission to the priesthood, inconsistent altogether with the spirit and rights of a free people, to be set up as the exponent of the national faith, solely because it has a larger following than any single church besides, though that following may be composed chiefly of that section of the people who have not yet learned to think or understand as men, and

are pleased with the childish things of symbol or picture. The theory is nothing better than a synthesis of insincerity, childishness, and ignorance; but it serves to explain the straits to which Church defenders are driven when they attempt to deal with the present relative position of the Established and Free Churches.

The style of these remarks deliberately proclaimed seems strange as coming from the considerate, conciliatory, and courteous chairman of the Holborn Temple Conference; but I confine my comments to the substance of their meaning.

In the article reviewed by Mr. Guinness Rogers I had noticed that the Liberation Society, premising that when the National Church ceased to embrace the majority of the English people she must cease to be the National Church, had endeavoured to construct out of the statistics of religious worship prepared by Mr. Mann in 1851 an inferential evidence that the Church of England was in a slight minority as compared with Nonconformists; (seeing that on their success in obtaining a general belief in that assumption depends, as they think, their crowning victory in the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church.) And I then continued: 'This is not the place for discussing the conditions which would eventuate in disestablishment, but it may be easily shown that *disestablishment* can be no necessary result of a nice numerical comparison between Churchmen and the aggregation of dissentients. If any one of the sects attained a larger following than the Church, it *might* by a general *consensus* supersede it as the expression of the religious profession of the country,' &c.

It will be seen that, so far from my entertaining the belief that the religious profession of a nation was to be determined by a mere counting of heads, I had combated the attempt of the Liberation Society to make numerical strength the sole test of nationality, and that Mr. Guinness Rogers has misrepresented and inverted my argument by omitting the first four lines of a paragraph and substituting *must* for *might*.

As the Liberation Society have not yet hoisted the Republican flag, I assumed the continuance of the monarchy, and, supposing (for the sake of argument) that some one sect might secure a larger following than the Church, I pointed out that it might be elected as the representative of the religious profession of the country. But, in the absence of this improbable event, I observed that the perpetuation of the monarchy involved the perpetuation of the National Church; for I cannot conceive our returning to an unlimited monarchy freed from the restraints which were imposed upon the Crown with the special object of 'securing our religion, laws, and liberties.'

Mr. G. Rogers should be more careful in his quotations.

Parliament is omnipotent, and it is within its power to abrogate the entire fabric of the Constitution, to disregard its obligations as a trustee for the people's sake of the Church's rights and property, to

sever religion from any connection with the Crown—to deal, in fact, with the Church and Crown as the republican faction did in the reign of Charles the First. But the calm and fair discussion to which the country has been invited by the Rev. Guinness Rogers must be confined to determining whether the Church can be disestablished and disendowed without *doing her any harm*, but much to the increase of her spiritual power by relieving her from injurious restraints. Mr. Rogers will have learnt that, in the opinion of the rulers and loyal members of the National Church, the desired relief requires neither the disestablishment nor the disendowment proposed by the Liberationists.

That scheme is now repudiated not only by Mr. J. G. Rogers but by the Liberation Society who framed it, and who, so recently as December 1884, recited the programme of 1877 in a volume of 200 pages 'written in the confident expectation that the question of disestablishment will come up for settlement in the new Parliament soon to be elected.'<sup>2</sup>

Following, however, closely on Mr. Gladstone's postponement of the assault upon the Church, the Liberation Society issued a leaflet<sup>3</sup> impugning the legitimate criticism which had been applied to this the thirteenth clause of the 'Practical Suggestions.' 'Both ancient and modern buildings and all endowments must be regarded as national property at the disposal of the State.'

It seems no untruthful conclusion to infer from this proposal that the Liberationists desire a power which would enable them 'to strip the Church bare of every shilling.' It is satisfactory, however, to find them recoiling from their own suggestions when viewed in what might be their practical application.

Controversy may exhaust itself upon the subject of this article, but the strongest argument after all in favour of the Church—for it is unquestionable—is the proof of its utility to the nation.

If industry, honesty, purity, truth, and charity are virtues tending to make mankind happy and prosperous, then a Church which inculcates these virtues as rules of conduct must be a national blessing. Say that the Church has been remiss and neglectful and that millions have escaped her teaching—have escaped all religious teaching—who is to blame? The Church? Yes, but the whole nation also. The Church, it is rejoined, with her vast endowments was especially bound to care for the souls of the people. True, but has she not done so? The value of her endowments of tithe and glebe is limited, and the tithe of fifty years since is less, and the rent of the glebe of fifty years since is less, now than then. Those ancient endowments are wholly inadequate to the wants of the Church at the present day, and but for the constant accretion to the Church's revenues by fresh gifts the destitution would be even more deplorable.

<sup>2</sup> *Nonconformist*, Dec. 4, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Nov. 26.

More than a million a year may have been supplied by Churchmen to the provision of churches and of clergy to minister in them, but the population has outgrown even that measure of liberality, supplemented by Nonconformist munificence; and although the Church educates, hundreds of districts with their teeming thousands need—all the more truly if they do not feel the need—places of worship, schools, and teachers.

Under these circumstances, a desire for the disruption of the Church could only be explained by a jealousy so inveterate that men would sweep away every religious system in the country if only the Established Church could be involved in the common ruin.

That this unchristian spirit prevails largely I do not believe, and, reverting for a moment to the Temple Conference of last year, I rejoice to believe that there are many who, with Dr. Parker, the convener of the Conference, can rejoice to see the neglected masses taught by the Church to the measure of her means, even though religious equality, or the equality of Churches as defined by Mr. G. Rogers, be irreconcilable with the restraint of the Sovereign to the communion of the established religion.

The Liberation Society proclaim these propositions:—

1. That the Church of England is the creation, and her clergy the servants, of the State.
2. That the property and revenues of the Church were supplied by the State, and may be resumed by the State to be dealt with at its discretion as national property.
3. That the Church of England, having failed in its mission, forfeits its title to be considered the National Church, and should be disestablished and disendowed, as a prelude to 'religious equality.'

I reply to these propositions that they are distinctly confuted by every historian of repute, and that the religious equality to which they are meant to lead would involve the repeal of a primary condition on which the Sovereign of England occupies the throne.

The advocates of the 'equality of religions,' which is now the declared object of disestablishment, are challenged to explain whether they wish to abrogate the statute for the limitation of the Crown, and leave the Sovereign free to profess any or no religion, or whether their ultimate aim is to declare a republic.

Thus far no reply has been vouchsafed. Mr. J. G. Rogers personally, and the Liberation Society in its authorised publications, endeavour to escape the dilemma by recording their intention, for the present at least, to leave untouched the Act which binds the Sovereign to the Anglican Church, and so postpone indefinitely the attainment of their coveted ideal.

Have Nonconformists any grievance which can be removed without violating the Constitution? If they have, let it be shown, and it will be redressed. If they have none, they should the more



readily co-operate in affording the relief and effecting the reforms which Churchmen themselves demand, but which the scope and purpose of this article exclude from immediate discussion. Such, at least, presents itself as the patriotic course of loyal and religious Nonconformists who prefer a monarchy and religious liberty to the illusive religious equality which inspired the disowned and discredited 'Practical Suggestions,' to be realised only in a republic.

J. G. HUBBARD.

## *DISEASE IN FICTION.*

Two successful workers in the art of fiction have written articles endeavouring to explain to the public what they understand to be the mysteries of their art. Both admit that individuality must play a large part, but from this common starting-point they diverge. Mr. Walter Besant dwells on the importance of keeping note-book records of passing events, and seems to say that these must furnish the material to be worked in here or there as required. Mr. Henry James appears to take a broader view, to allow a wider field for the play of imagination, regarding every item of fact as a germ which is to go through a process of evolution in the author's mind, not necessarily following any law of progressive or retrograde metamorphosis, but simply becoming stamped with the impress of the working brain through which it has passed. Both principles are useful, both have been employed, consciously or unconsciously, by both authors, but the first method only is truly applicable to many instances made use of by novelists, and this is seen most strikingly if we consider the medical machinery so frequently introduced to clear the stage of superfluous characters or to take the place of a plot.

Both our writers dwell on the importance of drawing from the life, of making every fact play its part in the development of story or character. We are reminded how often a novelist has to teach some lesson to an indolent, apathetic public. Scientific text-books are rarely pleasant reading, and so do not enter the sphere of the great majority. The works of Arabella Buckley, Grant Allen, Huxley, and others spread knowledge; but, however attractively arranged, the scope of the popular scientific article seldom travels beyond some simple questions of biology—it does not embrace, or but rarely embraces, any facts of disease. Here, then, where the popular scientific writer stops, the novelist steps in as the public instructor. If his novel extends over any great length of time, characters must pass out of it; and that this weeding out should be effected in the most interesting way, the author should draw from experience, or from actual knowledge of no uncertain character. He may perhaps be fortunate enough not to have personal reminiscences to supply his

wants, or have been too ill to remember enough of his symptoms and surroundings to turn them into copy, or he may feel that there is something inert, trivial, ridiculous, in giving to a slight ailment, such as a bilious headache, its true position as a cause affecting the future of the puppets of his play. Should he of necessity have drawn his knowledge of pathology from medical works, certain broad ideas will be found to have guided him in his selection, these ideas evidently arising partly from the way in which special diseases seem to attract attention, partly from the limits imposed by good taste.

The illnesses introduced must have some striking character, something remarkable in the mode of onset or termination, and the symptoms must not be repulsive. The practical value of a real disease to a novelist depends very largely on the presence or absence of symptoms calculated to produce a shiver of disgust. We can tolerate paralysis from accidents in the hunting-field or from overstrain of business worry, but we do not relish in fiction any accident involving amputation. Dickens deprived Joe Willett of an arm in battle; but, in spite of the eloquence of its fellow, every one sympathises with poor wilful Dolly Varden for having to be content with the remnant.

In the same way public feeling requires a peculiar sense of fitness to be observed in the deaths chosen by novelists. A hero may be allowed to die in great agonies from accidental injuries, but he must not be made to suffer prolonged medical pain; his body may be racked with fever or ague, but these will be transient in a novel, so we care not; but he must not, he cannot be permitted to have any gross lesion like cirrhosis, Bright's disease, or carcinoma—these involve structural changes suggestive of museum specimens, and cannot be tolerated. He may act as a host for microbes, but the hero must go no further.

With such limitations the medical path of a conscientious novelist is by no means an easy one. Sometimes he finds it convenient to clear the ground rapidly, and then is hard pressed to call up a suitable disease which shall have been lurking about without any sign until the right moment: the various forms of heart-disease, aneurysm, and apoplexy have thus all been drawn in. When it is desirable to give time for death-bed repentances or revelations, or when it is wished to tinge and alter the whole life and character by some slower form of disease, the difficulty becomes extreme, and the novelist requires careful study or guidance. He feels that precision and accuracy are of as much importance in this as in the legal terms of a will or contract. It is not necessary to name the disease referred to, still less to give all its details; but it must be a real disease in the author's mind, it must not be an imaginary conglomeration of vague symptoms.

The school represented by Harrison Ainsworth and G. P. R. James evaded study and criticism by adopting a rough-and-ready method. Their characters are frequently afflicted with a peculiar instability of life and limb, a tendency to 'rolling corpses on the plain,' and thus dispensing with surgical aid. In more recent times we can almost trace the growth of knowledge in the pages of fiction. Every disease when first discovered has its picturesque aspect, but the progress of science gradually robs it of this, and destroys its artistic value. Typhus and typhoid were once favourites, but now the widespread knowledge of their causes, and the great increase of attention bestowed on sanitary matters, make it almost impossible for them to be utilised. We all know too much about them; they are deprived of all romance; an indulgent public cannot be expected to be sympathetic when feeling that, because the drainage was imperfect or the water impure, the hero or heroine is consigned to the grave prepared by the author for the favoured few allowed to rest. When we remember too that, medically, typhus is almost synonymous with filth and famine, it is easy to see that it is now practically useless, in spite of the glorious convenience of rapid onset and rapid decline, separated by a period of high fever and delirium—a period valuable to the novelist for involuntary revelations.

The same is true of consumption; once a favourite, it is now being neglected. The glittering eye, the hectic flush, the uncertainty of its lingering course, have been depicted again and again; but a wider knowledge has led to the universal recognition of such prosaic facts as its hereditary character, and its destruction of lung-tissue, and all the symptoms are so well known at present that the subject is painful, if not actually of no value.

Injuries to the head, allowing the surgeon's instruments to make a very inferior person a valuable member of society, have frequently been turned to account. Spinal injuries, too, have long found favour with authors. The disease technically known as paraplegia gives abundant facilities for confining the most truculent hero or villain to his bed, and has the advantage of leaving him with an unclouded intellect to go through a salutary process of forgiveness or repentance. It can be brought on the scene in a moment, and it often affords an opportunity of describing a hunting-field, a race, or any other piece of brisk movement by which to lead up effectively to the contrast of the strong man humbled—a most valuable piece of light and shade, of which, for instance, the author of *Guy Livingstone* has availed himself.

These simpler diseases and injuries have now almost come to the limit of their employment, and new topics must be found. The search for material is endless, and when seriously undertaken with a full sense of responsibility, it keeps pace with the progress of science. No new disease passes unnoticed; wonderful symptoms and wonder-

ful cures are equally laid under contribution. Aphasia, a disease of comparatively recent separation from its associates, has already been worked into the *Golden Butterfly*, the sudden onset and bizarre alteration of the mental atmosphere rendering it, for the present, a peculiarly suitable subject. Even the modern treatment of baths and waters for rheumatism and gout has led to the scenes in some novels being laid at fashionable resorts: witness the excellent picture of Aix and of the type of many of its invalids, drawn so faithfully by Mrs. Oliphant in her new novel *Madam*. Forensic medicine forms a valuable storehouse of material; already we have gone through the detection of crime by such technical details as the recognition of an assassin's instrument by the examination of a wound, the estimation of the precise position of the person firing a pistol, as in the *Leavenworth Case*, and the whole question of homicide or suicide. It has supplied an almost dangerous knowledge of poisons and their actions, sometimes following the suggestions afforded by actual crime, or, as in Bret Harte's *Miss*, introducing a reference to a particular poison (aconite), before the enormity which subsequently rendered it notorious. All this store of wealth is readily at hand in the reports of *causes célèbres* in the daily press, or is to be had from ten minutes' reading of any medico-legal book.

The attitude of different novelists with regard to medical matters varies in the most remarkable way; the study may be conscientiously prosecuted, and we then get perhaps a painful but true picture of some particular illness, not including every detail, but enough to make a fair addition to the facts and interests of the book. It may be briefly sketched, or a master-hand may deal with it tolerably fully, and even call to his aid a chronic disease and make it run through two or three volumes. Sometimes, on the other hand, such an account is given as might have been gathered from the chatter of the sick-room, the gossip of the nurses and neighbours, and this is replete with errors of etiology, diagnosis, and even symptoms.

It may be of interest to show by a few examples the application of these statements. Charles Kingsley, whose object in his novels was to preach sanitation, should be placed at the head of the list of those who have vividly depicted well-known diseases. In his 'Two Years' Ago' he gives at least three accurate studies of morbid phenomena. His account of a cholera epidemic is well worthy of being placed as an appendix to a chapter on this disease in any medical text-book. Delirium tremens is also drawn with the hand of a master, although not with the full repugnance and significance which we find in Zola's *Assommoir*, or in the *Scenes of Clerical Life*, while his careful study of the gradual development of suicidal mania reads like a clinical record of an anecdotal character.

Next to Kingsley, and indeed treading closely in his steps in this

picture of cataplexy in *Silas Marner*. As in the preceding case with cholera, so here we would venture to say that any study of nervous diseases would be incomplete if this were not included.

Thackeray is sure to be always popular with medical men; he understands them, he sympathises with them, he speaks generally of their work and liberality; he was evidently on the best of terms with some practitioner whom he impressed into his service as that most excellent, gruffly good-humoured Dr. Goodenough, and he very justly puts into his hands most of the well-merited invective and sarcasm which he launches against the petty pretences of a fashionable quack. On medical matters, although he uses his knowledge sparingly, Thackeray knows precisely what he is talking about, and he knows, too, what to tell and what to omit. His death-bed scenes are always truthful without repulsiveness; the deaths of Colonel Newcome and of General Baynes of course owe their interest less to the actual diseases concerned than to the attendant circumstances, but in both there is nothing unnatural to vex a medical mind. We can follow the symptoms easily, and yet the pathos of the deaths is too great to allow the most fastidious of the laity to be offended by any details. One of the most interesting 'cases' medically is the illness of Arthur Pendennis in his rooms in the Temple. There can be no doubt that this is intended for typhoid fever. The facts given us are briefly the following:—An illness of a week or so before total incapacity for work; 'one night he went to bed ill, and the next day awoke worse;' 'his exertions to complete his work rendered his fever greater;' then a gradual increase of fever for two days, and we come to Captain Costigan's visit, the patient being 'in a very fevered state,' yet greatly pleased to see him, his pulse beating very fiercely, his face haggard and hot, his eyes bloodshot and gloomy. Matters are protracted for a week, and then he is delirious and is bled, and two days later the selfish old Major and the mother and Laura are summoned to town. Antiphlogistic remedies are employed, and the lapse of time is left doubtful, but spoken of later as a few weeks, until we are informed that the fever had left the young man, or 'only returned at intervals of feeble intermittence;' reference is made to the recovery of his wandering senses, to his lean shrunken hands, his hollow eyes and voice, and then our hero 'sank into a fine sleep, which lasted for about sixteen hours, at the end of which period he awoke, calling out that he was very hungry.' After about ten days of convalescence in chambers, the patient is moved out of town, and later taken abroad. In all this there can be no reason for hesitation in arriving at a diagnosis; the onset is too gradual, the duration too long for typhus; and, moreover, Thackeray is too fine an artist to allow his reader to form a mental picture of the hero spotted like the pard. We may question Dr. Goodenough's treatment of blisters, bleeding, and antiphlogistics, which would have been more suitable for a case

of pneumonia, but the hunger is too true a touch to be mistaken, as all who have had typhoid fever would at once realise. Compared with this careful study the death of Mrs. Pendennis appears medically feeble; it is strictly analogous to a similar death from heart disease in the *Sea Queen* of Clark Russell. In both we have a short period of intense mental anxiety followed by a time of rest and peace from which the fatal termination rouses us with an unpleasant shock, but the details are meagre, and the effect produced is purely that attending any sudden catastrophe. Thackeray's chronic invalids, Miss Crawley, Jos Sedley, Major Pendennis, and others, are all stamped with that assiduous care for their own health, that selfish disregard for others, which so often results from the concentration of the mind on the physical condition of the individual; he tells us plainly when they have been over-eating or indulging in too much punch; he does not spare them, he holds them up to ridicule and scorn. Thus in all his dealings with medical topics we feel he is treading on sure ground, and that he never forgets that as an artist it is impossible for him to write in a loose way, as though it did not matter what diseases his characters die of, provided only that they die. He makes us believe fully in his work; all removed from his pages pass out naturally; for though he may not trouble to tell us of the disease, in one way or another he has led up to the death, so that little surprise is excited.

At the risk of treading in well-worn paths, it is natural to turn from Thackeray to Dickens, and the change is not gratifying. He can scarcely be civil about doctors, he appears to have had some grudge against the medical profession which he worked off by instalments whenever his pages required mention of a doctor; exceptions, perhaps, being made in favour of the shadowy Allan Woodcourt, and of that meek and mild Mr. Chillip, who superintended David Copperfield's entrance into the world, and who endured Miss Betsy Trotwood's wrath. Otherwise from Ben Allen and Bob Sawyer onwards he has waged pitiless warfare. With this unfortunate bias, this moral twist, he cannot be expected to trouble himself with medical lore; he did not believe in it sufficiently to appreciate the importance of being correct, and as a consequence we find that the lines become more hazy and indefinite, the deaths and cures more incomprehensible. When disease of a chronic form is introduced, however, Dickens may mostly be trusted, especially when the character is influenced by it. The demoralising effect of one class of sick-room work is drawn from the life by him in the immortal *Miss Gamp*,—the mind of a woman originally grasping and of a low type getting thoroughly subordinated to professional aims. On her particular topic she is as never-ending and troublesome as any fanatic when once started on his hobby, and yet the picture is faithfully drawn, its truth arrests attention, and even if a little shocking, we cannot but be amused with her rebuke to poor Pecksniff for terrifying the

neighbourhood. The various forms of mental aberration appear to have been a favourite study with this novelist. Mr. Dick stands out clearly with his simplicity, his childishness, his trances of being lifted out of himself, his hopeless confusion and entanglement with his memorial and the head of Charles I. Mr. F.'s aunt is another instance, with her malevolent gaze, her strange antipathies, her extraordinary, startling, disjointed ejaculations; Barnaby Rudge, with his love for his raven, for flowers, for wandering from place to place, and with the innocence with which he gets drawn into the Gordon riots; Harold Skimpole, with his inability and craftiness; Miss Flite, with her birds and flowers; Mrs. Nickleby's lover, with his shower of cucumbers—these and many more show the strange fascination of the grotesque aspect of mental derangement, and in this particular line our author is inimitable, though Stockton's amiable lunatics in *Rudder Grange* are, perhaps, the nearest approach to these familiar creations.

Dickens is not so easy to follow at all times, even when the symptoms appear to be given in full detail. In the *Old Curiosity Shop* we have a fair example of difficulty. These are the facts connected with the illness of Dick Swiveller. First the predisposing cause, 'the spiritual excitement of the last fortnight working upon a system affected in no slight degree by the spirituous excitement of some years, proved a little too much for him.' This might serve as a prelude for an attack of delirium tremens, but the symptoms of this disease will not harmonise with what follows: 'That very night Mr. Richard was seized with an alarming illness, and in twenty-four hours was stricken with a raging fever.' Then come 'tossing to and fro,' 'fierce thirst,' 'rambling,' 'dull eternal weariness,' 'weary wanderings of his mind,' 'wasting and consuming inch by inch,' 'a deep sleep, and he awoke with a sensation of most blissful rest.' Then we learn from the Marchioness that he has been ill 'three weeks to-morrow,' that his hands and forehead are now quite cool, and he is fed with a great basin of weak tea and some toast. The next day Dick was 'perfectly ravenous,' but is still kept on toast and tea, and later in the morning he takes 'two oranges and a little jelly.' Some pages further on we are told of Mr. Swiveller recovering very slowly from his illness. Now for summing up. Clearly not delirium tremens, not pneumonia—the illness is too long—not any of the commoner eruptive fevers, for the same reason; but either typhus or typhoid, or both hopelessly jumbled together. The onset belongs to typhus, the duration to typhoid; the wanderings would do for either, so would wasting, delirium, and protracted convalescence. The two oranges were injudicious, to say the least, for typhoid, but they were given, as is commonly the case, by a well-meaning friend. Yet we hear of no relapse, no return of the fever, and the conclusion to be arrived at is that Dickens, perhaps unconsciously, had mixed up the



two diseases, merely intent on producing a quaint, humorous picture, in which he has undoubtedly succeeded.

Of all the victims of this novelist, perhaps the most puzzling cases occur amongst the legion of children destroyed by him. The school-master's little pupil, in the *Old Curiosity Shop*, would, in a modern novel, have died from tubercular meningitis, caused by educational pressure. He is allowed to be delirious at one time; but, instead of expiring in a state of coma and collapse, he enjoys the privilege accorded to most of Dickens's pets, the power of reviving to a strange brightness, to make touching and improving death-bed utterances, separated by the briefest possible interval from the final termination. Little Nell, we presume, dies of consumption, hastened by exposure, and the same ending is probably a safe guess for Little Dombey, as well as for the poor chivied outcast Jo, who had recently had smallpox; but in all these cases we cannot help thinking that the author was not in the least disposed to be hampered by any scientific accuracy; the time had come for the slaughter of the innocents, and accordingly he snuffed them out without troubling himself about certificates of death. They died for sentimental purposes, and it seems almost like sacrilege to inquire into their symptoms too closely.

Anthony Trollope, as Mr. Henry James has said, did not believe sufficiently in the vitality of his characters even for art; hence it is not surprising to find disease conspicuous by its absence in most of his novels. His men and women were too genteel to suffer from illness; they had not reached the stage when it is right to have some fashionable complaint. Charles Reade does not make medicine play an important part, generally contenting himself with mere passing references, not entering into the symptoms in any detail; thus, when he kills with spinal injury, he just mentions the paralysis of motion and sensation, and gives a fatal prognosis; when a character dies with plague she is filled with forebodings of the possibility of ghastly changes in her appearance after death. With his omnivorous reading he amassed in his commonplace book curiosities of any striking nature; we are not startled, then, at finding him giving a careful description of the mode of applying the wet-pack; but it is startling to find it used for a case of jaundice.

Some of the modern novelists bestow care on medical detail. Clark Russell's *Sea Queen* treats a broken leg with skill sufficient to avoid shortening or other deformity, but we are not told quite enough about the accident to make us certain that the case was not what is termed technically an impacted fracture, which would considerably diminish the marvel. Yellow fever is drawn into the same book to account for a vessel in sound condition wandering on the ocean without a crew. In Christie Murray's *Val Strand* occurs a good picture of paralysis following severe anxiety and overwork; the premonitory symptoms and the slow restoration, with ensoulment of

intellect, being well portrayed. Henry James makes use of Roman fever to kill his wayward heroine Daisy Miller; and in the *Madonna of the Future* brain fever is just indicated with similar skilful touches.

Other writers slip along carelessly in a vague way, appearing to mean something or nothing, medically, according to the knowledge of the reader. The illness and death of Mr. Dimmesdale, in the *Scarlet Letter*, would be very difficult to explain on a scientific basis. Robbed of all its glamour of sorrow, and looked at seriously, we feel the need of a new nomenclature, a new classification of disease to include a group which might be headed 'Killed by an acute attack of conscience.' Hawthorne has failed scientifically, but we cannot help admitting that he has 'exquisitely failed.' The ending is evidently intended to be dramatic rather than truthful; it is almost impossible not to feel that the man could get up and die again, every gesture, every word, every gasp being so studied, and the full stop coming with such admirable precision at the right time. Howells gives us an instance of loose writing in the fever of Don Ippolito in the *Foregone Conclusion*. It is impossible to be certain of its nature—typhus, typhoid, meningitis, pneumonia, or acute rheumatism—we feel it is all one to the author; he does not wish to give us a clinical record of the case any more than he does of the illness of the Pythoness of the *Undiscovered Country*. This last might well be acute rheumatism, especially when taken in conjunction with the illness of her father, attributed to an obscure affection of the heart; but he leaves it an open question, not filling in the picture with the same firm touch which he uses with the weakness and fainting fits, the general sleepiness and apathy of Mrs. Vervain of the *Foregone Conclusion*. This is an accurate study of disease; the others are but vague sketches with blurred outlines.

When all scientific men chafe and beat against that dead wall which separates the known from the unknown, and are ever striving to break down the boundary, or, by changing its position, to annex part of the realm beyond, it is hardly to be wondered at that the novelist, who regards science as material for copy, should refuse to be bound by the same limits of knowledge, that he should occasionally make his characters a new order of beings, governed by laws untaught by medicine, and capable of recovering from diseases commonly regarded as incurable; or even that he should evolve from his inner consciousness new diseases or new mysterious combinations of nervous symptoms. Frequently we find that, starting from the boundary line, the novelist goes on to explain phenomena incapable of explanation, allowing his fancy free play, taking up the thread where science has left it for the present, and endeavouring to assume the part of a prophet, foretelling the cures, the marvels which may perhaps be looming in a nebulous form in the distance. To enjoy books

of this nature we must be content to accept them as true, to set aside our knowledge and understanding for a while, and allow ourselves to be carried away from the landmarks of prosaic fact by the current of plausible reasoning and assertion in which we are involved. Such books are beyond the reach of serious medical criticism, which would lead us to apply to them a rude, unpleasant monosyllabic term which has already caused mischief enough in the world. Provided however that we do not inquire too closely into probabilities, they may be read with the same keen interest which is excited by books of travel over virgin soils, or descriptions of the habits of newly-discovered races or animals—an interest akin to that with which we have devoured the *Arabian Nights* or *Gulliver's Travels*. It must be granted that we are not seeking facts by which to guide our lives, that we do not wish to trammel our author with historical precision, that we read his book only for the amusement or amazement it affords.

*Called Back* probably largely owed its phenomenal popularity to the skill with which the impossible was demonstrated as fact. The author seized upon and made his own a large number of subjects of current controversy. He gave us what professed to be a truthful version of experiences akin to thought-reading, mental states of consciousness being declared to be interchangeable by the mere contact of the hands, and brain-waves passing from one individual to another; we get curious deductions concerning localisation and inhibition of nerve force, or, to speak less technically, we are asked to believe that, after a sudden shock, memory can be lost entirely until a recurrence of the shock brings it back again, calling to mind the man and the quickset hedge of our youth, a repetition of the same course of treatment producing diametrically opposite results, as in the last act of *Martha* and some other operas. Through the whole book the secret of success may be traced to a combination of causes, foremost among them being a judicious pandering to popular weaknesses, to credulity, to the love for the marvellous, and even to Russophobia. 'An author must believe his own story,' says Mr. Besant, but the author of *Called Back* was surely too clever for that. This mode of utilising current ideas, of touching upon strings which are already vibrating, determines to a large extent the success or failure of novels of this description. *Paul Vargas*, a sketch by the same hand, merely excited ridicule; the secret of perpetual life is too much out of date to interest; the illness of the hero of too mysterious a nature to delude into belief.

It is curious to find that many novelists who, as a rule, are to be commended for the fidelity of their medical data, seem sometimes weary of this world which they know, and cross the boundary line into the unknown land of the imaginative or ignorant. They seek relaxation by change of style of workmanship, just as an artist occasionally draws caricatures; or perhaps they intend to point a moral from these airy flights, preaching contentment by awful examples.

That weirdly unpleasant *Lifted Veil* of George Eliot's is a typical instance of this class, professing to be the autobiography of a man conscious of the precise date and hour of his doom, and of all the attendant circumstances, capable of reading the unspoken thoughts of those about him, showing in their full horror the result of the possession of powers for which many have longed in a vague way. It matters little that symptoms of a true disease, angina pectoris, should herald the death, when all those preceding are exaggerations and fictions. So too with the *Ten Years' Tenant* of Besant and Rice, the possible discomforts and shifts arising from the possession of immunity from death by disease form the mainspring of a story in which the leading character is supposed to live through over two and a half centuries.

While medical men puzzle and theorise over the limits to be assigned to the influence of heredity, the novelist is not troubled by more doubts than those of the monthly nurse, whose confidence is so great in the matter of maternal impressions. The modes of thought, the vicious habits, the same likes and dislikes, have often been drawn, but the oddest of all developments of this subject is the curious background it affords Wendell Holmes in the fate of Elsie Venner, whose snakelike propensities are in this way accounted for by a doctor in this book.

In like way it would be amusing, were it not for the grain of truth which lies hidden like a sting, to note how often novelists shift responsibility for strange statements to the shoulders of medical men. Ouida, in one of the *Bimbi* stories, makes a doctor speak of a case as meningitis, and after gloomy prognostications she cures it with the bark of a long-lost dog. Dickens also, having stumbled across the notion of destruction by spontaneous combustion, proceeded to quote authorities without estimating their scientific value. A reference to Taylor's *Medical Jurisprudence* will at once set this matter in its true light.

Further we find novelists gravely predicting the future of medicine. An American writer in *Dr. Heidenhoff's Process* recently started with three separate ideas—the doctrine of inhibition, the localisation of motor and sensory areas in the brain, the assumption of similar localisation of memory. With these materials he proceeded to development of an imaginative nature: in the form of a dream following closely after a talk on mental physiology, a dose of morphine and a dry book on electricity—a dream occupying a large portion of the book—we are led to believe with the author that it will be possible in the future to 'Throw physic to the dogs,' and to answer in the affirmative Macbeth's questions:—

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,  
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,  
Raze out the written troubles of the brain?

In fact, in this dream a lady goes through this process of mental obliteration, and is totally relieved of all inconvenient recollections of some unpleasant episodes in her life; indeed, the working of our future is represented as being as easy as that of an automatic printing machine—name the memory you wish to dispose of, place the electrodes over one particular spot of the brain, press the knobs, a local area of nerve-cells neatly circumscribed becomes sterilised, and the patient goes on his way rejoicing.

But, setting aside such trifling, the bonds linking together science and fiction are already strong. Science owes to our novelists much of its interest, much of its publicity. The scientist slowly and laboriously hammers out some new discovery, some recognition of the individuality of a certain group of symptoms which had been previously lost in the crowd; wearied with his work he too often launches this discovery with all the ugliness of technicality hanging around it like a convict's dress, betokening the hard labour through which it has passed; and then some good Samaritan of a novelist turns out of his way to take pity on it, to lavish care upon it, to clothe it anew, to attract to it the attention of the public, and thus to save it from death from neglect. It is introduced into good society, and it thrives, and perhaps becomes a leading topic of conversation for a short time.

But if the scientist has reason to be grateful, so also has the novelist. New facts have been given to him, new marvels to dilate upon and make his own; he has been supplied with new modes of escape from the web of intricacies with which he has entangled his characters, and thus the advantage is mutual.

For the continuance of this good-fellowship there is reason to be hopeful. Medical science has never perhaps been more active than at the present time. The new diseases and the new methods of treatment which have not been utilised in novels are already forming a portentous crowd clamouring for recognition in story. Neurasthenia and its cure by the Weir Mitchell process of massage has not, to my knowledge, yet been drawn in, although the marvellous cures of bed-ridden individuals would seem to furnish scope for an enterprising worker. The antiseptic process also has its picturesque side; the saving of life and limb on the battlefield, as furnished by the medical records of the last Egyptian campaign, gives ample opportunity for surprises of the most telling character.

The recognition of hitherto unrealised disease by means of the ophthalmoscope, and the prognostic value of the signs, might also be described. Locomotor ataxy has already played a part in an agnostic dialogue in a contemporary, but there is yet room for its further development in the pages of fiction. Metallic therapy is too much discredited now to find favour, but the prophylactic action of copper against cholera was until recently sufficiently unproved to allow of its

being swept into the vortex of fiction, for the instruction of those who do not follow the medical journals assiduously.

It is impossible to lay down rules or to point out all the lines which might be followed. The aim of this article is to show from the past what has been worthily accomplished, what has been recklessly undertaken, as well as the mistakes of those attempting to foretell the future of medicine, in the hope that, while affording interest to the public, it may also help novelists, who, with the Materialist of a recent poet—

Would learn with the boldest to think,  
Would grapple with things that perplex,  
Would stand on the verge and the brink  
Where the seen and the unseen are met.

NESTOR TIRARD.

## THE LIBERAL SPLIT.

THE autumn session of the new Parliament has already thrown much light upon the position and tactics of those members of the House of Commons who have assumed the title of Liberal Unionists, but whom the mass of the Liberal party, unwilling to concede an exclusive claim to either of these adjectives, prefers to designate as Dissident Liberals. Though it is little worth while to quarrel about a name, it is eminently so to discuss what will be the future of this section; whether it will succeed in the hopes of its leaders in inducing a reunion of the whole party upon their own terms, or whether it will be forced by the irresistible logic of events into the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, with some slight modifications to satisfy the *amour propre* of its leaders, or whether it is destined to be a permanent secession from Liberal ranks, and to ensure the continuance of the present Government, for a more or less prolonged period, and ultimately to be incorporated with the Tory party.

The position, though novel in many of its aspects, is not without precedent in party politics. There have been two serious secessions within the present century, one from each of the two great parties, leading to the defeat of Ministries, though neither of them successful in defeating a policy: that of the Protectionists' secession from Sir Robert Peel's Government in 1846, and that known as the Liberal Cave in the case of Lord Russell's Government of 1866. The latter speedily ended in disaster and discredit to those responsible for it; for the only result of the defeat of Lord Russell's Reform Bill was to afford the opportunity to the Government of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli to carry a still more democratic measure of Reform; and in the ensuing general election the members of the Cave either disappeared from public life or were re-absorbed as contrite members of the Liberal party.

The Protectionist revolt of 1846 had more serious and lasting effects. It consisted of nearly two-thirds of the Tory party; 240 of them voted against Sir Robert Peel on the second reading of the Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws; and in reparation for their betrayal, 80 of these, under the leadership of Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli, joined with the Liberals in defeating the Irish

Coercion Bill and in turning out the Government, while as many more abstained from voting. It may be worth while to recall the fact that, on the formation of Lord Russell's Government, the Protectionists, to mark their separation from Sir Robert Peel, took their seats on the Liberal side of the House. It was soon found, however, that they were a majority of the Tory party, and constituted the real Opposition to the Liberal Government.

In his *Life of Bentinck*,<sup>1</sup> Lord Beaconsfield states that the inconvenience of this arrangement soon became apparent, and in the session of 1847 it was arranged, in concert with the Government, that the Protectionists should cross over to the other side of the House and fill the benches usually allotted to an adverse party; he himself took his seat on the front Opposition bench, from which he led the main body of the Tories; while Peel, who sat by him, led what were practically the Dissentient Tories, and supported the Government. In the general election of 1847 the followers of Peel kept up the distinctive characters of their section, but they lost in numbers somewhat more in proportion than the Protectionists; and the split in the party did much to secure the return of Liberals. Even with this advantage, the Whigs were not a majority of the new Parliament. They were kept in power during the greater part of that Parliament by the Peelites. In 1852 a Coalition Government was formed of Liberals and Peelites, and at the general election of that year the distinction between these two parties disappeared; the Peelites ceased to exist as a separate section, and their leaders—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, and Sidney Herbert—identified themselves with the Liberals, and thenceforward became Liberal leaders.

These cases show that the separate existence of a third party (other than the Irish), consisting of dissentients from one or other of the two great historic parties, is not, under our system of party government, likely to be a very long one. The attraction of the two main parties is too strong for it, and it must ultimately give way to one or the other. If analogy from the past is of value in determining the future of the Dissentient Liberals, the next general election will see the extinction of their rank and file, and the complete union of their leaders either with their old or their new allies. Will the attraction be the stronger in this case to the Liberals or to the Tories? Will the fate of the Peelites or that of the Liberal-Cave of 1866 be the precedent? An answer cannot be given to these questions without a brief review of the circumstances attending the split, and the subsequent action of the dissidents, and without estimating their weight in the country as shown in the last election. In making this, although I may question the policy of many of their actions, I shall not attribute to them any but the most patriotic

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Bentinck*, pp. 371-2.



motives. No one can doubt that the Dissident Liberals separated themselves on the Irish question from their former allies with the greatest pain, under the strongest impulse of public duty, and at great personal sacrifice to many of them. It must have been with equal pain, and under an equal sense of public policy, that Mr. Gladstone, after consultation with Lord Spencer and others specially conversant with Ireland, determined to adopt a policy of autonomy for that country, a policy which he must have known would result in the defection of a large section of his former Whig colleagues. It was absolutely certain that many of them could not adopt this policy consistently with their known convictions. Much as the split of the party was to be regretted, it was inevitable. The Liberal party could not have returned to power at the beginning of 1886 without the support of the Irish party. If no agreement had been come to with Mr. Parnell, a Liberal Government would not have been formed; the Tories would have remained in office, and would have proceeded with their policy of coercion; they would have been supported in this by many of the Whig section, and the main body of the Liberals parting from them would have supported the Irish party in violent opposition to coercion. The split, therefore, must have arisen under any circumstances, and a combination must have been formed between the main body of the Liberals and the Irish members on the basis of an Irish policy, while the Tories and a section of the Whigs would have been united in supporting coercion.

One of the principal complaints of the Dissident Liberals is that Mr. Gladstone did not give sufficient indications of a leaning to a Home Rule policy, either during the general election of 1885 or previously. As a result, however, of that election a new position had arisen. Ireland, for the first time in its history, and in consequence of its electoral reforms, returned a vast majority of its members pledged to support Mr. Parnell in a demand for Home Rule. This was a constitutional demand which could not be lightly disregarded or rejected. It compelled a more complete consideration of the whole question of Irish government, and a review of the results of the Act of Union of 1800, and its effect on Irish interests of all kinds.

Assuming that a statesman at this moment, after long hesitation and doubt, came to the conclusion that the demand of Ireland could not be refused, it will scarcely be denied that it was wise and statesmanlike on his part to come to terms at once with the Irish leaders. Was it not the best course for him to settle the question by agreement with them, rather than to wait till the Irish representatives should formulate their most extreme demands in the House of Commons, and to delay pronouncing in favour of the party which should appear to be conceded only to menace and to aggression, and accompanied by coercive measures which would take away all its

grace? The Irish leaders were more likely to be brought to reasonable terms if they were met at once half way by a policy of conciliation than later when the blood of the Irish people was stirred by refusal of their constitutional demands. The true historical defence of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues will be that their new policy, whether consistent altogether or not with their past, was wise and just, especially at the time when it was proposed, and when, by the extension of its franchise, Ireland was for the first time able to declare its views in a constitutional manner, and did so in terms so unmistakable.

A difference in policy on the Irish question between two sections of the Dissident Liberals was early emphasised by their attitude to Mr. Gladstone on the formation of his Government. Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Derby refused even to entertain the policy of Home Rule. They had none of them given the smallest indication of a leaning in that direction. Lord Hartington, it is understood, had strongly opposed Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for a National Council in Ireland. On his visit to Belfast during the general election of November 1885, he had shown no desire to conciliate Irish opinion in the direction of Local Government.

With Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan it was different. They were both favourable to the scheme for a National Council in Ireland. There was every reason to hope that they might be induced to go further in support of a policy of autonomy. They joined the Government upon the understanding that the subject was to be dealt with. It is unnecessary to discuss the reasons which led to their retirement. They were unable to support the particular scheme for autonomy as propounded by Mr. Gladstone; they objected specially to the Land Purchase scheme. They resigned their posts in the Cabinet, and joined the other and very different section of Dissident Liberals in their endeavours to defeat the measure and to overthrow Mr. Gladstone's Government. The defection thus formed was perhaps the most serious which any Government has ever encountered—formidable not so much from its numbers as from the authority and activity of its leaders. They not unreasonably hoped to carry with them a majority of Liberal Members, and a majority of Liberal voters, when a general election should take place. Every influence, political and social, was brought to bear on Liberal Members, with the object of detaching them from the support of the Government. The seceders contained within their ranks some of the most accomplished masters of the art of private persuasion in the lobbies. As a result, at one time, no fewer than 133 Members of the Liberal party, or rather more than a third of its number, were detached, or were known to be opposed to the measure as it stood; thirty of these, after much wavering, were brought back to the Government fold, mainly by the promise of the Government to make provision for the representation of Ireland in the Imperial

Parliament for Imperial purposes only, and in some cases by the pressure of their constituents.

It may be permitted here to recall a method of persuasion in the opposite direction, which, so far as my experience and reading go, was quite new to party tactics. I refer to the promises openly held out by the Tory leaders to Liberal Members, as an inducement to them to vote against the Irish Bill, that they would use all their party organisation to secure their re-election in the general election which might result from the defeat of the Government. Such a course is hardly to be distinguished from a corrupt bargain. It could not be adopted by any one who has any respect for or a belief in representative government. It is one which either party might adopt, but which it is the interest of both should not be resorted to. If generally adopted, it would undermine the confidence of electors in their members, and would tend to even stricter bonds of party organisation than now exist. What are likely to be the feelings of either party in a constituency when they learn that their representative has voted against the wishes of a vast majority of them, under the promise of the opposite party that they will join with a few dissentients from his own former supporters in returning him again as member? That some Liberals in the last Parliament were induced by such tactics to vote against their own party and against the Irish measure cannot be doubted, for several urgent personal appeals were made in the course of the general election to the Tory leaders to fulfil their promises. It is much to be regretted that the leaders of the Dissident Liberals did not dissociate themselves from such tactics, and openly repudiate them as contrary to the good faith and fair play on which in the long run party politics must be based.

The Parliamentary campaign on the Irish Bill resulted in 93 Liberals voting against Mr. Gladstone's Government, and in 10 abstaining from voting. With this combination against them the Government was defeated, and appeal was made to the constituencies. In the general election which followed, no one could doubt the right of the Dissident Liberals, who had voted against the Irish Bill, apart from any such bargain as I have referred to, to appeal to the whole of the electors of their constituencies. We may, however, question whether many of them, who had originally been selected as candidates by the local associations, were wise in standing again in direct opposition to the vast majority of the same bodies, and, while still calling themselves Liberals, receiving the full support of the Tory party. It is difficult to suppose that members who thus acted can ever again make peace with their former friends, and unless they attach themselves to the Tory party they are not likely again to receive Tory support.

Of the 103 Dissident Liberals (including those who abstained from

voting), thirty-five withdrew from the contest or were defeated; a few made peace with their party and promised to support the Irish policy. The waverers were even more unfortunate; for, of thirty, twenty lost their seats to Tory opposition. Whatever hopes the Dissident Liberal leaders may have had of carrying a majority of the Liberal party were bitterly disappointed. Their campaign was a total failure in this respect. In the contests, forty in number, which took place between Dissident Liberals, who had been members in the late Parliament, and Liberal supporters of Home Rule, there were not more than four in which majorities of Liberal voters supported their former members. In all the other cases the Dissident Liberals owed their return to the support of the whole of the Tory party, aided by a small contingent of Liberal voters or by Liberal abstentions, varying from five to thirty per cent. of the Liberal party.

The cases of contests between new candidates representing the views of Liberal dissentients and Liberals selected by the local organisations were different. Without impugning the good faith of the leaders of the Dissident Liberals, it may be permitted to question their policy and the methods they resorted to in the electoral campaign in these cases. The Central Liberal Unionist Committee was formed, with Lord Hartington as its President, and with large funds at its disposal for election purposes. This association entered into direct communication with the leaders of the Tory party, with a view to the defeat of Government candidates at the election. The plan of their campaign provided that, wherever at the previous general election, in November 1885, the majority in favour of a Liberal candidate had been small, he should now be attacked by a Tory candidate with the full support of the Unionist Liberals; where, however, the majority at the last election had been large, the Liberal Unionists undertook the task of fighting the sitting Liberal member, with the promise of full support from the Tory party.

Under this arrangement no fewer than seventy new candidates were put forward by the Liberal Unionist Committee to contest Liberal seats already represented by Liberal members, most of them with promises of pecuniary support from the Association. In no one of these cases did the candidate, thus sent down, obtain any substantial support from the local Liberal party; in all they were repudiated by the local Liberal Associations. Their only hope of being returned consisted in obtaining the support of the whole of the Tory party, and detaching from the Liberals a small number of voters sufficient with the Tory voters to turn the scale. The success of these candidates would have done more to split the Liberal party, and to destroy its integrity, and to ruin its prospects for the future in the constituencies thus dealt with, than if Tory candidates had been returned. It would be difficult to exaggerate the animosities which have resulted in constituencies where this policy has been

successful; much ill-feeling survives in those where it was tried without success. There could have been no reason, indeed, to complain of any section of the Liberal party endeavouring to secure the nomination of its members by majorities of the local Associations or of the Liberal party; but that those who wish to remain members of the Liberal party, and hope to be its future leaders, should have been induced to act as I have described, and to have done their best to undermine and destroy the Liberal party in these seventy constituencies, is difficult to understand.

Fortunately the policy was not more successful than it was ill conceived. Of the seventy new candidates thus put forward by the Liberal Unionist Committee, all of them of the same type, Whigs or something less advanced than Whigs—for the old Whig traditions of Charles Fox and his school were undoubtedly favourable to Home Rule—not more than five were successful at the poll. The remainder were defeated in spite of their compact with the Tories. They were repudiated by the mass of the Liberal voters. On the average they did not receive the support of more than two per cent. of Liberal voters. In fact, they received a smaller measure of support from Liberals in the constituencies they contested than did Tory candidates elsewhere; and it is now clear that the Tory leaders would have done better if they had made no bargain with the Liberal Unionists, and had put forward their own candidates in every constituency.

A careful examination of the results of the contests or a comparison with the contests in the same constituencies in the previous election in November 1885, shows that, after making an allowance of five per cent. for a reduced vote, due to deaths and removals, the Dissident Liberal members who had voted against the Government, and who were opposed by Liberal candidates, on the average obtained the support of twenty per cent. only of the Liberal voters, and that seventeen per cent. of the Liberals abstained from voting; it also shows that in constituencies where Liberal members were opposed by candidates sent down by the Liberal Unionist Committee, the latter succeeded on the average in obtaining no more than two per cent. of Liberal votes, and that twelve per cent. only of the Liberal voters abstained.

A computation of the results of contested elections throughout the three countries shows that the Tories and Liberal Unionists together had a majority of not more than 70,000 over the Liberals and Irish Nationalists, out of an aggregate poll of nearly 2,700,000. The uncontested constituencies nearly balanced one another, for 101 Tories and Liberal Unionists were returned unopposed, and 103 Liberals and Parnellites. It should, however, be recollected that in the case of Irish constituencies, if polled out, the majorities for a Home Rule policy would be vastly greater in proportion than the majorities against it in English uncontested constituencies. If, there-

fore, the aggregate voting power could be fairly weighed throughout all the constituencies, it is doubtful whether the majority could fairly be considered as adverse to Home Rule.

In the contested constituencies it appears that the number of Liberals who transferred their votes on this occasion to Tory candidates or to Liberal Unionists did not much exceed 50,000, and that about 200,000 Liberals abstained from voting. A large number of voters abstained from indifferentism rather than from real hostility to Home Rule. The actual defections, therefore, of voters from the Liberal party cannot be estimated at more than ten per cent.

In the new Parliament the Tories and the Dissident Liberals combined have a majority of 118. It is obvious, therefore, that the election has resulted in a majority of members against the Irish policy far greater than the majority of actual voters. The Dissident Liberals especially are greatly over-represented. They are from 70 to 75 in number. Their true proportion should not be above 30. The excess in both cases is due in part to the split among the Liberals, and to the particular tactics referred to, and in part also to the fact that, under the system of one-membered constituencies, the verdict of the majority is accentuated, and the majority of members will probably always be larger in proportion than the majority of voters. It is often said that further discussion of the Irish question would have resulted in a still greater majority against Home Rule. Where, however, the subject was most fully discussed on the platform, where the Dissident Liberals, and their allies the Tories, had the amplest opportunity of laying their case before the electors, they met with the heaviest reverses. No one can doubt that at Edinburgh the case on both sides was most fully argued. The Unionists had the daily advantage of many most able speeches of Mr. Goschen, of the constant support of the foremost of Scotch papers, which had the field to itself; yet even there the verdict of the voters was overwhelmingly in favour of Home Rule; and the same division of the city, which in November 1885 had returned Mr. Goschen by a majority of over 2,000, after a prolonged platform controversy with Mr. Chamberlain, rejected him by as large a majority in favour of Home Rule. It is impossible to suppose that the voters were influenced only by Mr. Gladstone's great personality. What influenced them is stated to have been a real conviction in favour of the Home Rule policy, after hearing the full case on both sides, and the inability of Mr. Goschen to suggest an alternative policy other than Coercion. The same remarks apply to Glasgow; to Paisley, where Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen used their utmost exertions; to Cardiff, where Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain in vain endeavoured to turn out Sir E. Reed; to Darlington, and to North Derbyshire. In all these cases the objections to the Irish policy were most fully expounded by its ablest opponents, and under the best advantages, but without success.

That, in spite of the Liberal split, and of the fact that the leaders of the dissentient section advised their friends everywhere to vote for Tory candidates, where there were no Liberal Unionist candidates before the constituencies, the aggregate vote for Home Rule should have been so great, is most remarkable. In Scotland, in Wales, in Yorkshire, and in the mining districts, the Home Rule policy achieved a marked success. In the agricultural counties, in London, in Lancashire, in Birmingham and the surrounding district, the defeat of this policy was no less conspicuous. . .

The general election was followed by an even closer *rapprochement* between the two opposite sections of the Liberal dissentients. Their policy when the Irish question was first raised had been widely divergent. There was far greater difference between Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington than between the former and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Chamberlain was not a member of the Liberal Unionist Committee before the elections. But as the contest proceeded an alliance offensive and defensive was effected between the chiefs of the two sections. The country was informed that they had agreed on a common policy for Ireland, the terms of which were not made known; whether Lord Hartington was prepared to give way to Mr. Chamberlain or the reverse, or whether some half-way policy had been arrived at, we were not informed. Later these two leaders met on the same platform; and after the elections the alliance was further consolidated. Mr. Chamberlain joined the Liberal Unionist Committee; he publicly acknowledged the leadership of Lord Hartington; and both have announced in Parliament their intention to support the Tory Government so long as Mr. Gladstone and the main body of the Liberals should adhere to their Irish policy. When we recollect the great differences between these two leaders in the election of 1885, and that Mr. Chamberlain has boasted that he looked upon the reversion of the leadership of the Liberal party, after Mr. Gladstone, as within his grasp, his subordination to Lord Hartington is the more significant. We are still ignorant of the terms of the alliance, how far the two together are prepared to go in an Irish policy, and what other questions have been the subject of compromise between them.

The union of the two chiefs was confirmed at the meeting at Devonshire House immediately after the general election, at which it was decided that they would take their seats in the House of Commons on the front Opposition bench, side by side with colleagues whose policy they so much disapprove. The good taste of this arrangement may be open to question. It is alleged to be in accordance with the precedent of Mr. Disraeli and the Protectionists in 1847; but, as I have shown, that position was only taken by the Protectionists when it was found that they constituted the real Opposition.

The reasons for the decision, however, and the general line of policy to be followed by the Dissident Liberals, have been fully explained in a contemporary Review for last month, which has the impress of the highest authority of their more radical section.\*

It is there stated that

Mr. Gladstone having declared his resolve to continue the struggle for Irish autonomy till his efforts are crowned with victory, the Liberal Unionists felt themselves compelled to take up a new position, and at a meeting at Devonshire House immediately before the session, they resolved no longer to content themselves with a policy of passive resistance to Mr. Gladstone's policy, but determined to go a step further and assert their adherence to Liberal traditions and principles by taking up their seats on the front opposition bench, while lending to the Conservative party the assistance of their counsel and support. The Liberal Unionists thus broke finally with Mr. Gladstone and with his policy of separation, and set themselves to dispute his claims to the allegiance of the Liberal members of the House of Commons. The real Parliamentary contest, therefore, is not now, as heretofore, between Liberals and Conservatives, but between Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain on the one hand and Mr. Gladstone on the other.

The contest, we are further informed, is not so unequal as might appear; the authors of this policy have convinced themselves that, of the 1,300,000 electors who voted for Home Rule, not more than 300,000 were really favourable to his Irish policy, the remainder voted for Mr. Gladstone's personality; his colleagues and followers in the House of Commons are represented

as mere worshippers at the shrine of self-interest, who, when they find that there can be no union until Mr. Gladstone resigns the leadership, will quickly go over to Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, in order to regain their seats on the Treasury Bench.

We are also reminded that

Mr. Gladstone is an old man who must shortly pay the debt he owes to mortality, and when this event happens, nothing will remain for his lieutenants but to make tardy peace with the two leaders.

Meanwhile it is said that three out of four of the Liberal Unionist members are dependent for their seats upon Tory support.

We may be sure that they will do nothing save on compulsion to bring about a change of Ministry and a dissolution of the present Parliament. They are young, and the great protagonist is old. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain and their followers are calmly prepared to go to any length in order to preserve the Union. They are masters of the position, just as Mr. Parnell and the Irish members were in the last Parliament. . . . The Conservative leaders are not fools, and they know full well that they are dependent upon the Liberal Unionists for the maintenance of their present position. Lord Salisbury takes his cue from Lord Hartington, just as Lord Randolph Churchill takes his from Mr. Chamberlain.

The Government policy for Ireland already announced is put to the credit of the Liberal Unionist leaders, who we are told now hold the balance of power, and are utilising their position to liberalise the

\* *Fortnightly Review*, September 1886, 'Home Affairs.'



Conservative councils, while keeping the cage-door shut 'where the man of blood is watching with the still more dangerous man of words.'

This exposition of policy is frank and full, but cynical, and contemptuous in the highest degree to the main body of Liberals. It is in accord with much that we see and hear of the daily doings and sayings of the leaders of the dissentient section, their close and frequent relations with the Tory leaders, and their recent speeches on Irish policy. It practically comes to this—that they must be taken back by the Liberal party on their own terms or not at all, and these terms involve the dismissal of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the party, and the complete surrender of his policy for Ireland.

It is difficult to believe, however, that these leaders can have persuaded themselves that a reunion of the Liberal party can be effected on any such terms, either now or in the future, or that Mr. Gladstone's colleagues and supporters could be base enough to accept them. Were the Liberal party to adopt them, they would be no nearer to regaining office; for the Irish members would again become masters of the position, and would doubtless prefer the present Government to one formed on such a basis.

The dissentient leaders could scarcely demand more if they had secured a majority of the votes of Liberals in the country; in view of their complete defeat within the limits of the party, it would seem that concession is due from them and not to them, if reunion is to be effected, and if they are again to act as leaders.

In the opinion of an immense majority of Liberals, the Irish question is incomparably greater in importance than any other now before the country. It involves the application of Liberal principles in their most essential and primary form. A settlement of it in such a spirit as to appease the national sentiment of the Irish and to give them full command over their own legislation and their own administration, while reserving Imperial questions for an Imperial Parliament, is essential to the interests of the Empire. Can any one seriously suppose, after the support this policy has already received in the country, that it can now be dropped? Is no concession to be made to the immense weight of public opinion already pronounced in favour of it? Can the constitutional demands of Ireland be permanently refused by a bare majority of voters of the United Kingdom? Will it be possible to carry on the government of Ireland in a constitutional manner if this demand be rejected, in the face of eighty-five members pledged to demand it with the persistency which has become a part of their policy?

Have, again, the Dissentients considered what will be their own position while carrying out the programme as announced in the certain event of the Liberal party refusing to abandon their chief or their policy? The present Government is in a minority of

thirty-eight in the House of Commons, if the Liberal Unionists are counted against them. To retain the Government in power, it will be necessary for them to give it a continuous and unvarying support, one not limited to Irish questions, but extending over the whole field of politics. The Government cannot last if it is liable to defeat on the many other questions which must constantly arise, on questions of foreign policy, of administration, of legislation. On all these subjects the Liberal Unionists will, *bon gré mal gré*, be found voting as a rule with the Tories. How will they be able to face Liberal constituencies again after two or three years of this kind of work, during which period all administrative and legislative questions will mainly be dealt with from a Tory point of view? Neither will their leaders find it a pleasant task to be constantly rising from the front Opposition bench to give their protection to the Government in the differences which are certain to occur with the Liberal party, to speak in opposition to four-fifths of those who sit behind them, to throw confusion into Liberal ranks at the moment perhaps of victory, to identify themselves in every petty party scrimmage with the Tory party.

It is assumed that the Dissident Liberal chiefs will exercise a paramount influence over Tory councils; if this should be so, it would be a position opposed to the best constitutional principles. Those who determine the policy of a Government should be in a position where they may know the whole of the conditions on which the policy from time to time is based, and where they may defend it with a full sense of responsibility. Those who are outside the Government, who are not daily and hourly at the centre of power, cannot control its policy, and are liable to have their views thwarted and set aside at any moment, either purposely or by inadvertence, often by a chance speech or concession made at a moment's notice in the House of Commons.

Is it also so certain that the Dissident leaders will continue to hold a paramount influence over the decisions of the present Government? The Tory leaders will soon weary of such a position of dependence; they will ask whether those who owe their seats and the seats of all their supporters to Tory votes, are in a position to command them. They will appreciate the fact that a dissolution will extinguish the rank and file of the Liberal Unionists, and they may use the threat of dissolution, not without effect, as against those who show a desire for independence. The decisions of the Government, especially on administrative questions, will be arrived at before their allies have the opportunity of using their influence, and it will often not be possible to undo them without discredit or defeat.

Neither, again, is it probable that the agreement between the two sections of the Dissident leaders and their followers will be of long duration. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain may have

patched up a combination for the time, but they differ fundamentally upon so many questions, not excluding Irish policy, that, when not bound by the mutual responsibilities of office, they must speedily fall out, or find themselves pulling in opposite directions. These differences will find—have perhaps already found—their reflex in the present Cabinet. It is doubtless true that Lord Salisbury takes his cue from Lord Hartington and Lord Randolph Churchill his inspirations from Mr. Chamberlain. The divergence between the Tory leaders which must necessarily result from this, is a subject for political speculation of the greatest interest, and may result in combinations of an unexpected kind.

Is it, however, hopeless that the reunion of the Liberal party may yet take place upon some other than the terms which have been demanded by the Dissentients? It is difficult to form an opinion on this without knowing the basis of the present agreement between Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain. It is evident that Lord Hartington has made considerable advance in Irish policy since his Belfast speech in 1885, and since his earlier speeches against the Home Rule Bill. He must by this time recognise the failure of his campaign in the general election—by this I do not mean his failure to defeat Mr. Gladstone's Government, but his failure to carry with him any but a very small section of the Liberal party; he is too sensible a politician, too well bred in the Whig tradition of moving with the times, not to perceive that great concessions must be made to the very large vote in the country in favour of autonomy for Ireland. He must have recognised, when he declined to join the Tory Government, that the last chance of meeting the Irish claims with a direct negative was lost for ever. He must know the inutility, if not the danger to property and social order in Ireland, of any moderate scheme of local government, which while giving control of local affairs to the popular party gives no satisfaction to their national sentiment. What can be his hopes of settling the Irish question on any other lines than those of autonomy? When the alternative policy for Ireland of the Tory Government is fully developed, and when it fails, as it will certainly fail if it falls short of autonomy, will he not feel the necessity of adopting this principle?

Still more may we expect in this direction from Mr. Chamberlain. Of the various schemes which he has propounded for dealing with the Irish question, many appear to contain principles which might afford the basis of agreement with the main body of Liberals. The essential condition of any such agreement is the concession of legislative and administrative autonomy to Ireland. Beyond these, the special relation of Ireland to Great Britain, for Imperial purposes, is quite an open question, on which there may be differences of opinion and opportunities for compromise. The result of the discussions on the Irish measure and of the elections was to elicit an opinion favourable

rather to a settlement of these relations on a Federal plan than on the Colonial plan. The original proposal of Mr. Gladstone was based on the latter principle. It undoubtedly alarmed many people; though it is by no means certain that, if once the principle of autonomy were conceded, the Colonial relation would not be more acceptable to the majority of people of Great Britain. Presented, however, as the question was, the balance of opinion was undoubtedly in favour of a Federal solution of the future relations of Ireland to Great Britain.

Mr. Chamberlain has in many of his speeches advocated change in this direction. Speaking against the Irish measure on its introduction, he admitted that his scheme for a National Council in Ireland was no longer possible; that only a very large proposal could at any future time be accepted as a settlement of the question; and that he looked for a solution of it in the direction of Federation. This solution, he said, would maintain the Imperial unity, and would at the same time conciliate the desire for a national local government which is so strongly felt in Ireland. Writing again on the 7th of May last, at a critical period of the fortunes of the Bill, he expressed his hearty support to the principle of autonomy for Ireland, subject to the full representation of Ireland in the central Parliament, and her full responsibility for Imperial affairs. Later, in the debate on the second reading of the Bill, he referred with approval to the constitutional relations of the Dominion of Canada to its provinces, such as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—a relation strictly of the Federal kind, and where autonomy as regards administration and legislation is fully conceded to these provinces.

It seemed to most Liberals that, with these views, Mr. Chamberlain might have well withdrawn from further opposition to the second reading of the Irish measure, when Mr. Gladstone had promised to introduce clauses for the representation of Ireland in the Parliament of Great Britain for Imperial purposes. Without desiring, however, to point out inconsistencies in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches and conduct, we may say that, looking broadly at his many proposals, there is much which suggests the possibility of agreement on his part with the Liberal party on the basis of a real and genuine autonomy for Ireland. It is this which is the essential kernel of the Irish policy; all other questions are subservient to it; subject to this, the Irish members themselves have expressed their readiness to accept whichever of the two possible solutions of their future relations to Great Britain is most acceptable to the English people.

Again, the Land Purchase scheme no longer bars the way to any agreement with the Dissident Liberals. The proposal was eminently unpopular with the constituencies. It did more to wreck the Irish policy of the late Government than any other part of their scheme. Tory candidates and Dissident Liberals vied with one another in

denouncing it and in making capital out of it. It was persistently alleged that it involved a loan from the central Government of 200,000,000*l.* without any real security. What more plausible argument could be addressed to distressed agriculturists or to depressed manufacturers than that they were to be taxed for the benefit of Irish landlords? None made more frequent use of this argument than Mr. Chamberlain. Could the electors, however, have known that the very first proposal of the Tory Government, supported by Lord Hartington and by Mr. Chamberlain, would be an immense extension of the principle of Imperial loans, with the avowed purpose of converting all the tenants of Ireland into owners, and of abolishing the system of dual ownership recognised by the Land Act of 1881, how very different might have been the result of the elections! The new proposal, if not accompanied by any measure conceding the demand for local government, would substitute a hated central Government for the hated landlords, and would draw upon the State all the unpopularity now attaching to the rent receivers, while the Imperial Government would find itself the mortgagee of every farm in Ireland, and receiving what would practically be rent for a long term of years in the shape of interest or repayment of capital. Is it possible to conceive a position more full of danger to the State, so long as the national demands of Ireland are refused?

The proposal of the present Government, however, is of the utmost political importance. It is made far more in the interests of the landlords than of the tenants. It proves that the landlords of Ireland are as anxious to clear out of that country as their bitterest enemies are to get rid of them. Can any one doubt that the demand for Home Rule would be even more universal in Ireland if the landlords were bought out under such a scheme than at present? or that it would be conceded without objection in England when all fears of what might happen to landlords were removed? It is my confident belief, however, that any universal scheme of Land Purchase, or of converting tenants into owners, by Imperial loans, either with or without Home Rule, will, after what occurred at the last general election, be rejected by the country. It does not, however, follow that a moderate application of the principle of Imperial loans to aid a settlement of the Land Question may not still be adopted as a part of the settlement of the Home Rule question. I have myself advocated such an application to the case of the smaller tenants only. The use of Imperial credit to convert them into owners would have the advantage that, at a moderate rate of purchase, the relief to them in the substitution of interest for rent would be very great, that it would create at once a very large class of persons permanently interested as owners, and get rid of the relations of landlord and tenant between the most numerous and most difficult class of small

tenants, and that it would enable the landlords to realise a fair value for the most hazardous parts of their properties.

In respect of larger tenancies the same arguments scarcely apply. There is not the same reason for large reductions of their payments; if their rents are too high, they ought to be dealt with by the Land Court; the purchase of them would involve an enormous advance of money. It may be that in respect of the larger tenancies some other method of settling the question may be devised, not involving any great advance, such as that of fining down their rents by the aid of State loans, and converting the variable rent into a rent charge of lower amount.

It is unnecessary, however, to pursue this question further. It will be conceded that the proposal of the present Government to extend indefinitely Lord Ashbourne's Act, and to substitute a universal system of peasant proprietors for the dual ownership of land now existing in Ireland, has made it far easier to approach the question of Home Rule. Proposals to ease off the difficulties of that question by a partial application of Imperial credit can no longer be denounced in the spirit of the last electoral campaign. We need no longer despair of the Liberal party coming to an agreement on the subject. The following, however, of Mr. Chamberlain among the Dissentients is small in comparison with that of Lord Hartington. Mr. Chamberlain alone could not influence a sufficient number of them to secure a majority of the present House of Commons in favour of any measure which he might agree upon with the Liberal party. He could have turned the scales in the last Parliament on behalf of the Irish measure. It is possible that at the general election his active co-operation with the Liberals on behalf of a policy of autonomy for Ireland would have made the difference. He no longer holds the balance in the new Parliament. It rests with Lord Hartington and his Whig followers to decide whether to effect a compromise with the Liberals upon the basis of a real autonomy for Ireland, with security for the maintenance of the Imperial Parliament for Imperial purposes, or whether to throw in their lot with the Tories, to support them in some scheme, such as that which has been foreshadowed by Lord Randolph Churchill, and which appears to be something in the nature of a National Council, a scheme which will give no content to Ireland, and be no settlement of the question.

The responsibility on them is a heavy one. It is even greater than in the last Parliament, when they opposed and rejected the Irish measure. They had then a not unreasonable hope that they would be supported by a majority of the Liberal party in the country. They must now be aware that the Liberal party as a whole, with the exception of a small minority, has pronounced in favour of autonomy for Ireland; they must know by experience that what the Liberal

party adopts is certain of ultimate success. It rests with them whether the interval shall be long or short, whether the political agony in Ireland, and its social disorders, and a bitterness between its classes shall be prolonged, and whether all Liberal measures for Great Britain shall be suspended during the present Parliament, and until the next appeal to the electorate. The longer that may be postponed, the more certain will it be that, whatever else may be the result of it, the Dissident section will be ground between the two parties, and extinguished as a political factor for the future.

G. SHAW LEFÈVRE.

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*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS.*

# NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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No. CXVII.—NOVEMBER 1886.

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## *THE COMING WINTER IN IRELAND.*

THE bill introduced by Mr. Parnell to give temporary relief to the Irish tenants was defeated in—for the time of year—a very full house on the 22nd of September last. It was defeated by a majority of 95 in a house of 503 members. The defeat of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in the House of Lords, in the month of August 1880, closed one chapter, and opened another, in the history of Ireland, and it is quite possible that the defeat of Mr. Parnell's bill may yet be pointed to as an event of equal gravity, and equally far-reaching in its consequences on the future of Ireland.

What was Mr. Parnell's bill, and why was it introduced? It was a bill designed to give temporary relief to tenant farmers in Ireland pending the inquiry which has been undertaken by the present Government. I shall presently state what the bill proposed to do; but I must here try to answer two questions which have been very frequently put:—First, why was such a bill considered by Mr. Parnell to be necessary in September last? And, secondly, why was not it or some similar bill introduced during the spring session? I shall answer the latter question first. No bill for the temporary relief of Irish tenants was introduced during the spring session, chiefly because the Irish National party had strong hopes that the measures proposed by Mr. Gladstone for the better government of Ireland would be passed into law. And when pressed, as we frequently were, by our constituents to take some steps to stop evictions, our answer always was that it would be folly to embarrass a Government which was engaged in an attempt to settle the Irish question in a generous and final fashion; and that if, as we



hoped, the Government should succeed in their attempt, this and other difficulties could very soon be dealt with by our own people at home. We knew that with the Liberal Government in office no bill interfering with the landlord's power to evict would be allowed through the House of Lords, and that to introduce such a bill at that time would be simply to place in the hands of the enemies of the Government, and our enemies, a weapon to do them injury. But this was not our only reason for considering it not wise to bring forward this question last spring. 'Coming events cast their shadows before;' and whether it was due to the rumours of the coming of Home Rule, or to the influence of Lord Carnarvon, the fact is undeniable that in the winter quarter of 1885 there was a most astonishing falling off in the number of evictions in Ireland. The number of families evicted in the quarter ending the 31st of December 1885 was only 369, of whom 208 were readmitted as caretakers or tenants; as against 642 in the quarter ending the 31st of December 1884, 646 in the quarter ending the 31st of December 1883, and 709 in the quarter ending the 31st of December 1882. And this state of things continued in some measure into the spring quarter of 1886, though here there was an alarming increase—the number evicted in the quarter ending the 31st of March 1886 being 698. But when we came back to Ireland after the election had been decided in the month of July last, what was the state of things with which we were brought face to face?

The people had during the past year been restrained from active agitation by a very considerable exercise of influence on our part; by the hope that their national demands were about to be granted, and the long chapter of their oppressions be closed for ever; and by the tremendous influence of the speeches delivered by Mr. Gladstone during the spring—speeches which were read even in the poorest cabins from one end of Ireland to the other, and which with a people like the Irish had an immense effect in making them patient and content to endure a great deal rather than embarrass such a friend. All these things, which had made it easy for us to restrain agitation in the country up to July last, had ceased to have effect, and at the same time we found that, encouraged by the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Government, and by the result of the elections, the landlords were making up for lost time, and were carrying on the old game of eviction at an appalling rate. In the quarter ending the 31st of June 1886, there were evicted in Ireland 1,309 families; and from the 31st of June up to the 20th of September, 1,037 families were evicted. Such being the state of affairs in Ireland, and there being now no immediate prospect of a settlement of the National question, we had no choice but to take the earliest opportunity of forcing on the attention of the House of Commons the desperate condition of the Irish tenants, and the great troubles we foresaw if the landlords were

supported in their then course, and nothing done to afford protection to the tenants.

But now it may be asked, Why was the bill introduced in the middle of September, and not at the beginning of the autumn session? When the session opened, we did not know what the policy of the Government in respect to Ireland was to be. During the debate on the Address we drew attention to the serious condition of Ireland, and the absolute necessity for some measure to put a check on harsh evictions, and it will be remembered that it was only in the course of that debate that the Government proposals were disclosed. On the 3rd of September the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved to take all the time of the house for financial business, and I, at Mr. Parnell's request, moved the following amendment:—

That, in the opinion of this House, the state of Ireland is such as to require the proposal of remedial measures by the Government before the time of the House is appropriated entirely to the business of supply.

And it was in the course of the debate upon this amendment that Mr. Parnell showed that the proposals of the Government could by no possibility meet the present difficulties in Ireland, and stated that he himself was ready to introduce a bill which, in his opinion, would ensure peace and quiet in Ireland whilst the Government Commissions were carrying out their inquiries. In making this offer Mr. Parnell was doing what he had been frequently invited to do by all sections of the English press on other occasions. But I must say that the result of the experiment has not been encouraging.

Now what was it that this bill proposed to do? It was a very short and simple bill, consisting as it did of only three clauses, and except as regards the second clause it was of a purely temporary character. The first and third clauses were intended to protect judicial tenants, whose rent had been fixed before the 1st of January 1885, from eviction in cases where their landlords had refused to give them a reasonable reduction. But no tenant could claim protection under this Act unless, first, he paid 50 per cent. of all rent and arrears due by him; and, secondly, the court was satisfied that he was unable to pay the balance without deprivation of the means of subsistence and of working his farm. If these conditions were fulfilled the tenant got simply a stay of any proceedings for eviction or recovery of the balance of rent due until the Land Court had decided what abatement his landlord ought to give him. And this court which was to decide as to the abatement would have been the very court which had fixed the judicial rent, and would therefore be in a position to decide immediately whether there really was a case for an abatement this year on a rent fixed by themselves three or four years ago. That was all that the bill proposed to do for judicial tenants, and a most modest proposal it was.

Under these clauses about 155,000 judicial tenants would have come.

The second clause in the bill proposed to admit the Irish leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act, from which in 1881 they were most unfairly excluded in spite of the repeated protests of the National party. The leaseholders number about 60,000, they include the very cream of the Irish farmers, are largely men of some capital, and as a rule are very highly rented; and having been denied all relief under the Act of 1881, they have in many instances during these disastrous years been sinking deeper and deeper into poverty with the most deplorable results as regards the cultivation of their farms and the general prosperity of the country. The justice of their claim to be admitted to the Land Courts has long ago been admitted on all sides, and as on this point Irish members of Parliament, Orange, Unionist, and Nationalist, were absolutely unanimous, Mr. Parnell thought it right to lose no more time in putting an end to an admitted grievance. One thing is certain: that this refusal, without any reason given, to do justice to the Irish leaseholders will tend to aggravate seriously the agitation in Ireland during the coming winter.

Such was Mr. Parnell's bill, and in preparing it he had to keep two things in view:—First, that the bill should be one which would not be repudiated by the people of Ireland represented by the National party. Secondly, that it should be one which would enable us to state honestly to the House that if it were accepted we could look forward with confidence to peace in Ireland during the coming winter. Keeping these two points in view, we did our best to make the bill a moderate one, and in the course of the debate our very moderation was charged against us as a crime. The bill, in fact, amounted to nothing more than an attempt to compel all Irish landlords to act as every reasonable and humane landlord in Ireland will act of his own free will. By rejecting it the House of Commons has placed the peace of Ireland entirely at the mercy of the Irish landlords—I should say, indeed, at the mercy of a section of the Irish landlords. And past experience fully justifies us in believing that this is a most uncertain and dangerous tenure.

The course of the debate on this bill was most characteristic and instructive. Mr. Parnell introduced the measure in a speech of studied moderation—a speech which I believe would carry conviction to the mind of any unprejudiced man who heard it. And on the first night of the debate the only other Irish member who spoke in support of the bill was Mr. Pinkerton, a Protestant farmer from Antrim, a man who had lived all his life at farming, and whose speech was entirely occupied with practical details of the subject. On the second night of the debate no opportunity had been offered

several were prepared and anxious to do so; and when Mr. Dillon, who had been asked to speak on behalf of the Irish party, informed the Government whips that he was anxious to address the House at half-past nine, he learnt from them that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach intended to speak at ten o'clock himself. I have dwelt on these particulars because the character of the Chief Secretary's speech makes them of great importance. For any one who has studied the debate, it is impossible to deny that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's speech was the first, coming from any one of importance, which contained a note of hatred, contention, and strife. He began by refusing to give credit to the promoters of the bill for the intentions which had been stated on their behalf by Mr. Parnell. There was not a word in his speech of regret at being compelled to refuse this concession. He treated the leader of the Irish party and his bill with an unconcealed contempt which very ill became a man who is responsible for peace and good government in Ireland. His arguments—so far as there were any arguments in his speech—were directed to show that no case had been made out for any abatement of judicial rents, and the whole tone of his speech was one of insult and of menace, for which no word uttered by any member of the Irish party in the course of the debate could be quoted in justification. It was a speech calculated to blood on the Irish landlords to deeds of oppression during the coming winter, and to fix more firmly than ever in the mind of the Irish tenant the old conviction that his sufferings and persecutions are matters of contemptuous indifference to the English Government.

We really desired to have peace and quiet in Ireland this winter. And we desired it—if for no other reason—because now for the first time in living memory the English public seems willing and anxious to listen to a fair statement of the Irish National cause. And it was plainly our interest that nothing should occur in Ireland which would make it impossible for us to get a fair hearing in England.

After careful consultation we decided to do what we had been over and over again invited to do on similar occasions in the past—we decided to bring forward a measure which we considered would meet the difficulties of the case and secure peace in Ireland during the coming year. We made that measure as moderate as we dared to do in face of the condition of things in Ireland; in point of fact we incurred a good deal of blame in Ireland for presenting so moderate a bill. And how were we met by the press of London, and by the Conservatives and the Unionists in the House of Commons? On all sides we were denounced as dishonest agitators. 'We did not really want the bill to pass'; 'it was brought in merely to keep up agitation' etc. etc.—the same old story that we listened to in 1880 on the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. And in the debate when we considered that we had made an unanswerable case for the justice

of the demand of the Irish farmers for the abatement of judicial rents fixed before last autumn, how was our case met? Not by any arguments, worthy of the name, but by contemptuous incredulity, and jeers at statements of the losses and sufferings of tenant farmers in Ireland, and by idiotic assertions that the wealth of the Irish small farmers was steadily increasing; that the distress was due to drinking too much whisky, etc. And finally, by a repetition on the part of the Irish Secretary of those threats to which we were so well accustomed to listen in 1880 and 1881.

Some of the arguments used in the course of the debate were of such a character that I cannot avoid placing them side by side in order to exhibit all the more clearly the gross inconsistency of our opponents:—

1. It was said that no case had been made out for reduction of judicial rents.

2. That the landlords could be trusted to act generously and give reductions.

3. That the bill if passed would give the tenants no material relief.

4. That it would amount to a No-rent manifesto.

So much for the debate on Mr. Parnell's bill. I will pass from it now, and will only say further that it was not of a character to encourage the Irish people to look to the London Parliament for justice.

The Government having, as we think, most unfortunately decided to reject Mr. Parnell's proposal and to promise to Irish landlords the full support of the Irish executive in enforcing their legal rights, what is to be the result in Ireland? The answer to that question depends entirely on the Irish landlords themselves. Some of the largest landowners in Ireland have already offered to their tenants large abatements on the judicial rents. If the rest were to follow their example there would be no trouble in Ireland during the coming winter. If there had been any strong reason to hope that all, or nearly all, the landlords in this country would act reasonably and humanely, Mr. Parnell's bill would have been quite unnecessary; but that bill was brought in by men who know the Irish landlords better than Sir Michael Hicks-Beach knows them, and better than most Englishmen do, and I am sorry to say that we have the very strongest reason to expect that a large section of the landlords will pursue a course this winter consistent with their past history.

It would be plainly impossible for me, within the necessary limits of this article, to go into details as to the action of individual landlords. Those who desire to pursue this subject further I must refer to the speeches delivered in the debate on Mr. Parnell's bill, and to

the publications of the Irish Press Agency. There cannot, however, be the least doubt that any Englishman who does devote a little of his time to this study will speedily become convinced of two things:

—First, that under the law as it stands it is still possible in a great many cases for Irish landlords to do the most cruel injustice to their tenants; and, secondly, that the history of the dealings of Irish landlords with their tenants down to this very hour fully justifies us in refusing to place any trust in their forbearance, or in their sympathy for the people whom we represent. As I have said, the winter in Ireland depends on the action of the landlords. If they follow the example set by a few within the last three weeks, we shall have peace. If, on the other hand, they do as they did in the autumn of 1880; and if they follow the example of men whose names I could mention; and if the language which is repeated to us as having been used by a number of agents and landlords is sought to be acted upon, it would take a very wise man indeed to predict what this winter will bring forth. Two things are certain—first, that the National organisation is immensely stronger than it was in 1880; and, secondly, the difficulties of the farmers are greater even than they were in that year. And such being the case, any one who wishes to realise what is before the Irish Government if they are called upon by the landlords to support them in a policy of extortion and eviction, had better read the history of the autumn of 1880 and the spring of 1881, and he will then be able to form an opinion for himself.

If then a struggle for existence is forced on the Irish tenants this winter, it seems to me that a very great responsibility will lie on the Liberal party in England. For it will be in their hands to decide whether the great work of reconciliation between the two people, so happily begun by Mr. Gladstone last spring, is to be rudely interrupted.

As it is, we of the Irish National party do feel under a considerable obligation of gratitude to the Liberal party for the way in which they stood by us during the spring, at the elections in July, and on Mr. Parnell's bill. And I personally have a deeper feeling of gratitude to many individual members of that party for words of encouragement and sympathy spoken in private. But if we are to have another land war in Ireland, the new faith of the Liberal party may be put to a severe strain. Many bitter things will be said, and in spite of all that we can do deeds may be done in Ireland which will shock them deeply. But if when they are in trouble about what is going on in Ireland, they will only remember that all through the spring and down to September last we did everything in our power to effect a compromise—if they will turn to the debate on Mr. Parnell's bill, and then read the past history of this Irish land question, they will not wonder at the intense bitterness of feeling

which exists on this question in the minds of the Irish people. And they will be able to understand much which in the past was utterly inexplicable to them. If they will be strong in their faith, and sufficiently wide in their sympathies to enter into the bitterness of an oppressed people, all will come right very soon. And Mr. Gladstone will live to see then two peoples who have hated each other for seven hundred years agreeing to live side by side as friends—equally free, though under the one Crown.

JOHN DILLON.

## *FRANCE, CHINA, AND THE VATICAN.*

### I.

THE latest intelligence from China and Rome seems to leave no doubt that France has found means of preventing any action on the part of the Vatican, and so far to have gained a free hand to deal in her own interest with China, unembarrassed by the independent action of a third Power. The Pope, compelled to choose between sending a Nuncio to Peking, as desired by the Chinese, and a rupture with France under a menace of war on the Church, the withdrawal of the subvention of 50,000,000 francs, and the termination of the Concordat, could have little option. But the end is not yet. China may be less open to intimidation than heretofore, and assert her undoubted right to refuse the recognition of an assumed protectorate over Roman missions, irrespective of the nationality of their members, and its extension to the native converts throughout the Empire. French interference between the Chinese authorities and the subjects of the Emperor of China has never had any treaty warrant or justification by the law of nations. China has the remedy therefore in her own hands, to a certain extent, by simply refusing to admit the pretension. Of course, in doing so, the Chinese Government must be prepared to resist any action, either diplomatic or belligerent, to coerce them—even by a renewal of M. Jules Ferry's system of 'intelligent destruction' on their coast; and in the Treaty Ports where the French have free access under a treaty of peace—proceedings from which the Chinese have only recently been relieved. But, as the latter have shown that even a great destruction of property and sacrifice of life could not induce submission to demands which they deemed too humiliating and unjustifiable, it may not be wise to trust too much to such means of coercion. France may well consider whether the cost of such measures in the late operations was adequately compensated by any advantage gained. The French inflicted a great amount of injury no doubt upon the Chinese Government and the people in property and commerce, and a great sacrifice of lives also; but they had to pay their own expenses after all, which were too heavy to hold out much inducement to recommence a similar inglorious and unsuccessful struggle.

In any case it is to be remembered that other nations besides the French have interests in China, and are liable to serious damage



by the renewal of hostile action. Interests in trade, compared with which the total amount of French trade in China is wholly insignificant—and, so far as such interests are concerned, this fact gives the French the advantage, if not the satisfaction of knowing that it is their rivals, and the British more especially, who are the chief sufferers; and, under the law of nations, without any claim to compensation. Every sovereign and independent state, being the guardian of its own honour and interests, is entitled, by the *jus gentium* accepted among Western nations, to take such measures as it may deem expedient to obtain redress for injuries received, subject only to the limitations imposed by international treaties in the common interest.

In view of these circumstances, and the unsettled contention between China and France, which is fraught with so much evil, not only to one or other of the contending parties, but to all the Treaty Powers in various degrees, according to the magnitude of the stake of neutral Powers in the China seas, it may be well to ascertain accurately what is the relative proportion of the commercial interests engaged in the intercourse of Western nations with China. The Reports and Returns of the trade of the Treaty Ports, issued annually by the Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs, furnish in the most authentic and complete form all the necessary data.

In estimating the proportionate share of France, however, in such a comparative view, it would not be fair to take the Custom House returns for 1885 as a test, since French carrying trade was by the hostile operations of the French fleet reduced in that year to a mere simulacrum. But, if we take the return of all trade of foreign countries with China at the Treaty Ports for the year 1882, the following statistics will give a fair comparative statement during a period immediately preceding the commencement of French operations:—

	HK. Taela.
The total net value of foreign trade was . . . . .	145,052,074
The exports amounted to . . . . .	1,789,015
And the total gross value therefore was . . . . .	146,841,089
Of which the British dominions contributed . . . . .	111,090,769
Leaving for other foreign countries . . . . .	35,750,320

Thus accounted for in detail—

	HK. Taela.
Next to Great Britain,	
The United States of America contributed . . . . .	11,006,858
The Continent of Europe . . . . .	11,236,376
Japan . . . . .	6,209,099
Russia . . . . .	4,963,597
Cochin China . . . . .	552,474
Sham . . . . .	464,000
The Philippine Islands . . . . .	268,840
Turkey in Asia, Egypt, and Aden . . . . .	54,911
As above . . . . .	35,750,320

Deducting the percentages for the Chinese flag, and then taking the average of the percentages for foreign flags (as given at p. 27) under the four headings of (1) Tonnage Employed; (2) Total Foreign and Coast Trade; (3) Duties on Cargo; and (4) Tonnage Dues, the comparison between foreign flags in the carrying trade from and to foreign countries and between the ports of China is as follows:—

British . . . . .	80.46 per cent.	
German . . . . .	8.34	"
French . . . . .	3.33	"
Japanese . . . . .	2.08	"
American . . . . .	1.90	"
Russian . . . . .	1.33	"
Danish . . . . .	.92	"
Swedish and Norwegian . . . . .	.61	"
Spanish . . . . .	.46	"
Dutch . . . . .	.38	"
Non-Treaty Powers . . . . .	.25	"
Italian . . . . .	.05	"
	<hr/> 100.00	

It is thus evident that the stakes held by the other Treaty Powers and France are so hugely disproportionate, that the former, who were as neutrals merely spectators, had much to lose and nothing to gain; while these conditions were exactly reversed, and France, so far as trade and material interests connected therewith were concerned, had a bare  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. *en jeu*.

If such preponderating interests of a material kind do not entitle neutral States to any consideration for the heavy or incurable injury they may suffer from the acts of a quasi-belligerent, it may at least justify a searching inquiry on the part of the sufferers into the causes of quarrel, and the pleas either party may advance for liberty to inflict any amount of loss or damage not only on each other as principals, but on one or more neutral Powers.

The ostensible cause of a state of continued enmity and irreconcilable antagonism is, no doubt, Religion, and its propagation under the Roman Catholic Church, coupled with the claim of France to exercise a protectorate over all missions of that persuasion in China—persisted in notwithstanding ever-recurrent disturbances and massacres of missionaries and their converts, by outbreaks of popular hostility throughout the Empire.

It is evidently all-important, if this common danger is to be averted, to ascertain the actual *fons et origo* of such widespread and continuous hostile feeling, and not only one persistent in its manifestation, but as a rule, with few exceptions, directed against the British missions in the first instance, under the French protectorate. Is it religious fanaticism and intolerance in the Chinese population? or is there a political and social motive underlying the whole movement? It is essential that the true answer to

others, barely escaped with their lives, as fortunately did the missionaries this time.\*

There last proofs of unabated hostility and unchecked violence in the populations where missionaries have a base of operations and erect buildings, whether hospitals, churches, or mission-houses, were scarcely needed to demonstrate how many elements of danger continue to exist, and the obligation of the Treaty Powers and the Chinese Government alike to devise some better means of dealing with the missionary question, and of establishing a less unsatisfactory and precarious footing for them and for all foreigners in the country.

And the first step towards this object requires more knowledge of the people and the classes who influence them,—their habits of thought, their national prejudices and superstitions, and though last not least, the estimates they have formed of the motives of foreigners for coming among them, and their claims to respect or consideration, which are rated very low by all classes, literate and illiterate, as there is abundant proof.

It will, then, be found that not one, but many causes combine to move the people to hostile action towards missionaries as a class, and the 'French missions' (so called by them) more especially. A general distrust and dislike of foreigners, as such, the common result of differences of race and creed in all countries, is always present; but in this religion has little part. The Chinese educated class only look upon the superiority claimed for Christianity over Confucism with supreme contempt. Spiritual questions have no interest for them; and the *odium theologicum* has no part in their dislike or their scepticism. Buddhism, the only religion very widely accepted, though of foreign origin as much as Christianity, sits very lightly on the majority of the Chinese population.

The late Abbé Huc, one of the most talented of the missionaries 'de la Congrégation de Saint-Lazare,' after long years devoted to missionary work in Mongolia and China, bore strong testimony to this effect. He tells us in his work entitled *The Chinese Empire*:—

The religious sentiment has vanished from the national mind, the rival doctrines have lost all authority; and their partisans, grown sceptical and impious, have fallen into the abyss of indifference, in which they have given each other the kiss of peace. Religious discussions have entirely ceased, and the whole Chinese nation has proclaimed this famous formula, with which everybody is satisfied—*San-Kiao-y-Kiao*—that is, 'The three Religions are one.' Thus, all the Chinese are at the same time partisans of Confucius, Lao-tse, and Buddha—or rather they are nothing at all.

\* The 'eccentric originality of the Protestant missionaries' in their building was telegraphed to Rome as the cause of the riot, but the real provocation and immediate object of attack was the Roman Catholic cathedral, roofed with the yellow tiles strictly reserved for Imperial use—an offence to the military students, collected in large numbers for their examination, and the populace. In *Amoy* and *Tientsin*, exclusively in French hands, of course there are no Protestant missionaries to be found.

It was a saying of Dr. Arnold's, that 'national tolerance was often very much akin to universal indifference'; and certainly their formula of politeness, in which they are apt to close all discussion, after a panegyric on their neighbour's religion, as the Abbé tells us, is an edifying commentary on the text, 'Religions are many, reason is one; we are all brothers'—which goes far to confirm the correctness of his conclusion.

But they do believe in tutelar deities, in the duty of ancestral worship—in these and many other things that we deem superstitious, such as the *Fung Shui*, in occult powers and geomantic influences, and witchcraft. And perhaps we should remember, as Sir Thomas Wade remarks, that 'after we ourselves had had the Bible a century and a half, we still continued to condemn witches on charges at once as horrible and ridiculous' as those laid to the charge of the Sisters of Charity and to Christians generally.<sup>2</sup> And the Jews even at this day in Christian countries are murdered and pillaged by evil disposed and fanatic mobs, just as the missionaries and their converts are in China on similar charges, and with quite as little help or sympathy from the constituted authorities, civil or military. The Chinese of all classes believe in the existence of such influences, and the calamities they may bring upon individuals or communities if offence is offered them. And partly from fear of this, and partly from anger and dislike of the foreigner, the populace burn their churches, pillage their houses, and murder their occupants.

Practical statesmen will not treat these national feelings and superstitions as M. Jules Ferry was disposed to treat the opposition he encountered, as '*une quantité négligeable*,' which later on he found was both a constant and a very formidable power, backed by a spirit of national resistance. It is not wise, and it cannot be safe, to regard this feeling of hostility to missionary proceedings on the part of the Chinese with contempt as something that may be met by force, or left to expend its violence in vain efforts to resist religious propagandism and foreign influence.

It is in no sectarian spirit, or disposition to invoke any anti-Gallic feeling, that attention is so pointedly called to all these tragic and fearful missionary riots, so generally directed against the missions under special French protection; but because I regard certain of the proceedings both of the missionaries and their protectors as the chief causes of disturbance. Nor is this charge of modern date, or of Protestant origin. *Kang-hi* was the liberal patron of Roman missionaries of all nationalities—French, German, Dutch, and Italian. They were well received, and many were employed by him in important scientific work for the State. And in his reign large and flourishing

<sup>2</sup> The kidnapping of children and natives, to take out their eyes and other organs to use as talismans or for ceremonial rites and sacrifices; and also of giving drugs to bewitch the native victims.

Christian communities grew up in various parts of the Empire. But before the end of his long reign, we are told, he ceased to regard them with the same favour. Disturbed by the disputes between the Dominicans and the Jesuits about ancestral worship, and the resistance of converts under the missionary influence, he issued an edict in 1718 limiting the freedom previously enjoyed, and restricting the number of missionaries to those only who had his special permission. And later, on the representation of his officers that the tendency of the new religion was to undermine his authority, further steps were taken. And at this time, Father Ripa tells us, the personal conduct of the missionaries had much to do with this unfavourable change. He observes, that

If our missionaries would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be enormously increased. Their garments (he goes on to say) are of the richest materials, they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them.

We might have expected that such warnings would have averted a precisely similar mistake in like circumstances. At the present day the missionaries have hardly followed the counsel of their Master; for they have neither been wise as serpents nor harmless as doves, however devout and well-intentioned they may be. Over-zeal and bad judgment are often quite as injurious to a good cause as a lack of virtue or any other defect. And how grievous an offence it has been to the authorities and the people to see foreign teachers of a new religion assuming the insignia and distinctive marks of office and Imperial authority, the foreign Powers have had ample evidence in numerous complaints and grave remonstrances, as will presently be seen. But the extent to which this assumption has gone can hardly be realised without reading the following description from the pen of a French bishop, writing from a missionary station in the interior, far from any Treaty Port or consular authority either to control such vagaries or to protect him and his coadjutors from the consequences. The letter was published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, dated from the Mission of Kouy-Tchaou-Ching, and addressed to the Directors of the Society by Mgr. Faurie, the vicar apostolic at that place. After describing himself as exercising 'the powers of life and death, of imprisoning and setting free,' and how he moves from place to place in making a tour through his diocese, with the ceremonies in use by the mandarins, attended by a retinue that might follow a high authority, he describes his approach to a town in the following terms:—

Besides the red parasols consisting of three tiers of shades, the cavaliers and the eunuchs, there was added before my palanquin an escort of three little ~~children~~ dressed in red and green, and carrying crowns composed of precious

stones. Here, again, I signalled my arrival by setting free several prisoners who were confined for offences against our religion.

After this he informs us that 'having arrived at Gan Chouy-foo, all the chief insignia of authority were placed at the door of the house, besides cannon announcing the nightly guard,' and 'each time that I left my house or returned three rounds of cannon announced the fact.' In the interior of the residence ceremony was not banished, for he adds, 'I always eat alone. The principal chiefs in full dress stand round the table to serve me, while musicians attend at the door and commence their harmony.' And so it goes on, with an account which reads more like the text of a burlesque play than anything else. It is easy to understand how exasperatingly offensive this must have been to the high authorities, whose state and official attributes were thus usurped and travestied, but it is needless to speculate on what the Chinese Government and its provincial authorities think of such procedures, and what they feel on the subject. No Treaty Power is ignorant, for a remarkable document was received by all the foreign representatives at Peking, some time after the massacre at Tientsin, addressed by the Prince of Kung and his colleagues at the Tsung-li-Yamên (in charge of foreign affairs), and on this subject there is the following paragraph:—

In trade there is no cause of serious quarrel between native and foreigner. But connected with the missionary question there is a vast amount of mischief on the increase, the fact being that, while propagandism starts with the announcement that its object is the exhortation of people to virtue, Romanism as propagated in China has the effect of setting the people against it; and, inasmuch as this is the result of the unsuitableness of the *modus operandi* now in vogue, it is essential that there be devised, without loss of time, such remedial measures as will bring things to a satisfactory condition. The missionary question affects the whole question of peaceful relations with foreign Powers—the whole question of their trade.<sup>4</sup>

After this preliminary exordium, so earnestly stated, the writers proceed to describe in detail what are the abuses which they conceive are the chief cause of trouble in regard to missionaries:—

As the Minister addressed cannot but be well aware, ill-feeling begins between them (the missionaries) and the people. In earlier times they say it was not so; but since the exchanged ratifications in 1860 the converts have in general not been of a moral class, and the religion has in consequence become unpopular; and the unpopularity is increased by the conduct of the converts, who, relying on the influence of the missionaries, oppress and take advantage of the common people (the non-Christians), and yet more by the conduct of the missionaries themselves, who, when collisions between Christians and the people occur, and the authorities are engaged in dealing with them, take part with the Christians, and uphold them in their opposition to the authorities. This indiscriminating en-

<sup>4</sup> Memorandum of the Tsung-li-Yamên upon the missionary question, circulated October 9, 1871, among the Foreign Representatives at Peking. *Parliamentary Papers, China*, No. 1, 1873, pp. 4-14.

Reverent of proselytes has gone so far that rebels and criminals of China, and such-like, take refuge in the protection of Christianity, and covered by this position create disorder. This has deeply dissatisfied the people, and their dissatisfaction being felt grows into animosity, and their animosity into deadly hostility. The populations of different localities are not aware that Protestantism and Romanism are different. They include both under the latter denomination, or under the one denomination of foreigners, and thus any serious collision that comes equally compromises all foreigners in China. In the provinces doubt and misgiving are certain to be largely generated. Under such circumstances, how is it possible but there should be irritation, and that this should show itself in serious outbreaks? Be it that the troubles connected with propagandism come of the resentment of the people, roused at last to wrath, it is not the less a fact that the Christians have given them cause of exasperation.

The Ministers then go on to state that the hostility of the people is

particularly roused by the conduct of the Romanist missionaries themselves, who go beyond all bounds in assuming an attitude of arrogant importance and of overbearing resistance to the authorities, and in every province interfering at the offices of the local authorities in lawsuits in which native Christians are concerned [citing in proof many individual instances].

This interference with the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities is plainly shown to be one of the most serious grounds of protest, and in connexion with it the assumption of official titles—seals or other insignia of rank and authority in use in China. One case among others is cited of a missionary in Shantung assuming the title of 'Sinn-fu' (Governor of a Province.) 'This,' it is observed, 'is not only encroachment upon the authority of the local officials, but usurpation of the authority of the Chinese Government,' and it is asked, 'How is it possible that all these improprieties should not arouse general indignation?'

### III.

We cannot now feel any doubt that the missionary question is the main cause of disturbance in our relations with China, and of danger to the Chinese Government itself no less than to all foreigners resident in the country, missionaries and laymen alike, and whatever their nationality—a danger all the more serious that, as the Prince himself has truly stated, 'the missionary question affects the whole question of pacific relations with foreign Powers and the whole question of their trade.' Whether it be desired or not, a community of danger, if not of interests, does exist, and must be taken into account in considering by what means the persistent and ever-increasing hostility of the Chinese of all classes can best be met, and an ever-present danger averted; and M. de Lavallette, the French ambassador in London, when the intelligence arrived of the attack on the French settlement at Tientsin, based his first con-

memorandum to her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the recognition of a *solidarité* of interests, as well as of dangers, in the following terms:—

Mais que les victimes de ces attentats soient presque exclusivement des Français, on ne saurait contester que des faits pareils révélaient l'existence de dangers qui menacent indistinctement tous les étrangers résidant en Chine.

Whence he draws the conclusion, so true in fact, but so little regarded in practice—

C'est en considérant leurs intérêts comme solidaires dans ces contrées de l'extrême Orient que les Puissances européennes peuvent arriver à assurer à leurs nationaux les garanties et les sécurités stipulées dans les traités.

From this principle, so promptly and frankly invoked by the French ambassador in the disaster that had befallen the French settlement, the question naturally suggests itself, how far, in this missionary question more particularly, and dominating all others, the relations of the French Government with China and their independent action under special conventions can be reconciled with a common interest and a common policy for their advancement.

This evidently occurred to Lord Granville, for, writing to Lord Lyons in Paris in reference to the expressed desire of the French Government for united action, he pointed out, while agreeing in the community of interests, a certain difficulty in 'the different nature of the treaty provisions as affecting the position of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in China, and that in consequence 'there were difficulties in the way of a collective note to the Chinese Government on the subject.' And this is the first obstacle to unity of action in all that concerns the Treaty Powers and a common policy, as a means of defence against the danger that threatens all. Where the acts of one may, or must of necessity, bring equal danger on all, divergencies in policy or action are incompatible with united effort, and therefore fatal to the very principle of such *solidarité* as the French Minister invokes. While sharing unavoidably in a *solidarité* as regards the danger it entails, it cannot be invoked to secure safety in practice. To show this more clearly, we have to inquire what are the divergences in the treaty provisions of France and England bearing upon the missionary question. The treaty of Great Britain made in 1842 had no stipulations about missionaries as such. They had a right of residence in common with other British subjects at the open ports. France made her first treaty in 1846, negotiated by M. Lagrené, without any special provision beyond a stipulation for the toleration of Christianity and liberty to teach. But M. Lagrené induced Keying, the Chinese plenipotentiary, to memorialise the Emperor, and obtained a decree in reply to the effect that 'the religion of the Lord of Heaven, differing widely from that of the heterodox sects, and



the toleration thereof, has been already allowed.' In another paragraph it goes on:—

Let all the ancient houses throughout the provinces which were built in the reign of K'ang-hi (1661-1722), and have been preserved to the present time, and which on personal examination by the proper authorities are clearly found to be their lawful possessions, be restored to the professors of their religion in their respective places, excepting only those churches which have been converted into temples and dwelling-houses for the people.

Without the right of circulation in the interior, however, which was only acquired by foreign officials, missionaries, or merchants under the treaties of 1858, the restitution clause of 1846 proved of little value. But in 1858, after a second war, ending in Chinese defeat, the four Powers all obtained certain privileges for the missionaries of their respective nationalities, and the French in Article VI. of their Convention a clause confirming the above right to exact restitution.

To realise the feeling of the people on learning that they were to be called upon by foreign missionaries to give up property which for a couple of centuries had passed into Chinese hands, and been inherited from generation to generation under the laws of the land, we must try to imagine what would follow in our own country in similar circumstances.

We must suppose a French army could succeed in entering London and there dictating the conditions of peace, and among others one that all the Church property confiscated after the Reformation by Henry VIII. should forthwith be restored to the Roman Catholic Church by the present holders, however acquired, and without compensation, and that the French Government could be appealed to in order to enforce the rigorous execution of the stipulation. What would be the result? Would it be peace and harmony or revolt and a general insurrection?

As regards the obnoxious and invidious position of the French Government, and its action in support of these missionary claims, some judgment may be formed by the refusal recently to allow the French cathedral built in the precincts of the palace and overlooking the Imperial domain to be removed by mutual agreement between the vicar apostolic of Peking and the Chinese Government, at the cost of the latter, to a more eligible site. And yet past experience might show, apart from the equity and fitness of such a measure, that, in its present offensive position, a gathering of students leading the populace might at any moment reduce it to ashes without any power in the French Legation to prevent it, if happily the missionaries and legations together might escape from an infuriated mob, not prone to discrimination and no respecter of persons.

Precisely in the same spirit of contempt for the susceptibilities

of a great people among whom they have to live, and of the Imperial authorities; has been the act of roofing with yellow tiles, reserved to the Emperor's sole use, a church built at Chung King, the scene and the occasion of the last outrage on the Roman Catholic mission, and the rest of the community as a sequence. And how should it be otherwise with such arrogant and wanton provocations?

How different has been the policy adopted by the Protestant Powers in missionary matters could easily be demonstrated if space would permit. And as regards the British Government more especially, the instructions sent to their representatives have invariably, from the beginning, enjoined on all their missionary subjects 'to abstain with a steady purpose from exciting suspicions, to conduct their operations with the utmost prudence, and to insist upon their proselytes not looking upon their conversion to Christianity as releasing them from their general duties as subjects of China.'

As regards our treaties it is known that Lord Elgin, the negotiator of the Treaty of 1850 and the subsequent Convention of 1860, had serious doubts as to the expediency of inserting an article upon the subject of the Christian religion at all. And Sir Thomas Wade, who was acting as official interpreter at the time, has stated his belief that it was Lord Elgin's opinion that, while the enforcement of treaty stipulations affecting the propagation of Christianity was offensive to our own feelings and outraging to the feelings of any other nation which might be compelled to accept such conditions, the cause of Christianity itself could be advanced by nothing so little as political support. And from the same authority we learn that two years later, after the Convention of Peking, a Romish father, long resident in the country, in conversation admitted of his own accord that the personal position of Romish priests in China was anything but ameliorated by the support they now received from the French Government. The comparatively amicable relations previously existing between the missionaries had been disturbed. The mandarins and men of the lettered class who had been formerly friendly stood aloof.<sup>5</sup>

In reference to the clause of the French Convention of 1860 stipulating for the restitution of Church property, we are left in no doubt as to the feeling with which it is regarded by the Chinese Government and people. In the memorandum of Prince Kung, already cited, the following paragraph conveys this very plainly. Thus:—

<sup>5</sup> See *Parliamentary Papers, China*, No. 3, 1871, relating to the massacre of Europeans at Nankin, June 21, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> *China*, No. 3. Correspondence respecting the revision of the Treaties of Tientsin.

In the interest of peace it will not do for the missionaries to be demanding restitution of any chapel they may choose to indicate. During the last few years the restitution of chapels in every province has been insisted upon without any regard for the feeling of the natives, the missionaries obstinately pushing in their claims. They have also pointed out fine handsome houses belonging to, or occupied by, the gentry or others) as buildings once used as churches, and these they have compelled the people to give up. Places even the surrender of which was a question of dignity improper (probably Yamsins are meant), with meeting-houses, clubs, temples—all such places being held in high respect by the gentry and people of the whole neighbourhood—they have forced from them for the benefit of the Church in lieu of other lands or buildings. Buildings which were once used as chapels have been in some cases sold years ago by Christians; and, having been sold and bought by one of the people to another, have passed through the hands of several proprietors. There is also a large number of buildings which have been newly repaired at very considerable expense, of which the missionaries have insisted on the restitution, refusing at the same time to pay anything for them. On the other hand, there are some houses which have become dilapidated, and the missionaries put in a claim for the necessary repair. Their conduct excites the indignation of the people whenever they come in contact with each other, and it becomes impossible for them to live quietly together.

The only wonder would be if they could live quietly together; for such proceedings in any other country would lead to insurrections, if not to a revolution, by a general uprising of the people against the Government that attempted to enforce such a concession to a foreign Power, and at its bidding.

#### IV.

In this evil state of affairs the imperative necessity for measures that may afford some reasonable hope of improvement, if not a permanent and effective remedy for the common interest, must be manifest. In what direction we are to look for a remedy, the knowledge of the true causes of the hostility of a whole population, exceeding in numbers and in the area it occupies the whole of Europe, should suffice to indicate.

The chief cause of the existing hostility and all the mischief it works in its manifestations in increasing frequency and intensity, it can hardly be doubted, lies in missionary propagandism; and not so much in the attempt to introduce a new religion as in the procedure adopted by the Roman Catholic missions, and the exigencies of the French Government in the exercise of an assumed protectorate which has no warrant in treaties.

In this policy, and its effects on the temper and national feeling of the people, so constantly outraged by the missionaries on the one hand, and by the intervention of the French authorities in the support of their pretensions on the other, lies the common danger, because in this isolated action, in which none of the other Treaty Powers are disposed to join or approve, the *solidarité* of interests ceases, and is only exchanged for a community of danger. That is all that remains, if not in principle, in actual practice. And if this be so, it is no less

plate that without a modification of such policy on the part of one there is no practical remedy. We bear a good deal of French susceptibilities, and the respect that should be shown to them. But is it to be assumed that other nations have no susceptibilities for which they are entitled to an equal regard from France? The Chinese are certainly not without theirs, though it has been too much the habit to treat them with contempt. To what other nation in the world would such an affront be offered as to build a cathedral for an alien religion in the precincts of the palace of the reigning sovereign, and against his protest?

Nor is there any provision by treaty to justify a claim on the part of missionaries or foreign Powers for the exemption of proselytes from the obligations of their natural allegiance and from the jurisdiction of their constituted authorities. Yet such things are done, not avowedly, but very certainly not the less to the humiliation of all in authority, and with scandal to the whole population.

We are told it is in the interest of religion; but if this were the single object of the protecting Power, or if it was the real object of French policy in China, it would still be a question whether it could be advanced by such means. Can other Powers forget—it is certain the Chinese cannot and will not—that the actual presence of the French in Annam and Tonquin, and in such close proximity, can be traced to missionary initiative as far back as the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XVI., who each, at the incitement of missionary bishops, sent military and naval expeditions and took possession of ports and territory in Saigon, Siam, and elsewhere; while in these later aggressions and annexations to enforce indemnities, &c., missionary *ingérence* has never been wanting. For the Chinese to believe that religion, and not a political object, directs French policy, must be very difficult.

The course followed by the Republican Government in France, in the persecutions and injuries inflicted upon the Catholic Church within their own country, bears strong evidence of the absence of any profound regard for its interests or that of the religion it professes. So at least many of the French themselves think, and the four Algerian bishops, in a remonstrance they lately addressed to the Senate and Chamber, bear similar evidence, when they urge that 'the persecution of Catholicism at home becomes an argument against the French protectorate of Catholic missions abroad.' M. Paul Bert, fresh from his expulsion of the clergy from their schools and churches, with other injurious dealings, would hardly have been chosen, if they had been consulted, by the Romish missions in Cochin-China as the protector of their interests and the Catholic religion.

The protectorate under these circumstances is illusory in a double sense. It does not protect the missions from outrages; on the

contrary, it is the chief cause of hostility; and it does not advance religion and the work of the missionaries, but constitutes the greatest obstacle.

The Pope has no armies or fleets wherewith to threaten war or attack, but for that reason would be all the more likely to make his intervention acceptable where Christian communities were concerned; and a French war dance at the Tsung-li-Yamen is not calculated to predispose the Chinese Government to encourage missionary settlements in their midst.

We may remember that M. de Freycinet, in a public speech lately delivered at Toulouse, told his constituents that the foreign policy of his Government was to maintain its relations with all the foreign Powers on a footing of mutual consideration; and an appeal to this principle, and for its application in China, should not be disregarded to the detriment of all the chief Powers of the Western world, old and new. They have the strongest claim on any French Government not to conduct its relations with China so as inevitably to create a state of popular feeling incompatible with the maintenance of peaceable intercourse, fatal to the security of life and property in the country, and threatening ruin to the commerce and material interests of all other nationalities.

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

## EXHIBITIONS.

THAT the Great 1851 Exhibition should not have realised all the expectations of its projectors is no great matter for wonder. Few schemes do realise the expectations of their projectors. Of the sixteen thousand inventions for which during the last calendar year their authors sought the protection of a patent, how many will justify the hopes of their inventors? Certainly not ten per cent.—probably not five. Fortunately, however, inventors, projectors, saviours of mankind, and all their enthusiastic *genus*, are blind to the lessons of experience. They never learn the hard truth that their invention—their project—is at most one of the wheels of the machine which is to renovate society—not the machine itself—and that they have done a good day's work if they have shaped their cogs so deftly that the wheel will run smoothly when it is fitted to its place, or that they are luckier than their fellows if they have found a place for it at all. Those who invented exhibitions were unduly sanguine as to the outcome of their project; but, if they had not been, probably they would never have invented exhibitions at all, and the world would have suffered a very decided loss. Enthusiasm is a terrible nuisance, and enthusiasts are terrible bores, but we should lose a great deal if the cult were extinguished.

The first World's Fair did not inaugurate a reign of peace. The modern successors of Trygæus found that the goddess was not to be bribed by commercial advantage more easily now than in the days of Aristophanes. Still, it did its work well for all that. If, like Acts of Parliament and many other human devices, its energy was principally effective in directions not wholly foreseen by its promoters, yet it was effective. If it did not cause the swords and spears to be wrought into plough-shares and reaping-hooks, it led to the former being drawn by steam instead of by horses, and substituted reaping-machines for the latter. Its political influence, its direct effect on the comity of nations, was inconsiderable; but its influence on industrial progress, especially on the industrial progress of England, cannot easily be over-estimated. It gave rise to many industries of a wholly new character—notably to the entire group of artistic industries. Of the great industrial firms now at the head of British trade no small proportion trace, if not their origin,

certainly their first rise to a leading position to the Exhibition of 1851. But for it we should have had to wait another decade for the beneficent reform of the Patent Law, which was actually effected within a twelvemonth of its close, a reform which reduced the cost of a patent from 250*l.* to 25*l.*, and swept away the cumbersome and ridiculous formalities which were almost as great hindrances as the cost in the way of an inventor anxious to obtain due legal protection for his ideas. This Act of 1852 worked admirably for thirty years, and might, with a few of the modifications naturally suggested by experience, have worked well for another thirty, had not our legislators found it easier two years ago to pass a merely popular measure than to consider carefully the points really wanting reform. But for the Exhibition and its educational effect, Parliament would certainly never have passed the 1852 Act in its actual shape, and, if this had been its one solitary result, the labour and money spent on the Exhibition would have been repaid over and over again.

Coming as it did at a time when the world was full of the new discoveries of science; when the railway had just got its web of lines fairly spread over the country; when the telegraph was commencing to stretch across the sea as well as over the land; when chemistry was meditating the conversion of enormous masses of foul waste into products of use and beauty, and photography was ceasing to be a mere scientific curiosity—the Exhibition taught men how enormous were the powers for their use and benefit which nature and the knowledge of nature placed at their disposal. *Segnius irritant animos*; the philosophers had preached to men for years in vain; but when they opened a big shop and spread out specimens of their wares for all to see, the people came, saw, wondered, and went away wiser; readier, at all events in some degree, to accept the benefits of science instead of scoffing at them; inclined, at least to some extent, to treat the searcher after knowledge with admiration instead of wholly with contempt.

Thus the public were educated to purchase, and the manufacturer was taught to produce. Those manufacturers who were quick enough to see this found their advantage in new and extended markets, so that they soon left behind those of their rivals who were content with the more ancient methods. To English manufacturers the collection of foreign examples was at the time an almost unmixed benefit. The English stores of coal and iron, then practically unrivalled, rendered our people careless of competition in the manufacture on which all other manufactures are based—that of iron. In the principal textile industry—the spinning and weaving of cotton—England was first, and there was no second. But in all trades depending on any branch of the fine arts she had everything to learn, and, *vacua*, could chant as loudly as she pleased in the presence of the foreign copyist, baffled by the absence of material for

imitation. Our makers learnt much from the foreigners. If the foreigners got any lessons in return, they were of a sort that could not be put in practice at once. Later on we found that not one side only could profit by knowing how the other worked; at the time the benefit was all our own.

The inauguration of an age of commercialism may or may not have been an unmixed blessing; anyhow, the exhibition inaugurated such an age. We learnt from it the value of 'applied' art and 'applied' science; and since its time we have always estimated any new advance in art, any fresh discovery in science, not as an addition to the sum of human knowledge, but as a means of making human life in some fashion better or happier than it was. The new method is not wholly bad any more than it is wholly good. We should now regard Galileo not as a visionary fanatic, but as a potential benefactor of his kind; instead of locking him up we should lionise him and get up a company to sell his telescopes. Now this state of affairs is distinctly more comfortable for Galileo, and it is better, too, for ourselves.

The first notable results of the Exhibition were its commercial results. It brought in a lot of business to the shop. This was plain to other nations. There was, of course, no reason why these advantages should be left to England alone. France—who, if there is any credit in the matter, may justly claim the credit of having invented industrial exhibitions<sup>1</sup>—soon followed with the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855; but the considerable financial deficit did little to encourage other countries. We ourselves may be said to have had a share in the loss, for the expenditure of the British Commission was so lavish that it is believed to have caused a determination at the Treasury never again to allow large sums, and very seldom to allow any sums at all, to be spent in upholding British credit in foreign exhibitions. At the close of the ten-year period from 1851 we had our second exhibition. Surrounding circumstances, however, were unfavourable, and the promoters were only saved from a deficit by the liberality of the contractors, Messrs. Kelk & Lucas, who made over to the Commissioners a very large sum of money in order to prevent a call upon the guarantors. Great international exhibitions were also held at Vienna in 1873, at Philadelphia in 1876, and in Paris in 1878. Sydney (1879), Melbourne (1880), and Calcutta (1883) have also held international exhibitions, but not on quite so large a scale.

<sup>1</sup> The first National Exhibition appears to have been held in Paris in 1793. It was succeeded by many others, in France and elsewhere. In England the Society of Arts commenced to hold small exhibitions of British arts and manufactures in 1846, and from these started the idea of the 1851 Exhibition. The French had discussed and discarded the idea of making their national exhibitions international, but when the question was submitted for decision to the Prince Consort he at once decided that the 'industries of all nations' should be included.



When the second period of ten years from 1851 was approaching its close, the question of holding a third great exhibition in London came up for consideration. The proposal, however, was soon decided to be impracticable. The narrow escape from financial failure in 1862 rendered the successful raising of a guarantee fund problematical. It was doubtful how far manufacturers, tired of spending money on foreign exhibitions, and with their thirst for medals assuaged, if not entirely satiated, would support a large scheme. Under these circumstances Mr. Cole, ever fruitful of resource and ready with suggestion, came forward with a proposal for a series of annual exhibitions to extend over a period of ten years. Each exhibition was to deal with certain industries or arts, and a scheme was drafted, allotting to each one its share of the work. The Commissioners of 1851 guaranteed 100,000*l.*; the remaining buildings from the 1862 exhibition<sup>2</sup> were assigned for the purposes of the scheme; and in 1871 the first of the series was opened with much pomp and ceremony. It was not wholly unsuccessful. At all events it paid its way. Its successors were less fortunate; each was a heavier loss than the one before it; and in 1874 the series was brought to an end, after the fourth had been held.

It has often been asked, now that a series of special exhibitions has been so successfully carried out, how it was that a similar experiment in 1871 was so dismal a failure. The reasons are simple enough. The building was unsuitable. It was practically one enormous passage, running round a central square garden. Visitors were sick of its interminable length before they had got half round it; it was by no means well adapted for the exhibition of goods; there was no main building or central hall; and as for any general *coup d'œil*, it was out of the question. Then the Exhibition authorities and the Horticultural Society got to loggerheads, and in the later exhibitions the gardens were absolutely closed to the visitors to the Exhibition. Finally, the administration was not all that could have been desired. Nothing so soon strangles an exhibition as red tape, and the place was managed as if it were a Government department. There was a good deal of military routine and an utter absence of that suave geniality which we have got of late years to associate with the management of exhibitions. Mr. Cole, one of the ablest and most powerful men of his generation, a wonderful organiser, and (with some deficiencies) a most capable administrator, was not popular, and seemed never to know what the public would like; perhaps he never greatly cared. He generally had his way, bending to his will all with whom he had to deal; but he got his way by bearing down opposition in a fashion which by no

<sup>2</sup> Certain of these buildings were of a permanent character. They include the arcades of the Horticultural Gardens, and generally the buildings surrounding the Gardens on the east, west, and south sides, now used for the most part for housing certain of the South Kensington Museum collections.

manners endeared him to those whose opinions he overrode. Everybody who has an honest liking for a strong man must admire and respect Henry Cole. He always knew what he wanted, and he generally got it. Nothing stopped him. He carried out his views with the most absolute disregard for the abuse and contumely which was poured upon him by his enemies. No criticism, no ridicule, made him swerve for an instant from the line he chose to take. He would collect and show to his friends the most bitter caricatures of himself and his associates, and was pleased, when a savage onslaught was made on him by a newspaper, at the attention thereby drawn to his proposals. He was absolutely fearless, a terror to his superiors, but respected, and for the most part liked, by his subordinates. But he was not a good man to reconcile conflicting interests, or to pacify discontented exhibitors. Here, probably, was the principal reason why the excellent series of exhibitions which he proposed did not prosper under his management.

The failure of this scheme was thought to have put a stop to exhibitions in this country, at all events for a long time. In other countries they were held with success, and English manufacturers found it worth their while to contribute. Here they were by many people said to be dead. Their multiplication is not popular with manufacturers. The man who has made his reputation is quite content to let matters rest, and until there has grown up a sufficient number of rivals who would like to make their reputations too, his natural objection to exhibitions meets with no opponents. The enormous and unwieldy size of a universal exhibition was an objection, the force of which was felt more and more with each succeeding show. It was evident that if exhibitions were to be held at all they must be limited in scope, and, despite the failure of the 1871 series, Mr. Cole's ideas were far from being dead. How successful a special exhibition might be was indeed shown by the Manchester Fine Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, an experiment which has since remained unrivalled, though an attempt has been made to imitate it in the not very successful collection at Folkestone this year.

Putting this aside, we may reckon the Loan Collection of scientific apparatus shown in 1876 at South Kensington as the first special exhibition of importance. As nothing of the sort is perfect, opportunities for criticism were not wanting. The expenditure was somewhat lavish; the arrangement and cataloguing left something to be desired. Unfortunately it happened that some of the more active promoters were the objects of bitter personal hostility to the members of another class of scientific men, and, as some of these latter had great influence in the press, the exhibition came in for a good deal of abuse really intended for its organisers. The class to which it appealed, the class of scientific students, was a small one, and no

attempt was made to attract the general public. A few years later, in the early days of the telephone and the electric light, it would have been as popular among sightseers as it was valued among scientific men. As it was the public did not care for it, and the students of science were not numerous enough to support it.

That the Loan Collection was a little before its time was proved by the success of the special Electrical Exhibitions in Paris (1881), Vienna (1883), and Philadelphia (1884). These were of a strictly scientific character, but they dealt with a subject which was popular for the moment, and so they attracted that attention from the general public without which no enterprise of the sort can possibly prosper.

Another example of an exhibition dealing with a special subject was the Smoke Abatement Exhibition of 1882. This was practically a private speculation, and is understood to have cost its public-spirited promoters a good deal of money. It certainly did much in educating the public as to the best and most economical methods of using fuel, and a very distinct improvement in our grates and ranges may be traced to it.

The origin of the magnificent series of exhibitions now just brought to a close at South Kensington is interesting, and affords a good illustration of the difficulty of forecasting the issue of such enterprises. The holding of several successful fishery exhibitions in Germany and France induced some gentlemen to start a similar exhibition at Norwich. The success of this attempt suggested a repetition of the exhibition on a larger scale in London. At first the thing hung fire for a bit, as such schemes will, but it was taken up by the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales, influential support was found for it, and the proposal became popular. A start was made; the enterprise grew bigger and bigger until it got to be a little too big for amateur hands. The assistance of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen was called in, and his long experience of such affairs soon enabled the Fisheries Exhibition to be organised on a scale far beyond the original intentions of its promoters. He was ably supported by those who had started the idea, and some of them not only gave their time and their labour, but took upon themselves the heavy pecuniary risks involved in an enterprise of such magnitude. The Prince of Wales, besides lending his influence, gave the benefit of his advice and his special knowledge of exhibitions. Popular tastes were consulted to an extent never before attempted at any exhibition, and provision made for the amusement, as well as the instruction, of visitors. The best part of the Horticultural Gardens was given up for promenaders, bands were provided, and of an evening the garden was illuminated. Success was complete. London had got what it had long wanted—an outdoor lounge at once pleasant and respectable; Vauxhall or Cremorne without the doubtful

characteristic of either. Everything went well, and the result was a considerable financial surplus.

No successful experiment could not fail to be repeated. The Prince of Wales was now thoroughly interested, and, after due consideration, he announced a series of three exhibitions to be held under his direction. Carried out on the lines of the Fisheries, the Health, Inventions, and Colonial and Indian Exhibitions have been each in its own way an advance upon its predecessor. The Health made a surplus, after paying its expenses. The Inventions—more costly in arrangement and maintenance—after using up the balance from the Health, left certain liabilities to be discharged by the Colonies. Together, the three will doubtless turn out to have paid their way.<sup>3</sup> That those who are responsible for the management should feel anxious for the financial solvency of their organisation is but natural; but, considering what these three exhibitions have done for Londoners—to say nothing of others than Londoners—the opinion may fairly be expressed that it does not matter a pin whether they result in a moderate deficit or a large surplus. In any other country the balance would be paid by the Government as a matter of course. Here we administer by purely private enterprise a concern the revenue of which is 100,000*l.* per annum. That is about what an exhibition costs. Carefully managed, there may be a surplus of 5,000*l.*—five per cent. Treat the public a little more liberally, give them a little more for their money, and the surplus is gone. The proper object of the managers of an exhibition should be—and the object of the managers of these exhibitions has been—not to make a profit, but to dispense all their income without getting into debt; to sail as near the wind as possible. This ought to be understood; and if the guarantors should be called upon to pay up—say five to ten per cent. of the guarantee—they ought not, and they probably would not, grumble at the notion. For this series of exhibitions has been a real gain to London. It has provided a cheap, harmless, and pleasant source of recreation to many thousands.<sup>4</sup> It has formed a

<sup>3</sup> The surplus of the Fisheries (amounting to 15,000*l.*) was devoted to the establishment of a Home for Fishermen's Orphans. The finances of the other three exhibitions were so far treated in common that the profits of any of them were arranged to be available against the losses of any other. The ill-natured statements occasionally made as to misappropriations of funds are pure invention, though it may perhaps be a matter for regret that the publication of the accounts of each exhibition has been delayed till the conclusion of the series. There is no reason to suppose that such separate publication would have caused any confusion or inconvenience, and it would have prevented a good deal of rather spiteful criticism.

<sup>4</sup> The total number of visitors to the whole of the series may be taken as fifteen and a half millions. It is not possible to judge how many individuals this means. The same person paying ten visits counts of course as ten. It was calculated at one of the exhibitions that each season-ticket holder went on an average twenty-five times. A very large proportion can only have paid a single visit. Supposing that on an average everybody who went to any of the exhibitions at all went twice to each, we should get a total of nearly two million individuals who had been amused and instructed.

source of valuable instruction at all events to a portion of the vast crowds who have visited South Kensington since 1881. It has promoted trade to a considerable extent, and by the last of the four exhibitions it has done not a little towards strengthening the feelings of good-fellowship and kindness existing between the mother-country and her colonies.

Naturally there is something to be said on the other side. The tradesmen of London appear to have a genuine cause of complaint in the introduction into their midst of an enormous bazaar, full of shops whose tenants have their rents and taxes paid for them, and who consequently can afford to sell at a cheaper rate. The providers of public amusements grumble because their houses are emptied by the cheaper and more novel attractions of South Kensington. As regards the last class, it is surely a sufficient answer to say that they must put up with legitimate competition, and that, if they want to get hold of the public's shillings, they must find out some means of enticing the public back from the Circe's garden at Brompton to the joys of the legitimate drama and the elevating pleasures of the music-hall.

The tradesmen have more reason in their wail. The class affected would not appear to be a very large one, since, after all, the main necessities of life were not provided in Old London, even when the mediæval character of that interesting thoroughfare was completed by the introduction of sweet-stuff shops and stalls for the sale of photographs. Nor can even the competition of the 'Colonial Market' seriously injure the revenues of the West-End butchers and greengrocers. Still, the grievance is a legitimate one, and it is also for the most part unnecessary. It is not of the essence of an exhibition that it should be a bazaar. The executive has always sufficient power to prevent sales if they like to exercise it. When, indeed, the exhibition is 'international,' there is a divided authority, and difficulties arise. The earlier exhibitions of the present series were, at all events, in name international, and it is not too much to say that the real difficulty was mainly due to this fact. The foreign Commissioners, naturally anxious to fill up their courts, did not in all cases very scrupulously investigate the claims of applicants for space, and so many English firms got in under the shelter of a foreign name. These people, having been put to trouble and expense in acquiring their rights, naturally tried to recoup themselves, and were the most persistent sellers in the show. They were protected by theegis of their adopted country, and the dread of international complications prevented their being so readily disposed of as otherwise they might have been. There were also the authorised stalls in Old London, and the 'markets' of the Fisheries and the Colonies. For the existence of the stalls there was not much reason. They brought no profit to the executive and no credit to the Exhibition.

The Fisheries market was an attempt to improve the conditions under which an important article of food is supplied to London, and the Colonial market is intended to bring directly to the knowledge of consumers the food supplies of our Colonies. There is, indeed, one class of goods which almost of necessity must be sold within an Exhibition. When a firm undertakes to illustrate a process of manufacture, it is a common stipulation that the articles made, if suitable, are to be allowed to be sold. This is a reasonable plan; and so long as the privilege is exercised in a reasonable fashion, it should always be allowed. Perhaps it might be well in future to safeguard it by requiring that a special permit, liable to revocation, should be obtained in such cases as the executive thought necessary, and that without it no sales, even of articles made in the Exhibition, would be allowed.

On the whole, it will, perhaps, be admitted that the grievance of the tradesmen is not a very heavy one; but that it is a pity that it was not, as it might have been, reduced within such narrow limits as to have made it quite inconsiderable.

An exhibition is, of course, an enormous advertising agency, and to say this is not in the faintest degree to disparage the exhibition system. Traders and customers are brought together in a perfectly legitimate and useful manner. The customer can see for himself the best wares the manufacturer can produce, and the manufacturer has the opportunity of discovering which of his products attract the most notice and the highest praise. But in order to render the advertisement permanent, it is desirable to give the successful exhibitor some testimony of his success. In other words, a system of prizes is necessary. To decide what should be the character of these prizes, and to award them fairly, has been the greatest difficulty in all large exhibitions. In 1851 it was first proposed to offer prizes of great value. A first prize of 5,000*l.* was even talked about. Eventually, however, prizes of three grades were decided upon—the council medal, the prize medal, and the honourable mention. To make these awards, a jury system was elaborated which certainly has not been since improved. The most competent men in the country, aided by foreign nominees selected with equal care, gave a vast amount of time to the careful inspection of all the miscellaneous collection, and produced a prize-list as little liable to cavil as such a list could be. Of course there were jealousies, international and other. Of course there were disappointments and mistakes. The former were in the nature of the case inevitable; the latter were not numerous.

With the growth of exhibitions the inherent difficulties increased. First, the value of the medals, their actual trade value, proved to be very high, probably much higher than was anticipated. It might have been thought that at the present time their value

would have been discounted, considering the great number that have been distributed and the doubtful manner in which some of them have been obtained. But it is not so. At the Inventions Exhibition last year, the competition was as keen, the anxiety amongst makers of the highest standing was as great, as ever. New firms are anxious to get on a level with, or ahead of, their rivals of established reputation, and old firms, who would have been content enough to have let well alone without any exhibition at all, are afraid of their rivals being able to say they are surpassed and beaten at last. 'This means a difference of hundreds a week to my firm' is a remark that has been made more than once in the case of a disputed award.

With such large pecuniary interests depending on the decisions of the juries, it would be idle to assume that the difficulties of selection are not very gravely enhanced. The jurors must not only be painstaking and honest, but they must be in position and in reputation quite above suspicion. When it is remembered that a juror is expected to devote a good many hours, or rather days, to laborious and unpaid work; that he is certain to incur the enmity of a considerable portion of the disappointed; that he will be accused of unfairness, carelessness, ignorance, and malice, at all events by a smaller portion of the same class; and that he has for his reward only the conspicuousness of merit fortunately attendant on any completed task—it is no small testimony to the amount of public spirit existing in the world that so many men are ready to undertake the work. For it is to be borne in mind that almost nobody concerned can be satisfied. If there are, say, three classes of medals—gold, silver, and bronze—it is certain that nobody will be quite content who has not a gold medal. Then, even the man with a gold medal is dissatisfied if his rival has one, too; while even the single holder of a gold medal in his own class has been known to urge that the several classes of articles shown by him were of such separate and distinct natures that they required the recognition of a separate medal for each.

Thus at the commencement of the work the difficulty arises of finding suitable jurors—men not only competent for the work, but likely to be tolerably acceptable to the exhibitors—and of inducing them to undertake the duties. In two of the present series of exhibitions—the Health and the Inventions Exhibitions—the device was adopted of asking each exhibitor to nominate three persons, in the hope that at all events a list would be provided from which a proper selection might be made, and with the idea also that the exhibitors would be less ready to find fault if the awards were made by their own nominees. In practice the plan met with but moderate success. In the Health Exhibition, a few well-known sanitarians received a large number of votes, and these would certainly all have been asked to serve

in any event. Most of the other names suggested had but one or two votes, and a few had three. All who had more than three votes, unless they were considered unsuitable, were invited to serve. Many of them declined, and in the end a large proportion of the juries had to be made up without much reference to the suggestions. In the Inventions the nominations were even less valuable. The nominations of the exhibitors were too varied to be of much service. In both exhibitions it was evident that many exhibitors merely suggested some one likely to take a favourable view of their own wares, and were more anxious to secure a friend at court than to aid in the selection of an unbiassed jury. In a few cases it was ascertained that some exhibitors had agreed to nominate the same person, and had selected gentlemen whose qualifications did not appear very striking to others than their proposers. On the whole, the system of universal suffrage disappointed its projectors. It was very little help; and, if it prevented objections being taken to the jurors selected, that is as much as can be said for it. It must be borne in mind that the experiment was tried with absolute honesty, and that the Commissioners who in both exhibitions selected the jurors would have been extremely pleased if their task had been rendered easier by a sufficient consensus of opinion as to the best appointments. When foreign jurors are to be appointed, the appointment naturally rests with the country exhibiting. The central executive is therefore relieved of a part of the responsibility, though difficulties of a different sort are plentiful enough. The alien juror naturally feels that his first duty is to his own fellow-countrymen, and, with every wish to be honest, he is naturally more appreciative of their merits, and possesses a keener sense of their deserts. If representatives of firms exhibiting are not considered to be eligible, the choice is still further limited. Generally they have been considered free to serve, their exhibits being placed *hors concours*. Probably from the use of a foreign tongue, this has always been considered a distinction quite equivalent to a gold medal, and was therefore much sought after. At the Inventions a rule was laid down that no exhibitor should act on a jury; but there was probably little advantage in the alteration, and it was found to work inconveniently by excluding the services of several competent and willing jurors.

The juries once appointed, it becomes necessary to make arrangements to ensure that the whole miscellaneous mass of contributions is properly inspected, and by the proper men. This is a very troublesome and very difficult task, but it is only a matter of minute and careful organisation. If the original classification of the goods has been carefully prepared, the work is much simplified, and with the experience of so many previous exhibitions as a guide there is not now any real difficulty in preparing a proper classification.



Of course anomalies will be discovered, generally too late for remedy. The inventor of a meat-tin opener, which has been condemned by a jury of culinary experts, points out that a special application of his instrument is for drawing teeth, and complains that he has been misled by the judges of surgical apparatus. A new patent horse-shoe is discovered as part of a collection of ornamental iron-work — and so weiter; but, after all, care and attention suffice to prevent such mishaps.

But after all comes the real hardship to those who are honestly endeavouring to carry out the work in a satisfactory fashion, whether as jurymen or as organisers and directors. They know that, try as hard as they may, they cannot make absolutely just awards, they cannot fairly discriminate between the merits of the different competing articles. How can a mere inspection enable the cleverest engineer to decide which of two steam engines, each possessing special and untried features of novelty, is the best? Or two looms, or two reaping-machines, or two dynamos? He can only go by his own experience, or by what he has heard of the outside performances of the machines. A proper series of experimental tests, spread over the whole of the articles shown, would take years of time and cost thousands of pounds. And so the awards have to be made in a more or less hap-hazard way. Generally a rough and ready justice, like that of the Eastern *cadi* of fiction, is done, but many cases of hardship occur, and it is the knowledge of this that renders the work of the juries so unsatisfactory to those who enter upon it with a real anxiety to carry it out fairly and well. If the jury awards were estimated at their true value, as guaranteeing a certain standard of excellence, as expressing a favourable opinion given under qualifying conditions, it would not matter so much; but as it is, they are, naturally enough, put forward by their winners as testimony of supreme excellence, and it would appear that the public accept them as such.

Several times attempts have been made to base the awards upon actual tests. In 1874 the Society of Arts undertook an elaborate series of tests of the stoves shown in the exhibition of that year. The tests attempted were too elaborate and minute; before they were completed the money allotted for the purpose was all spent, and the attempt was abandoned. The authorities of the Smoke Abatement Exhibition in 1882 profited by their predecessors' experience, and carried to a conclusion the tests on which they based their awards. But the value of the tests has often been disputed, and it is doubtful how far their results had any correspondence with the results which would have been obtained by longer trials in ordinary practice. These, however, were trials of a single class of inventions only, and no conclusions could well be drawn from them as to the application of practical tests to the contents of a miscellaneous exhibition. The

Royal Agricultural Society have shown infants even the value of careful and accurate testing of motors and machines capable of actual trial, and they could also testify how easily and how carefully conducted such trials must be if they are to be of actual use.

It will be allowed, therefore, that the honest discharge of jury work is beset with difficulties. And all the work is not honest. Illegitimate influence of every sort is but too often brought to bear on all who have it in their power to advance the claims of some of the competitors. I believe that in the great exhibitions such influences have rarely had much success, but in those of the second class favouritism, to use no stronger term, has been far too common. This part of the subject is not pleasant. Let it suffice to say that, if the public will regard with suspicion—or rather treat as of no value—any awards but those made at exhibitions under the highest authority, no great injustice will be done to anybody.

It is very possible that the multiplication of prize medals, and the doubtful value of any but those of the highest class, may before very long put an end to the system, though from what has been said above it may be judged that there are not at present many signs of such a tendency. Some there are. Many firms decline to exhibit, and are not to be tempted by such baits. The chances are that they are losers. Medals apart, the profits gained by exhibitors from increased trade are generally considerable. Any exhibitor who can make and sell articles—especially articles of food—will drive a roaring trade. Even manufacturers of heavy goods are tolerably certain to cover their expenses, unless these expenses are on a very lavish scale indeed.

The future of exhibitions, at all events in this country, cannot fail to be very greatly affected by the foundation of the Imperial Institute suggested by the Prince of Wales, since, whatever may be the eventual nature of the Institute, it is certain to fulfil, at all events in great part, the functions of an exhibition. The precise character of the Institute is not yet known. If it is to take the high place among English institutions which is evidently intended by its royal founder, this much may safely be said—that it must be permitted to develop itself gradually, to attain completion by a certain process of evolution. Experience does not teach us to expect success for institutions, however promisingly conceived, which are launched complete into existence. Gradual growth would appear to be an almost necessary condition of permanence in the political as in the physical world.

The ablest councils and the fullest experience are at the command of its founder, and it cannot be doubted that the constitution for the new Institute will be drafted in the wisest, the most judicious manner possible. May it be permitted to express a hope that it will not be too complete, that it will be to the utmost possible extent elastic,

that it will permit of growth in every imaginable direction, and even in directions not now imaginable? Not the wisest of us can forecast the future development of any human institution. Is it not therefore well to leave the influences of the future, unaccompanied by restrictions now apparently desirable, but perhaps suited to the changed conditions of half a generation onward, to mould that development for itself? To give examples of institutions that have profited by freedom or suffered by restrictive conditions would be a task not less easy than invidious. Perhaps the moral may be accepted without the need for an instance, and may serve as a contribution to the discussion from the opposite side to that of those who ask that a fully completed scheme may be submitted before their adhesion to a large and liberal project is to be expected.

The object of the Institute is defined with perfect clearness in the letter addressed to the Lord Mayor, in which his Royal Highness gave publicity to his proposal: the encouragement of the arts, manufactures, and commerce of the Empire. The means by which this end is to be attained is the question. Some suggest themselves obviously enough. Of these, the first is a Museum or collection of Colonial and Indian products. The proposal for a Colonial Museum has several times been put forward, and could not fail to suggest itself as the outcome of the magnificent collection now at South Kensington. From the British Museum at one end of the list to the International Exhibition at the other end, there are many grades. What precise place should be occupied by the Imperial Institute is a matter which has been a good deal discussed, and will be discussed a good deal more. Those who would yield something to the popular demand for a place of amusement might fairly urge that the gardens at Kew detract nothing from the value of the botanical collections there, or those of the Luxembourg from the character of the adjoining galleries. However, be this as it may, it may fairly be assumed that part of the Institute will consist of a Colonial Museum, in which the natural products, the physical characteristics, the arts and the manufactures of the Colonies will be fully represented. If it be found possible to relegate specimens of purely scientific value to their places in such collections as the Natural History Museum, Kew Gardens, or the Museum of the Pharmaceutical Society, the purposes of the scientific student will be better served, without the value of the general Colonial collection being greatly lessened.

As regards the discussion of Colonial matters, whether political, commercial, or scientific, doubts must suggest themselves whether it will be found practicable to carry on in what will really be a State institution such full and free controversy as alone can be of value. Possibly on investigation it may be found best to leave this work in the hands of private, and therefore independent, bodies. To the provision of popular lectures, of a character to diffuse useful



## MULTIPLEX PERSONALITY.

"Ὅσων γ' ἄλλοις μετέφην, τόσων ἐπ' ἑσέως εἶδ' ἔτι καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἄλλοις ἐπίσταται.

EMPEDOCLUS.

I PURPOSE in this paper briefly to suggest certain topics for reflection, topics which will need to be more fully worked out elsewhere. My theme is the multiplex and mutable character of that which we know as the Personality of man, and the practical advantage which we may gain by discerning and working upon this as yet unrecognised modifiability. I shall begin by citing a few examples of hysterical transfer, of morbid disintegration; I shall then show that these spontaneous readjustments of man's being are not all of them pathological or retrogressive; nay, that the familiar changes of sleep and waking contain the hint of further alternations which may be beneficially acquired. And, lastly, I shall point out that we can already by artificial means induce and regulate some central nervous changes which effect physical and moral good; changes which may be more restorative than sleep, more rapid than education. Here, I shall urge, is an avenue open at once to scientific and to philanthropic endeavour, a hope which hangs neither on fable nor on fancy, but is based on actual experience and consists with rational conceptions of the genesis and evolution of man.

I begin, then, with one or two examples of the pitch to which the dissociation of memories, faculties, sensibilities may be carried, without resulting in mere insane chaos, mere demented oblivion. These cases as yet are few in number. It is only of late years—and it is mainly in France—that *savants* have recorded with due care those psychical lessons, deeper than any art of our own can teach us, which natural anomalies and aberrant instances afford.

Pre-eminent among the priceless living documents which nature thus offers to our study stand the singular personages known as Louis V. and Félida X. Félida's name at least is probably familiar to most of my readers; but Louis V.'s case is little known, and although some account of it has already been given in English,<sup>1</sup> it will be needful to recall certain particulars in order to introduce the speculations which follow.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Mental Science* for January 1885. *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, part 2. 1886 (Trübner & Co.).

Louis V. began life (in 1863) as the neglected child of a turbulent mother. He was sent to a reformatory at two years old, and there showed himself, as he has always done when his organisation has given him a chance, quiet, well-behaved, and obedient. Then at fourteen years old he had a great fright from a viper—a fright which threw him off his balance and started the series of psychical oscillations on which he has been tossed ever since. At first the symptoms were only physical, epilepsy and hysterical paralysis of the legs; and at the asylum of Bonneval, whither he was next sent, he worked at tailoring steadily for a couple of months. Then suddenly he had a hysterico-epileptic attack—fifty hours of convulsions and ecstacy—and when he awoke from it he was no longer paralysed, no longer acquainted with tailoring, and no longer virtuous. His memory was set back, so to say, to the moment of the viper's appearance, and he could remember nothing since. His character had become violent, greedy, and quarrelsome, and his tastes were radically changed. For instance, though he had before the attack been a total abstainer, he now not only drank his own wine but stole the wine of the other patients. He escaped from Bonneval, and after a few turbulent years, tracked by his occasional relapses into hospital or madhouse, he turned up once more at the Rochefort asylum in the character of a private of marines, convicted of theft but considered to be of unsound mind. And at Rochefort and La Rochelle, by great good fortune, he fell into the hands of three physicians—Professors Bourm and Burot, and Dr. Mabilie—able and willing to continue and extend the observations which Dr. Camuset at Bonneval and Dr. Jules Voisin at Bicêtre had already made on this most precious of *mauvais sujets* at earlier points in his chequered career.<sup>2</sup>

He is now no longer at Rochefort, and Dr. Burot informs me that his health has much improved, and that his peculiarities have in great part disappeared. I must, however, for clearness' sake, use the present tense in briefly describing his condition at the time when the long series of experiments were made.

The state into which he has gravitated is a very unpleasant one. There is paralysis and insensibility of the right side, and (as is often the case in right hemiplegia) the speech is indistinct and difficult. Nevertheless he is constantly haranguing any one who will listen to him, abusing his physicians, or preaching, with a monkey-like impudence rather than with reasoned clearness, radicalism in politics and atheism in religion. He makes bad jokes, and if any one pleases him he endeavours to caress him. He remembers recent events

<sup>2</sup> For Dr. Camuset's account see *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, 1883, p. 75; for Dr. Voisin's, *Archives de Neurologie*, Sept. 1885. The observations at Rochefort have been carefully recorded by Dr. Berjon, *La Grande Hôpital des Fous*, Paris, 1886. The subject was again discussed at the recent meeting (Nancy, Aug. 1890) of the French Association for the Advancement of Science, when Professor Burot promised a longer treatise on the subject.

during his residence at the Rochefort asylum, but only two scraps of his life before that date—namely, his sickness period at Biondini and report of his stay at Biotta.

Except this strangely fragmentary memory, there is nothing very unusual in this condition, and in many asylums no experiments on it would have been attempted. Fortunately the physicians of Rochefort were familiar with the efficacy of the contact of metals in provoking transfer of hysterical hemiplegia from one side to the other. They tried various metals in turn on Louis V. Lead, silver, and zinc had no effect. Copper produced a slight return of sensibility in the paralysed arm. But steel, applied to the right arm, transferred the whole insensibility to the left side of the body.

Inexplicable as such a phenomenon certainly is, it is sufficiently common (as French physicians hold) in hysterical cases to excite little surprise. What puzzled the doctors was the change of character which accompanied the change of sensibility. When Louis V. issued from the crisis of transfer, with its minute of anxious expression and panting breath, he was what might fairly be called a new man. The restless insolence, the savage impulsiveness, have wholly disappeared. The patient is now gentle, respectful, and modest. He can speak clearly now, but he only speaks when he is spoken to. If he is asked his views on religion and politics, he prefers to leave such matters to wiser heads than his own. It might seem that morally and intellectually the patient's cure had been complete.

But now ask him what he thinks of Rochefort; how he liked his regiment of marines. He will blankly answer that he knows nothing of Rochefort, and was never a soldier in his life. 'Where are you, then, and what is the date of to-day?' 'I am at Bièvre; it is January 2, 1884; and I hope to see M. Voisin to-day, as I did yesterday.'

It is found, in fact, that he has now the memory of two short periods of life (different from those which he remembers when his right side is paralysed), periods during which, so far as can now be ascertained, his character was of this same decorous type and his paralysis was on the left side.

These two conditions are what are now termed his first and his second, out of a series of six or more through which he can be made to pass. For brevity's sake I will further describe his fifth state only.

If he is placed in an electric bath, or if a magnet be placed on his head, it looks at first sight as though a complete physical cure had been effected. All paralysis, all defect of sensibility, has disappeared. His movements are light and active, his expression gentle and timid. But ask him where he is, and you find that he has gone back to a boy of fourteen, that he is at St. Urbain, his first

voluntary, and that his memory returns to a state of childhood, and stops short on the very day when he had the fight with the viper. If he is pressed to recollect the incidents of the fight, a violent epileptiform crisis puts a sudden end to this phase of his personality.

Is there, then, the reader may ask, any assignable law which governs these strange revelations? any reason why Louis V. should at one moment seem a mere lunatic or savage, at another moment should rise into decorous manhood, at another should recover his physical soundness, but sink backward in mind into the child? Briefly, and with many reserves and technicalities purposely omitted, the view of the doctors who have watched him is somewhat as follows: A sudden shock, falling on an unstable organisation, has effected in this boy a profounder severance between the functions of the right and left hemispheres of the brain than has perhaps ever been observed before. We are accustomed, of course, to see the right side of the body paralysed and insensible in consequence of injury to the left hemisphere, which governs it, and *vice versa*. And we are accustomed in hysterical cases—cases where there is no actual traceable injury to either hemisphere—to see the defects in sensation and motility shift rapidly—shift, as I may say, at a touch—from one side of the body to the other. But we cannot usually trace any corresponding change in the mode of functioning of what we assume as the 'highest centres,' the centres which determine those manifestations of intelligence, character, memory, on which our *identity* mainly depends. Yet in some cases of *aphasia* and of other forms of *asemia* (the loss of power over *signs*, spoken or written words and the like) phenomena have occurred which have somewhat prepared us to find that the loss of power to use the left—which certainly is in some ways the more developed—hemisphere may bring with it a retrogression in the higher characteristics of human life. And the singular phenomenon of *automatic writing* (as I have tried elsewhere to show<sup>1</sup>) seems often to depend on an obscure action of the less-used hemisphere. Those who have followed these lines of observation may be somewhat prepared to think it possible that in Louis V.'s case the alternate predominance of right or left hemisphere affects memory and character as well as motor and sensory innervation. Inhibit his left brain (and right side) and he becomes, as one may say, not only left-handed but *childish*; he manifests himself through nervous arrangements which have reached a lower degree of evolution. And he can represent in memory those periods only when his personality had assumed the same attitude, when he had crystallised about the same point.

Inhibit his right brain, and the higher qualities of character remain, like the power of speech, intact. There is self-control; there

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research*, vol. III. (Trübner & Co.).



is stolidity; there is the sense of duty—the qualities which man has developed as he has risen from the savage level. But nevertheless he is only half himself. Besides the hemiplegia, which is a matter of course, memory is truncated too, and he can summon up only such fragments of the past as chance to have been linked with this one abnormal state, leaving unrecalled not only the period of sinister inward ascendancy, but the normal period of childhood, before his *Wesen* was thus gloven in twain. And now if by some art we can restore the equipoise of the two hemispheres again, if we can throw him into a state in which no physical trace is left of the severance which has become for him a second nature, what may we expect to find as the psychical concomitant of this restored integrity? What we do find is a change in the patient which, in the glimpse of psychical possibilities which it offers us, is among the most interesting of all. He is, if I may so say, born again; he becomes as a little child; he is set back in memory, character, knowledge, powers, to the days before this trouble came upon him or his worse self assumed its sway.

I have begun with the description of an extreme case, a case which to many of my readers may seem incredible in its *bizarrierie*. But though it is extreme it is not really isolated; it is approached from different sides by cases already known. The mere resumption of life at an earlier moment, for instance, is of course only an exaggeration of a phenomenon which frequently appears after cerebral injury. The trainer, stunned by the kick of a horse, completes his order to loosen the girths the moment that trepanning has been successfully performed. The old lady struck down at a card party, and restored to consciousness after long insensibility, surprises her weeping family by the inquiry, 'What are trumps?' But in these common cases there is but a morsel cut out of life; the personality reawakens as from sleep and is the same as of old. With Louis V. it is not thus; the memories of the successive stages are not lost but juxtaposed, as it were, in separate compartments; nor can one say what epochs are in truth intercalary, or in what central channel the stream of his being flows.

Self-severances profound as Louis V.'s are naturally to be sought mainly in the lunatic asylum.<sup>4</sup> There indeed we find duplicated individuality in its grotesquer forms. We have the man who has always lost himself and insists on looking for himself under the bed. We have the man who maintains that there are two of him, and sends his plate a second time, remarking, 'I have had plenty, but the other fellow has not.' We have the man who maintains that

<sup>4</sup> The cases cited here come mainly from Krahnke's *Neuropathische Charakterschwächen*. Several of them will be found cited in Ribot's admirable monograph *Maladies de la Personnalité*.

he is himself and his brother too, and when asked how he can possibly be both at once, replies, 'Oh, by a different machine.'

Or sometimes the personality oscillates from one form to another, and the rival impulses, which in us merely vary different moods, objectify themselves each in a person of its own. An hysterical penitent believes himself one week to be 'Sœur Mathie des Clés Flétes,' and the next week relapses into an imaginary 'Madame Foulmire,' with tastes recalling a quite other than conventual model. Another patient seems usually sane enough, but at intervals he lets his beard grow, and is transformed into a swaggering lieutenant of artillery. The excess over, he shaves his beard and becomes once more a lucid though melancholy student of the early Fathers. Such changes of character, indeed, may be rapid and varied to any extent which the patient's experience of life will allow. In one well-known case a poor lady varied her history, her character, even her sex, from day to day. One day she would be an emperor's bride, the next an imprisoned statesman—

Juvenis quondam, nunc femina, Cæneus,  
Rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.

Yet more instructive, though often sadder still, are the cases where the disintegration of personality has not reached the pitch of insanity, but has ended in a bewildered impotence, in the horror of a lifelong dream. Speaking generally, such cases fall under two main heads—those where the loss of control is mainly over *motor* centres, and the patient can feel but cannot act; and those where the loss of control is mainly over *sensory* centres, and the patient acts but cannot feel.

Inability to act just as we would wish to act is a trouble in which we most of us share. We probably have moods in which we can even sympathise with that provoking patient of Esquirol's who, after an attack of monomania, recovered all those social gifts which made him the delight of his friends, but could no longer be induced to give five minutes' attention to the most urgent business. 'Your advice,' he said cordially to Esquirol, 'is thoroughly good. I should ask nothing better than to follow it, if you could further oblige me with the power to *will* what I please.' Sometimes the whole life is spent in the endeavour to perform trifling acts—as when a patient of M. Billod's spent nearly an hour in trying to make the flourish under his signature to a power of attorney; or tried in vain for three hours, with hat and gloves on, to leave his room and go out to a pageant which he much wished to see. Such cases need heroic treatment, and this gentleman had the luck to be caught and cured by the Revolution of 1848.

Still more mournful are the cases where it is mainly the sensory

visions which lie, at the time, outside the personality; when thought and will remain intact, but the world around no longer stir the wanted feelings, nor even reach the solitary soul. 'In all my acts one thing is lacking—the sense of effort that should accompany them, the sense of pleasure that they should yield.' 'All things,' said another sufferer, 'are immeasurably distant from me; they are covered with a heavy veil.' 'Men seem to move round me,' said another, 'like moving shadows.' And gradually this sense of ghastly vacancy extends to the patient's own person. 'Each of my organs, each part of me, is separate from myself.' 'J'existe, mais on ne s'en rend pas compte.' It is as though Teiresias, who alone kept his true life in unsubstantial Hades, should at last feel himself dream, like a shade.

Sometimes the regretful longing turns into a bitter sense of exile, of banishment, of fall from high estate. There are words that remind us of the passionate protestations of Empedocles, refusing to accept this earth as his veritable home. Κλαύσά τε καὶ κόσμος, said the Sicilian of Sicily, ἰδὼν ἀσυνήθεια χῶρον ('I wept and lamented, looking on a land to me unwonted and unknown'). 'Lorsque je me trouvais seul,' said a patient of Krishaber's, 'dans un endroit nouveau, j'étais comme un enfant nouveau-né, ne reconnaissant plus rien. J'avais un ardent désir de revoir mon ancien monde, de redevenir l'ancien moi; c'est ce désir qui m'a empêché de me tuer.'

These instances have shown us the *retrogressive* change of personality, the dissolution into incoordinate elements of the polity of our being. We have seen the state of man like a city blockaded, like a great empire dying at the core. And of course a spontaneous, unguided disturbance in a machinery so complete is likely to alter it more often for the worse than for the better. Yet here we reach the very point which I most desire to urge in this paper. I mean that even these spontaneous, these unguided disturbances do sometimes effect a change which is a marked improvement. Apart from all direct experiment they show us that we are in fact capable of being reconstituted after an improved pattern, that we may be fused and recrystallised into greater clarity; or, let us say more modestly, that the shifting sand-heap of our being will sometimes suddenly settle itself into a new attitude of more assured equilibrium.

Among cases of this kind which have thus far been recorded, none is more striking than that of Dr. Azam's often quoted patient, Félicité X.

Many of my readers will remember that in her case the somnambulic life has become the normal life; the 'second state,' which appeared at first only in short, dream-like accessions, has gradually replaced the 'first state,' which now recurs but for a few hours at long intervals. But the point on which I wish to dwell is this: that Félicité's second state is altogether superior to the first—physically

superior, above the nervous pains which had afflicted her from childhood have disappeared; and morally superior, inasmuch as her morose, self-centred disposition is exchanged for a cheerful activity which enables her to attend to her children and her day tasks more effectively than when she was in the *'état hété'*, as she now calls what was once the only personality that she knew. In this case, then, which is now of nearly thirty years' standing, the spontaneous readjustment of nervous activities—the second state, no memory of which remains in the first state—has resulted in an improvement profounder than could have been anticipated from any moral or medical treatment that we know. The case shows us how often the word *'normal'* means nothing more than *'what happens to exist.'* For Férida's *normal* state was in fact her *morbid* state; and the new condition, which seemed at first a mere hysterical abnormality, has brought her to a life of bodily and mental sanity which makes her fully the equal of average women of her class.

Now, before we go further, let us ask ourselves whether this result, which sounds so odd and paradoxical, ought in reality to surprise us. Had we any reason for supposing that changes as profound as Férida's need always be for the worse, that the phase of personality in which we happen to find ourselves is the phase in which, given our innate capacities, it is always best for us to be?

To make this question more intelligible, I must have recourse to a metaphor. Let us picture the human brain as a vast manufactory, in which thousands of looms, of complex and differing patterns, are habitually at work. These looms are used in varying combinations; but the main driving-bands, which connect them severally or collectively with the motive power, remain for the most part unaltered.

Now, how do I come to have my looms and driving-gear arranged in this particular way? Not, certainly, through any deliberate choice of my own. My ancestor the ascidian, in fact, inherited the business when it consisted of little more than a single spindle. Since his day my nearer ancestors have added loom after loom. Some of their looms have fallen to pieces unheeded; others have been kept in repair because they suited the style of order which the firm had at that time to meet. But the class of orders received has changed very rapidly during the last few hundred years. I have now to try to turn out altruistic emotions and intelligent reasoning with machinery adapted to self-preserving fierceness or manual toil. And in my efforts to readjust and reorganise I am hindered not only by the old-fashioned type of the looms, but by the inconvenient disposition of the driving gear. I cannot start one useful loom without starting a dozen others that are merely in the way. And I cannot shift the driving gear to suit myself, for I cannot get at much of it without stopping the engines, and if I stopped my engines I should not know how to set them going again. In this perplexity I

watch what happens in certain factories—Fulton's, for instance—where the hidden part of the machinery is subject to certain dangerous jerks or dislocations, after which the gearings shift of themselves and whole groups of looms are connected and disconnected in a novel manner. From hence I get at least a hint as to the concealed attachments; and if I see that new arrangement working well I have an object to aim at; I can try to produce a similar change, though a smaller one, among my own looms and by my own manipulation.

For even if these profoundest spontaneous changes are beyond the reach of imitation, there are smaller changes, long familiar to us, which we now see in a new light, as imitable in a manner which shall reproduce their advantages without their drawbacks. There is the painless trance which sometimes supervenes in hysteria; there is the action of alcohol; there is especially the action of opium, which from the first commended itself by its *psychical* effect, by the emotional tranquillity which it induces. Such at least seems to be the inference from the well-known passage where the wifely Helen determines to give her husband and his friends the chance of talking comfortably, without interrupting themselves by perpetual tears and lamentations.

Then heaven-born Helen in their cups would throw  
Nepenthe, woeful banisher of woe:  
This whose drunk daylong no tear should shed—  
No, though he gazed on sire and mother dead;  
No, though his own son on that dreamy day  
Before his own eyes raging foes should slay.\*

The successive discoveries of intoxicants, narcotics proper, and anæsthetics formed three important stages in our growing control over the nervous system. Mesmer's discovery, or rather his re-discovery of a process probably at least as old as Solon, marked an epoch of quite equal significance. And the refinements on Mesmer's process which this century has seen, the discoveries linked with the names of Puysegur, Esdaile, Braid, Charcot, &c., though often set forth with an air of controversy rather than of co-operation, will gradually be recognised as mutually concordant elements in a new branch of moral as well as physical therapeutics. Nay, it is a nascent art of self-modification; a system of pulleys (to return to our previous metaphor), by which we can disjoin and reconnect portions of our machinery which admit of no directer access.

One or two brief instances may indicate the moral and the physical benefits which hypnotisation is bringing within the range of practical medicine. And first I will cite one of the cases—rare as yet—where an insane person has been hypnotised with permanent benefit.<sup>†</sup>

\* *Od. iv. 519.*

† *Annales Médico-Psychiques*, 1866, vol. ii. p. 289 *seq.* The case was redi-

In the autumn of 1884 there was at the Salpêtrière a young woman of a deplorable type. Jeanne Sch—— was a criminal lunatic, filthy in habits, violent in demeanour, and with a lifelong history of imperity and theft. M. Auguste Voisin, one of the physicians on the staff, undertook to hypnotise her on May 31, at a time when she could only be kept quiet by the strait jacket and ‘bonnet d’irrigation,’ or perpetual cold douche to the head. She would not—indeed, she could not—look steadily at the operator, but raved and spat at him. M. Voisin kept his face close to hers, and followed her eyes wherever she moved them. In about ten minutes a stertorous sleep ensued; and in five minutes more she passed into a sleep-waking state and began to talk incoherently. The process was repeated on many days, and gradually she became sane when in the trance, though she still raved when awake. Gradually too she became able to obey in waking hours commands impressed on her in the trance—first trivial orders (to sweep the room and so forth), then orders involving a marked change of behaviour. Nay, more; in the hypnotic state she voluntarily expressed repentance for her past life, made a confession which involved more evil than the police were cognisant of (though it agreed with facts otherwise known), and finally of her own impulse made good resolves for the future. Two years have now elapsed, and M. Voisin writes to me (July 31, 1886) that she is now a nurse in a Paris hospital and that her conduct is irreproachable. In this case, and in some recent cases of M. Voisin’s, there may, of course, be matter for controversy as to the precise nature and the prognosis, apart from hypnotism, of the insanity which was cured. But my point is amply made out by the fact that this poor woman, whose history since the age of 13 had been one of reckless folly and vice, is now capable of the steady, self-controlled work of a nurse at a hospital, the reformed character having first manifested itself in the hypnotic state, partly in obedience to suggestion and partly as the natural result of the tranquillisation of morbid passions.

M. Voisin has followed up this case with others equally striking, into some of which a committee of the Société Médico-Psychologique is now enquiring. And M. Dufour, the medical head of another asylum, has adopted hypnotic suggestion as a regular element in his treatment. ‘Dès à présent,’ he says, ‘notre opinion est faite: sans crainte de nous tromper, nous affirmons que l’hypnotisme peut rendre service dans le traitement des maladies mentales.’ As was to be expected, he finds that only a small proportion of lunatics are hypnotisable; but the effect produced on these, whether by entrancement or suggestion, is uniformly good. His best subject is a

oussed at the last meeting of the French Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. H. Dufour, médecin en chef de l’asile Saint-Robert (Isère). See *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, Sept. 1886, p. 236.

degraded young man, who after many convictions for crimes (including attempted murder) has become a violent lunatic. 'T.' says Dr. Dufour, 'a été un assez mauvais sujet. Nous n'avons plus à parler en présent, tellement ses sentiments moraux ont été améliorés par l'hypnotisme.' This change and amelioration of character (over and above the simple recovery of sanity) has been a marked feature in some of Dr. Voisin's cases as well.

There is, indeed, in the sleep-waking state even of sane persons, a characteristic change of character, more easily recognised than described. Without generalising too confidently I may say that there seems usually to be an absence of self-consciousness and anxiety, a diminution of mere animal instincts, and a sense of expansion and freedom which shows itself either in gaiety or in a sort of beatific calm. In Madame B. (a subject whose susceptibility to hypnotisation by Dr. Gibert and Prof. Janet from a distance has recently attracted much notice) there was something—as it seemed to me—inde-scribably absurd in the contrast between the peasant woman's humble, stolid, resigned cast of countenance and the childish glee with which she joked and babbled during the 'phase somnambulique' of her complex trance. On the other hand M. Richet says of a recent subject of his own, 'She seems when in the somnambulant state to be normal in all respects except that her character has changed. When awake she is gay and lively; when entranced, grave, serious, almost solemn. . . . Her intelligence seems to have increased.'

And I may remark that this phase of the somnambulant character, this tendency to absorption and ecstasy, is a fact of encouraging significance. It is an indication that we may get more work out of ourselves in certain modified states than we can at present. 'Ecstasy,' which in former ages was deemed the exalted prerogative of saints, is now described as a matter of course among the phases of a mere hysterical attack. The truth is, perhaps, more complex than either of these views would admit. Ecstasy (we may certainly say with the modern alienist) is for the most part at least a purely subjective affection, corresponding to no reality outside the patient and appearing along with other instabilities in the course of hysteria. True; but on the other hand ecstasy is to hysteria somewhat as genius is to insanity. The ecstasy, say, of Louise Lateau assuredly proves no dogma and communicates to us no revelation. Yet, taken strictly by itself, it is not altogether a retrograde or dissolutive nervous phenomenon. Rather it represents the extreme tension of the poor girl's spirit in the highest direction which her intellect allows; and the real drawback is that this degree of occasional concentration usually implies great habitual instability. The hysterical patient has an hour of ecstasy, during which her face, if we may trust Dr. Paul

Higher's drawings,\* often assumes a lofty pathos of expression which the ordinary young person might try in vain to attain. But she pays for the transitory exaltation by days of incoherent weeping, or restless caprice. And similarly, as I maintain, the power of exaltation, of concentration, which constitutes genius implies a profound *modifiability* of the nervous system, a tendency of the stream of attention to pour with a rush into some special channels. In a Newton or a Shelley this modifiability is adequately under control; were it not so our Shelleys would lapse into incoherence, our Newtons into monomania.

And I maintain that the hypnotic trance, with its liberation from petty preoccupations, its concentration in favourite channels, has some analogy to genius as well as to hysteria. I maintain that for some uneducated subjects it has been the highest mental condition which they have ever entered; and that, when better understood and applied to subjects of higher type, it may dispose to flows of thought more undisturbed and steady than can be maintained by the waking effort of our tossed and fragmentary days.

I have dwelt at some length on the *moral* accompaniments of the hypnotic trance, because they are as yet much less generally known than the physical. It would, indeed, be a mere waste of space to dwell on the lulling of *pain* which can be procured by these methods, or even on the painless performance of surgical operations during the hypnotic trance; but I will cite a case<sup>10</sup> illustrating a point comparatively new—namely, that the insusceptibility to pain need not be confined to the entranced condition, but may be prolonged by hypnotic suggestion into subsequent waking hours.

An hysterical patient in the hospital of Bordeaux suffered recently from a malady which was certainly not imaginary. She had a 'phlegmon,' or inflamed abscess, as big as a hen's egg, on the thigh, with excessive tenderness and lancinating pain. It was necessary to open the swelling, but the screaming patient would not allow it to be touched. Judging this to be a good opportunity for testing the real validity of deferred hypnotic suggestion, Dr. Pitres hypnotised the woman by looking fixedly in her eyes, and then suggested to her that *after she had been awakened* she would allow the abscess to be opened, and would not feel the slightest pain. She was then awakened, and apparently resumed her normal state. M. A. Boursier proceeded to open and squeeze out the abscess in a deliberate way. The patient merely looked on and smiled. She had no recollection of the suggestion which had been made to her during her trance, and she was not a little astonished to see her formidable enemy thus disposed of without giving her the slightest pain.

\* *La Grande Hystérie*, 2nd edn. Paris, 1885.

<sup>10</sup> First given in the *Journal de Médecine de Bordeaux*, and cited at length in Dr. Bécillon's *Revue de l'Hypnotisme* for Sept. 1884. Forbess' name, I may add, carries great weight in the French medical world.



Cases like these are certainly striking enough to give a considerable impetus to further experiment. Hypnotism, however, has in England many prejudices to contend with. I shall touch on one such prejudice only—a very natural one and germane to the main argument of this paper. 'These duplications of state,' it is said, 'are not natural; and what is unnatural, even if it is not morbid, can never be more than a mere curiosity.' I would ask of such an objector one single question: 'Which state, then, do you consider, as unnatural, your own ordinary sleep or your own ordinary waking?

This rejoinder goes, I think, to the root of the matter; for we do indubitably undergo every day of our lives a change of state, a shifting of our internal mechanism, which is closely parallel to the artificial changes whose induction I am here recommending. Our familiar sleep, whether considered from the psychical or the physiological side, has a curious history, strange potentialities. In its psychical aspect—to take the point which here most concerns us—it involves at least the rudiments of a 'second state,' of an independent memory. I should like, had I space, to show how the mere recurrence of a dream-scene—a scene which has no prototype in waking life—is the first stage on the way to those recurrent accessions of somnambulism, linked by continuous memory, which have developed into the actual ordinary life of *Félida X.* Leaving this point for future treatment, and passing to sleep's *physiological* aspect, we recognise in it the compromise or resultant of many tentative duplications of state which our lowly ancestors have known. Their earliest differentiation of condition, it may be, was merely the change between light and darkness, or between motion and rest. Then comes *encystation*, a fruitful quiescence, originally, perhaps, a mere immobility of self-defence, but taken advantage of for reproductive effort. And passing from protozoa to metazoa, we find numerous adaptations of this primitive duplicability of condition. We find sleep utilised as a protection against hunger, as a protection against cold. We find animals for whom what we call 'true sleep' is wanting, whose circumstances do not demand any such change or interruption in the tenor of their life-long way.

Yet why describe this undifferentiated life-history as a state of waking rather than of sleep? Why assume that sleep is the acquired, vigilance the 'normal' condition? It would not be hard to defend an opposite thesis. The new-born infant might urge with cogency that his habitual state of slumber was primary as regards the individual, ancestral as regards the race; resembling at least, far more closely than does our adult life, a primitive or protozoic habit. 'Mine,' he might say, 'is a centrally stable state. It would need only some change in external conditions (as my permanent immersion in a nutritive fluid) to be safely and indefinitely maintained. Your

state is essentially unstable. While you

talk and hustle around me you are living on your physiological capital, and the mere prolongation of vigilance is failure and death.'

A paradox such as this forms no part of my argument; but it may remind us that physiology at any rate hardly warrants us in speaking of our waking state as if that alone represented our true selves, and every deviation from it must be at best a mere interruption. Vigilance in reality is but one of two co-ordinate phases of our personality, which we have acquired or differentiated from each other during the stages of our long evolution. And just as these two states have come to coexist for us in advantageous alternation, so also other states may come to coexist with these, in response to new needs of the still evolving organism.

And I will now suggest two methods in which such states as those described, say, in Dr. Voisin's or in Dr. Pitres' cases, might be turned to good account. In the world around us are many physical invalids and many 'moral invalids,' and of both these classes a certain percentage are sure to prove hypnotisable, with patience and care. Let us try to improve the moral invalid's character by hypnotic suggestions of self-restraint, which will continue effective after he wakes. And let us try to enable the physical invalid to carry on his intellectual life without the perturbing accompaniment of pain. I am not bringing out a panacea, and I expect that with the English race, and in our present state of knowledge, but few of these experiments will succeed. But increased experience will bring the process under fuller control, will enable us to hypnotise a larger proportion of persons and to direct the resulting phenomena with more precision. What is needed is the perseverance in experiment which springs from an adequate realisation of the ultimate gain, from a conviction that the tortuous inlet which we are navigating is one of the mouths of a river which runs up far into the unexplored interior of our being.

I have dealt elsewhere with some further cases which go to show the persistent efficacy of moralising suggestions—suggestions mainly of abstinence from pernicious indulgences—when made to a subject in the hypnotic trance.<sup>11</sup> It must suffice here to point out that such moralisation, whether applied to a sane or insane subject, must by no means be considered as a mere trick or a mere abnormality. It is but the systematisation of a process on which religious and moral 'revivals' have always largely depended. When some powerful personage has thrown many weaker minds into a state of unusual perturbation, unusual plasticity, there is an element in that psychical tumult which may be utilised for lasting good. A strong suggestion may be made, and its effect on the brain will be such that it will work itself out, almost automatically, perhaps for years to come. When Father Mathew spread the temperance pledge through Ireland he showed this power at its best. What it can be at its worst we see, for in-

<sup>11</sup> *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research*, part x. (Trübner, 1896).

France, in the recent epidemic of frenzy in the Balkans, where the hysterical symptoms were actually the main object sought; and the organs only served to give to that hysteria a stimulating flavour of delirium. Scenes not dissimilar have been witnessed in England too; yet the sober moralist has been forced to recognise that a germ of better life has often been dropped, and has quickened, amid the turbulence of what to him might seem a mere scandalous orgy.

Just so did the orthodox physician look on in disgusted contempt at the tumultuous crises of the patients around Mesmer's banquet. But science has now been able to extract from that confused scene its germ of progress, and to use a part of Mesmer's processes to calm the very accessions which Mesmer employed them to generate. Let her attempt, then, to extract the health-giving element from that moral turbulence as well, and to use the potency which in ignorant hands turns men and women into hysterical monomaniacs, to revive in the spirits which she dominates the docility of the little child.

This last phrase represents a true, an important analogy. The art of education, as we know, rests on the physiological fact that the child's brain receives impressions more readily, and retains them more lastingly, than the adult's. And those of us who have been well drilled in childhood are not apt to consider that the advantage thus gained for us was an unfair or tricky one, nor even that virtue has been made unduly easy to us, so that we deserve no credit for doing right. It surely need not, then, be considered as over-reaching Destiny, or outwitting the Moral Law, if we take persons whose early receptiveness has been abused by bad example and try to reproduce that receptiveness by a physiological process, and to imprint hypnotic suggestions of a salutary kind.

I ventured to make a proposal of this kind in a paper published a year ago; but, although it attracted some comment as a novelty, I cannot flatter myself that it was taken *au sérieux* by the pedagogic world. But as I write these lines I see from a report of the Association Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences (Session de Nancy, 1886) that the 'Section de Pédagogie' has actually passed a resolution desiring 'que des expériences de suggestion hypnotique soient tentées, dans un but de moralisation et d'éducation, sur quelques-uns des sujets les plus notoirement mauvais et incorrigibles des écoles primaires.' I commend the idea then, with the sense that I am not alone in my paradox, to the attention of practical philanthropists.

My second suggestion—namely, that we may conceivably learn to carry on our intellectual life in a state of insusceptibility to physical pain, may appear a quite equally bold one. 'We admit,' the critics might say, 'that a man in the hypnotic trance is insensible to pinching; but, since he can also notoriously, when in that state, be made to believe that his name is Titus Oates, or that a candle-end is a piece of plum cake, or any other absurdity, the intellectual work

which he performs in that mood of mind is not likely to be worth much.' But any point is, as may have been already gathered, that this clear and definite conception of the hypnotic state is now shown to have been crude and rudimentary. Dr. Pitres' case, above cited, (where the patient was restored to ordinary life in all respects except that she continued insensible to pain), is a mere sample of cases daily becoming more numerous, where power is gained to dissociate the elements of our being in novel ways, to form from them, if I may so say, not only the one strange new compound 'hypnotic trance,' but a whole series of compounds marking the various stages between that and the life of every day. Hysterical phenomena, new for the first time studied with something like the attention which they deserve, point strongly in this direction. And apart from hysteria, apart from hypnotism, we find in active and healthy life scattered hints of the possible absence of pain during vigorous intellectual effort. From the candidate in a competitive examination who forgets his toothache till he comes out again, to the soldier in action unconscious of the bullet-wound till he faints from loss of blood, we have instances enough of an exaltation or concentration which has often made the resolute spirit altogether unconscious of conditions which would have been absorbing to the ordinary man. And here too, as in the case of moral suggestibility, already dealt with, the function of science is to regularise the accidental and to elicit from the mingled phenomenon its permanent boon. Already men attempt to do this by a mere chemical agency. There have been philosophers who have sought in laudanum intellectual lucidity and bodily repose. There have been soldiers who have supplemented with 'Dutch courage' the ardour of martial fire. Philosopher and soldier alike expose themselves to an unhappy reaction. But by the induction of hypnotic anaesthesia we are taking a shorter road to our object; we are acting on the central nervous system without damaging stomach or liver on the way. It was an *abridgment* of this kind when subcutaneous injection of morphia replaced in so many cases morphia taken by the mouth. Yet though the evil done *in transitu* was subtler and slower evil still was done. On the other hand the direct non-chemical action on the central nervous system, in which hypnotism consists, is not proved to be in any way necessarily injurious, and has thus far, when under careful management, resulted almost uniformly in good. Such at least is the view of all physicians, so far as I know, who have practised it themselves on a large scale, though it is not the general view at present of those men—physicians or others—who are content to judge from hearsay and to write at second-hand.

Let us not then, I would say, be satisfied if we can merely give some poor sufferer a good night by hypnotism, or even if we can operate on him painlessly in a state of trance. Let us approach the topic of the banishment of pain in a more thoroughgoing and

holder spirit. Looking at that growing class of civilised persons who suffer from neuralgia, indigestion, and other unenjoyable but not dangerous forms of malaise, let us consider whether we cannot induce—in those of them who are fortunate enough to be readily hypnotisable—a third condition of life, which shall be as waking but without its uneasiness and as sleep without the blankness of its repose, a state in which the mind may go serenely onward and the body have no power to distract her energy or to dispute her sway.

Is there anything in nature to render this ideal impossible? Let us consider the history of pain. Pain, it may be pleasantly suggested, is an advantage acquired by our ancestors in the course of their struggle for existence. It would be useless to the fortunate animalcule, which, if you chop it in two, is simply two animalcules instead of one. But as soon as the organism is complex enough to suffer partial injury, and active enough to check or avoid such injury before it has gone far, the pain becomes a useful warning, and the sense of pain is thus one of the first and most generalised of the perceptive faculties which place living creatures in relation with the external world. And to the human infant it is necessary still. The burnt child must have some reason to dread the fire, or he will go on poking it with his fingers. But, serviceable though pain may still be to the child and the savage, civilised men and women have now a good deal more of it than they can find any use for. Some kinds of pain, indeed (like neuralgia, which *prevents* the needed rest), are wholly detrimental to the organism and have arisen by mere correlation with other susceptibilities which are in themselves beneficial. Now if this correlation were inevitable—if it were impossible to have acute sense-perceptions, vivid emotional development, without these concomitant nervous pains—we should have to accept the annoyance without more ado. But certain spontaneously occurring facts, and certain experimental facts, have shown us that the correlation is *not* inevitable; that the sense of pain can be abolished, while other sensibilities are retained, to an extent far beyond what the common experience of life would have led us to suppose possible.

Our machinery is hampered by a system of checks, intended to guard against dangers which we can now meet in other ways, and often operating as a serious hindrance to the work of our manufactory. A workman here and there has hit on an artifice for detaching these checks, with signal advantage, and is beginning to report to the managers his guess at a wider application of the seemingly trivial contrivance.

Be it mentioned too that not only pain itself, but anxiety, ennui, intellectual fatigue, may be held in abeyance by hypnotic treatment and suggestion. There is not, indeed, much evidence of any increase of sheer intellectual acumen in the hypnotic state, but in most kinds

of ordinary brain-work the difficulty is not so much that man's actual power of thinking is inadequate to the problem proposed as that one cannot use that power aright, cannot focus one's effort steadily or gaze on it long. Hypnotism may not supply one with mental houses of higher power, but in its artificial situation we have at least the rudiment of a machinery like that which holds firm the astronomer's telescope and sweeps it round with the moving heavens, as compared with the rough and shifting adjustments of a spy-glass held in the hand.

These speculations, especially where they point to moral progress attainable by physiological artifice, will seem to many of my readers venturesome and unreal. And in these days of conflicting dogmas and impracticable utopias Science, better aware than either priest or demagogue of how little man can truly know, is tempted to confine herself to his material benefit, which can be made certain, and to let his moral progress—which is a speculative hope—alone. Yet, now that Science is herself becoming the substance of so many creeds, the lode-star of so many aspirations, it is important that she should not in any direction even appear to be either timid or cynical. Her humble missionaries at least need not show themselves too solicitous about possible failure, but should rather esteem it as dereliction of duty were some attempt not made to carry her illumination over the whole realm and mystery of man.

Especially, indeed, is it to be desired that biology should show—not indeed a moralising bias, but—a moral care. There has been a natural tendency to insist with a certain disillusionising tenacity on the low beginnings of our race. When eminent but ill-instructed personages in Church or State have declared themselves, with many flourishes, 'on the side of the Angel,' there has been a grim satisfaction in proving that Science at any rate is 'on the side of the Ape.' But the victory of Science is won. She has dealt hard measure to man's tradition and his self-conceit; let her now show herself ready to sympathise with such of his aspirations as are still legitimate, to offer such prospects as the nature of things will allow. Nay, let her teach the world that the word *evolution* is the very formula and symbol of hope.

But here my paper must close. I will conclude it with a single reflection which may somewhat meet the fears of those who dislike any tamperings with our personality, who dread that this invading analysis may steal their very self away. All living things, it is said, strive towards their maximum of pleasure. In what hours, then, and under what conditions, do we find that human beings have attained to their intensest joy? Do not our thoughts in answer turn instinctively to scenes and moments when all personal preoccupation, all care for individual interest, is lost in the sense of spiritual union, whether with one beloved soul, or with a mighty nation, or with 'the whole

would and creatures of God"? We think of Dante with Beatrice, of Nelson at Trafalgar, of St. Francis on the Umbrian hill. And surely here, as in Galahad's cry of "If I lose myself I find myself," we have a hint that much, very much, of what we are wont to regard as an integral part of us may drop away, and yet leave us with a consciousness of our own being which is more vivid and purer than before. This web of habits and appetencies, of lusts and fears, is not, perhaps, the ultimate manifestation of what in truth we are. It is the mask which our rude forefathers have woven themselves against the cosmic storm; but we are already learning to shift and refashion it as our greater weather needs, and if perchance it slip from us in the sunshine then something more ancient and more glorious is for a moment gazed within.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

## *SISTERS-IN-LAW*

From time to time during the last five-and-forty years efforts have been made to alter the marriage law of England in the matter of the prohibited degrees. It is not surprising that many persons are tired of the discussion. Rather than listen to any further arguments they will vote for the change which is so persistently demanded, and hope to be troubled with it no more. I wish to point out that the Bill advocated by Lord Bramwell in the House of Lords, and more recently in this Review, will not, if enacted, fulfil their desire. It will be but the beginning of troubles to those whose chief anxiety is to lead a quiet life. It will unsettle the whole law of marriage and decide nothing. Its inherent unreason is a fatal defect.

For my present purpose it is not necessary to enter into the theological argument. It seems, indeed, but yesterday that a theological treatment of the question was generally deprecated. Speakers in Parliament a few years since disclaimed all intention of defending or attacking the law on that side. Nor would any one have expected that the Scriptural controversy should be revived under the auspices of a veteran lawyer who is careful to remind the world that he knows no more of theology than of astrology. Divines, perhaps, will remark, from their point of view, that their own science is not so easily set aside as lawyers or astrologers suppose. It has an awkward way of reappearing after it has been declared to be dead and buried by general consent. Even when polemics slumber, popular literature has a curious tendency to clothe itself in theological language, and to adapt Scriptural phraseology to its own use. An attentive reader of the Parliamentary debates of the late brief session could not fail to notice that there was hardly one speech of importance in which illustrations from Bible history, or adaptations of Scriptural language, did not occur. Men do not so easily unlearn even that which they repudiate, or wholly throw off the authority they have resolved to dethrone. Be this as it may, Lord Bramwell certainly devotes half his article to the theology of which he speaks so lightly. It would be foreign to my immediate purpose to follow him on this track. It is sufficient to reassert the facts that marriage between persons near of kin is prohibited in the Scripture, and that no distinction between relationship by affinity or consanguinity is there to be found.



It is on this last point that the whole subject at present really turns. In England no one openly denies that it is necessary to put some restrictions on the general liberty to contract marriage, even apart from any Scriptural or ecclesiastical rule; or that nearness of relationship between the parties to the proposed marriage constitutes a valid impediment. But what degree of nearness? This is the point in dispute. I am assuming that the idea of nearness includes the notion of *degrees* in nearness; although, to hear some persons talk on this subject, one might think that all relationships were the same. As they attach no particular meaning to the words they use, argument with them is impossible. Rational men will allow that all who are related to one another are more nearly or more distantly related: parents more nearly related to children than uncles and aunts to their nephews and nieces. They will hardly deny that kinsfolk related in the same degree must all be equally allowed, or forbidden, to intermarry; and that permission to marry given to the nearly related, and denied to those more distantly related, would be an arbitrary indulgence to the one, an intolerable wrong to the other. These positions have not been, to my knowledge, disputed in the abstract by any one.

But it is exactly with these positions that the law, in the proposed form, would be in direct conflict. The man would be allowed to marry two or more sisters; the woman forbidden to marry two brothers. Marriage with a wife's sister would be lawful; marriage with her niece absolutely contrary to law. Further, the only reason for prohibiting half the marriages named in the Table of Degrees would cease to exist. Marriage with a wife's near kinswomen is forbidden now *because* they are the wife's kinswomen, and for no other reason. Remove that reason, and they would be forbidden for no reason at all. Could it be expected that the persons subject to these disabilities would contentedly bear them? Once declare it lawful and right for a man to marry a near kinswoman of his wife, and it is inevitable that, if his affections were set on any other of her kinsfolk, he should feel himself the victim of a senseless tyranny, were he not allowed to gratify those affections with the sanction of the law. I am unable to think of any rational answer to the protest which such flagrant inequality would call forth.

Two answers, indeed, have been attempted, but they are mutually destructive. On the one hand, it is said that further relaxations would be so shocking that no one would ask for them; on the other, that as soon as they were asked for, they would be granted without demur. Taking the former line of argument, Lord Bramwell has urged that it is very foolish not to do a right thing because you may be asked thereafter to do a wrong one—forgetting, apparently, that the 'wrong' thing would cease to be wrong in Parliamentary and legal eyes in the event of his Bill becoming law. The wrong,

indeed, would be on the other side. It would be wrong to withhold the permission, which you had granted in one case, from others whose plea for it rested on the same grounds. It may be right, or it may be wrong, to marry your wife's near kinsman; it cannot be right and wrong at the same time. It cannot be right to favour a particular case by exceptional treatment, or to draw lots for indulgences among those whose *status* of affinity is the same. It is not a question of being asked, as Lord Bramwell says, to do a wrong thing, but of being asked to do that which your own line of action has compelled you to acknowledge to be right.

From the larger part of the supporters of the Bill, however, we have a different and contradictory reply. They freely admit that the principle of it requires the abolition of all prohibitions of marriage between persons related by affinity, and profess themselves quite ready to promote that abolition *at the proper time*. Lord John Russell said as much in Parliament long ago; Lord Granville says it quite frankly and simply now. With the good-natured pleasantry which makes him so agreeable an opponent he said, when the Bill was moved in the House of Lords, 'I dote upon my wife's relations, but they are not *my* relations.' His argument was, that he ought to be free to marry any one of them without let or hindrance from the law.

It is natural to ask, if this be so, why the Bill does not include all the kindred whom the majority of its supporters admit to be within the scope of its principle. An alteration of a very few words would make it consistent with itself and with the arguments used in support of it. What hinders the alteration from being made? The answer to this question has more policy than honesty on its face. Shortly stated it is, 'One thing at a time. This is a world of expediency and compromise. We cannot'—say the advocates of the Bill—'persuade the great body of our countrymen that it is right to allow all these marriages, but there is a certain sentiment in favour of one of them. Kindly grant a *privilegium* for that one, then we shall have the lever we require for further action; we shall be able to show that the principle has been conceded, and that the rest must follow.' Truly this reasoning assumes a simplicity of character among those to whom it is addressed which can hardly be imputed without some disparagement of their understanding.

'Only just this little Bill, this innocent little Bill,' they entreat us to pass; then *aside* to their friends and allies, 'You shall soon be set at liberty to marry all your wives' relations, if we can only just carry this little Bill. Don't mention—for the world—those nieces, and brothers' widows, and all the rest, while we have this Bill in hand; but you shall soon see that we have done your business for you as effectually as if the whole list had been enumerated in our Act.' Let it not be thought I am imputing

motives to opponents; I am saying only what they have said for themselves wherever it was politic to say it, and I am thinking of men, not a few, in which it is the brother's widow on whom the widower's heart is set.

I am very anxious that the lovers of a quiet life, for whose happiness I am much concerned, should open their eyes to the prospect before them. They must expect a long series of demands for successive relaxations of a series of prohibitions of which the foundation will have been already destroyed. Resistance to their demands must needs grow weaker year by year, as the want of any valid argument against them is more plainly seen. But what a prospect! Year after year to have the whole question of marriage and of family life dragged into the arena of Parliamentary discussion, with jibe and sneer and vulgar detraction of all sanctions hitherto revered, is surely not an anticipation which any good or wise man can with patience entertain. We stand on the ground of solid principle now; we are entitled at least to ask what principle is to be substituted for it before we sweep it away. To calm lookers-on, indeed, it must be little less than marvellous to observe the way in which the law of marriage, with its far-reaching influences on national life, has been at the mercy of chance majorities any time these last twenty years. Half a dozen young men, hastily summoned from a racecourse to give a vote in harmony with the known wish of some distinguished personage, have been able to influence divisions on which the welfare of every family in England depended. They may have had as little desire to take a part as they have had opportunity of acquainting themselves with the merits of the question at issue; but the Parliamentary game required their presence, and seemed to place the stakes of victory at their disposal. If any question ever demanded the careful study of skilled jurists and experienced masters of social ethics, it is this question of the Marriage Law. The results of careful study and sound historical knowledge should have been laid before Parliament by men capable of placing the whole question in its true light, with documentary evidence in support of their words. Some such speakers, indeed, have from time to time treated the subject in a worthy manner; but when one recalls the performances of triflers who have scarcely been at the pains to digest the scraps of information supplied to them—the hurried, ill-balanced debates, and the closure dictated by the approach of the dinner-hour, when the fringe of the question had been scarcely touched—one can but be profoundly thankful that a great disaster has notwithstanding been averted for so many years.

I shall be told that what I have written is beside the point, that no one defends the Bill as logical. It claims to be nothing more than a practical proposal to get rid—with or without reason—of a practical evil, arising from the want of a second bedroom in a poor

man's home. Far be it from me to extenuate the evils caused by over-crowded dwellings, or to hinder any honest effort to remedy them: they are grave evils indeed. The remedy, however, would hardly seem to lie in an arrangement by which a widower should be encouraged to marry the female who looks after his children as soon as possible after the poor wife's death. This is not always, nor indeed often, her sister, as any one acquainted with the habits of the people can testify. At the sudden death of a young wife the natural person to care for the orphans is the kinswoman who loved her best—her own mother; she takes the little ones to her own house, or stays at their home, until some plan can be devised for their care. Sometimes it is the man's sister in blood, sometimes the sister-in-law, who is the friend in time of need. But in a large proportion of these latter cases, the sister, or sister-in-law, is 'out at service,' and cannot leave her place without notice, or cannot afford to give it up to discharge a duty in her brother's house, for which he can give her no wages. In other cases the neighbours—and their charity at such times is marvellous—take in one or another of the young children until the darkest days are past. The notion that a working-man's family has its store of sisters living unemployed at home in readiness to help a brother-in-law in his bereavement is a fancy picture, which is exhibited in order to divert attention from the fact that it is quite a different class from which the promoters of this Bill are drawn. Not the labourers, but their employers, signed the notorious Norfolk petition, and for reasons altogether different from those which are connected with the experiences of cottages having but a single room. It must be added that the dwelling-house argument proves too much. It would require the banns of marriage with the successor to be put up as soon as the wife's funeral was past. The case, however, is not quite so lamentable in this respect as the advocates of the Bill would have us suppose. To those of us who have often visited poor dwellings it is well known that arrangements which would distress us, if they existed in our own homes, are often quite free from moral suspicion—even in Irish cabins—among those who have been familiar with the occupation of one room by a whole family all their lives. Evils arise, no doubt, from the crowding; but the ruined characters and blasted lives, of which our penitentiaries tell a mournful tale, do not come, for the most part, from one-roomed cottages, but from the contamination of the work-room or of low places of amusement, from domestic service to depraved employers, and the manifold opportunities for corruption which money and leisure supply. Certain it is that neither the Act of 1835, nor the agitation which has since grown up, had anything to do with poor men's cottages or poor men's needs.

I have said that the argument, to which I have just referred,

passage so much. As much may be said of every argument which has been urged in favour of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. When, for example, the laws of Prussia and other foreign countries are quoted in support of the proposed change, I ask, in reply, whether there is any country in Europe which differs from our own in this respect only, that it allows marriage with a wife's sister. After the change of our Marriage Law which this Bill, if carried, would effect, we should remain, as we now are, alone. Nor is there any such agreement between the various codes of law in force on the Continent as would give us any hope of sheltering ourselves by further changes behind the authority of some general rule. In this only they agree, that they all go beyond the point at which the Marriage Law Reform Association proposes, for the moment, to halt. Then we are told that it is our duty to follow our Colonies in their legislation on this subject. But why on this subject only? On important economical questions we have not yet shown any disposition to adopt Colonial theories or to introduce Colonial practice. In the days when slavery was part of the cherished institutions of more than one British colony, so far from holding ourselves bound to conform the laws of England to that example, we devoted millions of our money to the emancipation of the slaves, and compelled the Colonies, much as they disliked the change, to accept the legislation which set their bondsmen free. It would, indeed, be an evil day for England when we began to take the pattern of our laws from the medley of crude legislation which a score of inexperienced communities had chanced to enact. Nor should it be forgotten that in the countries inhabited by the majority of Her Majesty's subjects polygamy is an integral part of the law.

It is not surprising that Lord Bramwell should treat cursorily what he mentions as the 'ecclesiastical' objection, or that he somewhat misapprehends its bearing. It is true that most clergymen would think it a grievous wrong to be compelled to solemnise such marriages. Lord Bramwell would give them liberty to refuse. But he fails to see that the Church of England, as a religious society, would be sorely aggrieved if her clergy were even allowed to celebrate in her churches unions which for centuries her courts, her canons, and her Prayer Book have declared to be unlawful. Still the charge in the Marriage Service would remain, bidding the parties to confess any impediment, and solemnly reminding them that 'so many as are coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow are not joined together by God, neither is their matrimony lawful.' Still the table of kindred and affinity would be the only answer given by the Church to those who wish to know what persons, how related, are forbidden in Scripture to marry together. Few will contend that what Scripture has been held for centuries to forbid, ceases to be forbidden in Scripture because a narrow Parliamentary majority, created, it may be, by the votes of members who

deny the authority of the Bible, is of that opinion. The Table of Degrees would still be read on the walls of our churches, placed there as the canon directs. Preachers might still expound the law of God as forbidding such unions even in the presence of those who had contracted them, and parish priests might refuse—as the Bishop of Fredericton has bidden his clergy to refuse—Communion to the offenders. In all this the Church of England would not go beyond the Westminster Confession of Faith (which is the law of Presbyterian Scotland), declaring that

Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the Word; nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man, or consent of parties, so as these persons may live together as man and wife. The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own.

'Very uncharitable language, whoever uses it,' say the advocates of the Bill. 'Two thoroughly well-conducted persons'—so Lord Bramwell describes all pairs of attached brothers and sisters-in-law—ought not to be treated with disrespect. The feeling, which he has more than once expressed, of sympathy with an agreeable and affectionate young couple, of like age and condition in life, apparently formed for each other's happiness, appeals to a universal sentiment. Astrologically they would petition, under his guidance, against the law which forbids their nuptials:

Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo  
Consentit astrum:

and, so pleading, they would enlist—as they have enlisted—in their favour many a friend to whom fathers and councils, theology and law, are equally unknown. But, then, it must be remembered that the same engaging portrait may be painted with a variety of kinsfolk for the sitters; it does not apply to sisters-in-law and brothers alone. While I write, a case comes to me, in which a man has gone through the form of marriage with his half-brother's daughter, in spite of serious, but ineffectual, remonstrance, less than three months after his wife's decease. Reports of incestuous unions in contradiction to almost every prohibition in the Table of Degrees reach me from time to time—sometimes condemned by the better feeling of the community, sometimes, alas! condoned or defended, when personal popularity or a long purse blinds the neighbours to the grossness of the sin. For all these unions—so far at least as relations by affinity are concerned—the offenders will have the authority of statute law to plead if ever this unhappy Bill should pass. They will all have a claim on the sympathy which is now lavished on a single case.

I have admitted that there is a natural sympathy with young persons deeply attached to one another, who are prevented from marrying. But here again, when we try to translate the feeling

into solid reason, we find that the argument proves too much. 'The course of true love never did run smooth,' and infinitely various are the obstacles to marriage which parental affections must be content to endure. The very man who has been declaiming against the table of prohibited degrees, will go home and threaten to turn his son or daughter out of doors if an imprudent courtship is not immediately broken off. And this parental sternness may have its justification too. A thoughtless young couple may be saved from lifelong trouble by the unwelcome intervention of wiser and more experienced counsellors. Or, on the other hand, that intervention may nip in the bud affections which might have blossomed into happy married life. Either way, however, it is part of the condition of things in which we live that young persons 'madly in love,' as the phrase is, must often be disappointed; it is not only widowers in love with their wives' sisters who have to bear their fate. If it is cruel to debar from marriage those who are sincerely in love, the Court of Chancery has more wanton cruelty to repent of than all the defenders of the Christian law of marriage. Has it never occurred to Lord Bramwell to turn a glance of pity on the sorrows of its wards? The maintenance of the Levitical prohibitions has at least the general good for its object; the hard-hearted guardian has nothing better than the preservation or augmentation of an estate in view. After all, the happiness of the community and the purity of social life must outweigh the particular grievances of which disappointed lovers naturally complain. So it is in many another case familiar to us all. It is a hardship, for instance, to our Jewish fellow-subjects to lose their trade on the Lord's Day when they have already kept their own Sabbath on the day before. But we could not preserve our national Sunday from the invasion of secular business if we made an exception in their favour; and, for the general advantage, they must bear the loss. We may pity the lovers whose sad case Lord Bramwell deplores; but they have really no right to the special aureole with which he would invest them.

The question is often asked, 'May I not marry my sister-in-law?' The real question is, whether I may still have a 'sister-in-law' at all. If the law which forbids us to marry is abolished, in what does the relation of sister between us consist? Thenceforward she is no more to her sister's husband than any other female friend. He must be content to see her welcomed by his wife with tenderest affection, caressed by his children with devoted love, but she is nothing to him; sister, either in law or in feeling, she cannot be. His wife's sister, his children's aunt, their best-loved kinswoman, is to be but an acquaintance to him. A sharp line of division is drawn through the midst of the family; the father, with his group of kinsfolk; the mother, with her two sets of kindred in one home. It will be hard, no doubt, for

those who have entered into the happy condition of the old relationship to unlearn the lessons of a united home; but new generations as they arise, if the law is changed, must be brought up in a different experience and form a different estimate of family life. I am not suggesting any thoughts of improper attachment in the wife's lifetime. I am only asserting that one who is in no sense a sister, and may possibly become a wife, ceases absolutely to be what a sister-in-law has been, and happily still is, in many an English home.

Some persons make merry with descriptions of the family circle—perhaps because they have never known the pure and happy unity to which they refer. The Scripture expression that man and wife are 'one flesh' is to some of them particularly ludicrous. Lord Bramwell, with some endeavour to be serious, would dispose of it by the remark that it is a metaphor, on the apparent assumption that a metaphorical statement is necessarily untrue. I quite admit that metaphors are not freely used in the Courts, and that they would be a little out of place in the discussion of a dry point of law. Nor should I look for illustration of the use of metaphor in any case to writings from Lord Bramwell's pen. Nevertheless it would be a strange misconception to make metaphor and fiction synonymous terms. One might say of a celebrated statesman that his race is run, or that his sun has set; and it would be a reasonable answer to declare that his energies, bodily and mental, are unimpaired, or that he has still a great career in politics before him. But it would be absurd to argue that the statement was untrue because it was clothed in metaphorical language. If marriage be, as some free-thinkers assert, a time-bargain between two persons that they will live together as long as it is mutually convenient for them to do so, it follows that the Scriptural expression, 'they two shall be one flesh,' is unmeaning. But the truth or falsehood of it does not depend on its metaphorical character. It may well be that an expression has been chosen which, by its very paradoxical character, most strongly expresses the close and indissoluble union which marriage creates, not to add that the expression, as found in the language of the Old Testament Scripture, may exegetically have no metaphorical character; it may be a simple statement that the relationship of married persons is to be as close as that which exists between persons of the same blood, expressed in the plainest way of which the language would admit.

We come back, then—putting aside this unprovoked attack on the moral character of metaphor—to the point which touches the root of the matter. 'Ninety-nine out of every hundred advocates of legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister,' says one of them, 'are in favour of legalising marriage with wives' nieces and their wives' kinsfolk in general. A man's own nieces are blood



rebels, but his wife's nieces are not. The common marriage-law newspapers confine themselves to one point at a time, is that they believe success can best be obtained in this way. For that very reason, among others, the upholders of the marriage law of England tenaciously defend the position which is the object of immediate attack. They have been fairly warned that all turns on this: its capture means the loss of the fort. Surely it is time for Parliamentary assailants to give up the disingenuous pretence that they have only this one point in view, and to discuss the whole question in a reasonable way. For my own part—disastrous as the change would be—I had rather see the law altered so as to abolish at once all legal prohibitions of marriage between persons connected by affinity than to have an enactment which would abolish them by implication, and require their legal abolition in detail as opportunity served. The Church would, in that case, have its own opposite principle clearly defined as a basis for consistent action; good people would be saved from the confusion of thought which would betray them into condonation of evil, as though it were a comparatively harmless exception to the general law. It is not immaterial to remember that this was the basis of the Act of 1835. That statute drew, for the first time, a partial distinction between the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity. Lord Lyndhurst had not drawn any such distinction in the Bill which he introduced. His Bill, as he afterwards said, had nothing to do with annulling marriages; it had no other end in view than the condition of children, which the existing law left in an unsettled state during their parents' lifetime. In its passage through Parliament the distinction (retrospectively) between consanguinity and affinity was introduced. But neither then nor at any other time, until the tactics of the Marriage Law Reform Association were adopted, was a wife's sister dealt with on any other footing than that on which the whole of the wife's near kinsfolk stood. By the law of England, to use the words of Lord Wensleydale—certainly not one of the 'ecclesiastically-given' lawyers whom Lord Bramwell depreciates—the marriage of a widower with his deceased wife's sister was always as illegal and invalid as a marriage with a sister, daughter, or mother was. For the first time, as I have said, by Lord Lyndhurst's Act, though not by Lord Lyndhurst's will, a partial distinction between relationship in blood and relationship by marriage was recognised. To that distinction—if ever we are driven to allow any distinction at all—sound reason and good sense require us to adhere.

I am well aware that in what I have written I have laid myself open to Lord Bramwell's sneer at 'priests.' I am content to bear this reproach. I believe that the Church of Christ has done more than any power on earth to uphold the sacredness of family life in its pure affections and unity of interests. The members of other

religious denominations have not been willing to stand for morality, as they understand it. But in respect of marriage they avowedly take a 'liberal' view. They would make prohibitions of it as few as possible; they approve of facilities for the dissolution of it which the Church has always refused to allow. The tendency of these 'free' views may be illustrated by the existing state of things in North America. In the New England States it has come to pass that 2,000 families are now broken up every year, and 4,000 persons divorced. We conceive it to be our duty to resist these tendencies to the utmost of our power. The Church has spoken by her ministers—surely not unnatural exponents of her mind, and their loyalty has often brought upon them bitter hatred and personal loss. But on this question her laity have not been silent. To describe them as 'ecclesiastically-given' is but a disagreeable way of saying that they have been on the Church's side. On the other side are ranged a variety of interests and motives which do not see Parliamentary light. A traveller in a railway carriage heard some country folk discussing the Wife's Sister question. One of them mentioned a man who had 'married' his stepmother. The father had left her the house and some property. The grown-up son was living in the house, and 'married' the woman 'to keep the property together.' The relator quite approved of what the son had done. We, who deprecate even a distant approach to such laxity of morals, ought not to be regarded as hostile to the happiness or the welfare of our country. We believe that we are its true friends. I adopt the concluding sentence of Lord Bramwell's article—with a variation. I trust that a right view will be taken of this important matter, and the law *remain unchanged*.

J. F. OXON.

## *DISTRESS IN EAST LONDON.*

THE poverty of the poor and the failure of the Mansion House Relief Fund are the facts which stand out from the gloom of a winter when dark weather, dull times, and discontent united to depress the hopes of the poor and the energy of their friends. The memory of days full of unavailing complaint and aimless pity is one from which all minds readily turn, quieting fears with the assumption that the poverty was exaggerated or that the generosity of the rich is ample for all occasions.

The facts, however, remain that the poor are very poor, and that the Fund failed as a means of relief; and these facts must be faced if a lesson is to be learnt from the past, and a way discovered through the perils of the future. The policies which occupy the leaders' minds, the interests of business, the theologies, the fashions, are but webs woven in the trees, while the storm is rising in the distance. Sounds of the storm are already in the air, a murmuring among those who have not enough, puffs of boasting from those who have too much, and a muttering from those who are angry because while some are drunken, others are starving. The social question is rising for solution, and, though for a moment it is forgotten, it will sweep to the front and put aside as cobwebs the 'deep' concerns of leaders and teachers. The danger is lest it be settled by passion and not by reason, lest, that is, reforms be hurriedly undertaken in answer to some cry, and without consideration of facts, their weight, their causes, and their relation.

The study of the condition of the people receives hardly as much attention as that which Sir J. Lubbock gives to the ant and the wasp. Bold good men discuss the poor, and cheques are given by irresponsible benefactors, but there are few students who reverently and patiently make observations on social conditions, accumulate facts, and watch cause and effect. Scientific method has won the great victories of the day, and scientific method is supreme everywhere except in those human affairs which most concern humanity.

Ten years ago Arnold Toynbee (it has been said) demanded a 'body of doctrine' from those who cared for the poor. He sought an intellectual basis for moral fervour, and yet to-day what a weak-

heap is our social legislation, what a confusion of action there exists about the poor-law, education, emigration, and land issue. All reformers are driving on, but what is each driving at? Sometimes the same driver has aims obviously incompatible, as when the Lord Mayor one day signs a report which says that 'the spasmodic assistance given by the public in answer to special appeals is really useless,' and another day himself inaugurates a fund by public appeal.

One of the facts of last winter is the poverty of the poor, and it is a fact about which the public mind is uncertain. The working men when they appear at meetings seem to be so well dressed in black cloth, the statistics of trades-unions, friendly, co-operative, and building societies show the members to be so numerous, and the accumulated funds to be so far above thousands and so near to millions sterling, that the necessary conclusion is 'There is no poverty among the poor.' But then the clergy or missionaries echo some 'bitter cry,' and tell how there are thousands of working folk in danger of starvation, thousands without warmth or clothing, and the necessary conclusion is, 'All the poor are poverty-stricken.' The public mind halts between these two conclusions and is uncertain. The uncertainty is due partly to the vague use of the term 'poor,' by which is generally meant all those who are not tradespeople or capitalists, and partly to an inability to appreciate the size of London. The poor, it is obvious, form a minority in the community, and a minority is regarded as a small and manageable body. Last winter's experience clears away all uncertainty, and shows that there is a vast mass of people in London who have neither black coats nor savings, and whose life is dwarfed and shortened by want of food and clothing. In Whitechapel there is a population of 70,000; of these some 20 per cent., exclusive of the Jewish population, applied at the office of the Mansion House Relief Fund during the three months it was opened. In St. George's, East, there is a population of 50,000, and of these 29 per cent. applied.

Among all who applied the number belonging to any trades-union or friendly society was very few. In Whitechapel only 6 out of 1,700 applicants were members of a benefit club. In St. George's only 177 out of 3,578 called themselves artisans. In Stepney 1,000 men applied before one mechanic came, and only one member of a trades-union came under notice at all. In the Tower Hamlets division of East London 17,384 applied, representing 86,920 persons. It may be safely assumed that all in need did not apply, and that many thousands were assisted by other agencies. The reports of some of the visitors expressly state that the numbers they give are exclusive of many referred to the Jewish Board of Guardians, the clergy, and other agencies, while numbers of those who did apply either did not wait to have their names entered, or were so manifestly beyond

the reach of money help that they were not recorded among applicants. Especially noteworthy among the remarks of the visitors is one, that all who applied would at any season of the year apply in the same way and give the same evidence of poverty. 'This fund was advertised as largely as this Fund has been in summer, and when trade was at its best, precisely the same people would apply.' The truth of the remark has been put to the test, and during the summer a large number of those relieved in the winter have been visited, with the result that they have been found apparently in like misery and equally in need of assistance.

Of the poverty of those who made application there has been no question. Some may have brought it on themselves by drink or vice, some may have been thriftless and without self-control; but all were poor, so poor as to be without the things necessary for mere existence. The men and women who crowded the relief offices had haggard and drawn faces, their worn and thin bodies shivered under their rags of clothing, and they gave no sign of strength or hope. Their homes were squalid, the children ill-fed, ill-clad, and joyless, their record showed that for months they had received no regular wage, and that their substance was more often at the pawnbroker's than in the home.

Last winter's experience shows that outside the classes of regular wage-earning workmen, who are often included among 'the poor,' is a mass of people numbering some tens of thousands, who are without the means of living. These are the poor, and their poverty is the common concern.

Statistics prove what has long been known to those whose business lies in poor places, to many of whom the reports of the increased prosperity of the country have been like songs of gladness in a land of sorrow. They know the streets in which every room is a home, the homes in which there is no comfort for the sick, no easy chair for the weary, no bath for the tired, no fresh air, no means of keeping food, no space for play, no possibility of quiet, and to them the news of the national wealth and the sight of fashionable luxury seem but cruel satire. The little dark rooms may bear traces of the man's struggle or of the woman's patience, but the homes of the poor are sad, like the fields of lost battles, where heroism has fought in vain. By no struggle and by no patience can health be won in so few feet of cubic air, and no parent dares to hope that he can make the time of youth so joyful as to for ever hold his children to pleasures which are pure. The homes of the poor are a mockery of the name, but yet how many would think themselves happy if even their homes were secure, and they were able to look to the future without seeing starvation for their children and the workhouse for themselves. One example will illustrate many. The Browns are a family of five; they occupy one room. The man is a labourer,

London-born, quick-witted and slow-bodied, and, as many labourers do, he fills up slack time with hawking; the woman takes in her neighbours' washing. Their room, twelve feet by ten feet, is crowded with two bedsteads, the implements for washing, the coal fire, a table, a chest, and a few chairs; on the walls are some pictures, the human protest against the doctrine that the poor can 'live by bread alone.' The man earns sometimes 3s., often nothing, in the day; and his wife brings in sometimes 6d. or 9d. a day, but her work fills the room with damp and discomfort, and almost necessarily keeps the husband out of doors. Both man and woman are still young, but they look aged, and the children are thin and delicate. They seldom have enough to eat and never enough to wear, they are rarely healthy, and are never so happy as to thank God for their creation. Hard work will make these children orphans, or bad air, cold, and hunger will make these parents childless.

In the case of another family, where the wage is regular—the income is 1*l.* a week—the outlook is not much brighter. Here there is the same crowded room, for which 3s. a week is paid, the same weary half-starved faces, the same want of air and water. Here, too, the parents dare not look forwards, for even if the income remains permanent, it cannot secure necessities for sickness, it cannot educate or apprentice the children, and it cannot provide for their own old age. No income, however, does remain permanent, and the regular hand is always anxious lest a change in trade or in his employer's temper may send him adrift.

In the cases where there is drink, carelessness, or idleness, everything of course looks worse. The room is poorer and dirtier, the faces more shrunken, and the clothes thinner. Indignation against sin does not settle the matter. The poverty is manifest, and if the cause be in the weakness of human nature, then the greater and the harder is the duty of effecting its cure.

Cases of poverty such as these are common; they who by business, duty, or affection, go among the poor know of their existence; but if those who hire a servant, employ work-people, or buy cheap articles would think, they could not longer content themselves with phrases about thrift as almighty for good, and intemperance as almighty for evil. Fourteen pounds a year, if a servant has unfailing health and unbroken work from the age of twenty to fifty-five, will only enable her to save enough for her old age by giving up all pleasure, by neglecting her own family duties, and by impoverishing her life to make a livelihood. Very sad is it to meet in some back-room the living remains of an old servant. Mrs. Smith is sixty-five years old; she has been all her life in service, and saved over 100*l.* She has had but little joy in her youth, and now in her old age she is lonely. Her fear is lest, spending only 7*s.* a week, her savings may not last her life. She could hardly have done more, and

what she did was not enough. A wage of 20s. or 25s. a week is called good wages, yet it leaves the earners unable to buy sufficient food or to procure any means of recreation. The following table represents the necessary weekly expenditure of a family of eight persons, of whom six are children. It allows for each day no shooting luxuries, but only the bare amount of nitrogenous and carbonaceous foods which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the body.

Food, i.e. oatmeal, 1½ lbs. of meat a day, between eight persons, cocoa and bread	0 14 6
Rent for two small rooms	0 5 0
Schooling for four children	0 0 4
Washing	0 1 0
Firing and light	0 2 6
Total	1 2 10

If to this account 2s. a week be added for clothes (and what woman dressing on 100l. or 80l. a year could allow less than 5l. a year to clothe a working-man, his wife, and six children) then the necessary weekly expenditure of the family is 1l. 4s. 10d. Few fathers or mothers are able to resist, and ought not to resist the temptation of taking or giving some pleasure; so even where work is regular and paid at 1l. 5s. 0d. a week, there must be in the home want of food as well as of the luxuries which gladden life.

Those dwellers in pleasant places, without experience of the homes of the poor, who will resolutely set themselves to think about what they do know, must realise that those who make cheap goods are too poor to do their duty to themselves, their neighbours, and their country. The mystery, indeed, remains how many manage to live at all.

One solution is that there exists among these irregular workers a kind of communism. They prefer to occupy the same neighbourhoods and make long journeys to work rather than go to live among strangers. They easily borrow and easily lend. The women spend much time in gossiping, know intimately one another's affairs, and in times of trouble help willingly. One couple, whose united earnings have never reached 15s. a week, whose home has never been more than one small room, has brought up in succession three orphans. The old man, at seventy years of age, just earns a living by running messages or by selling wirework, but even now he spends many a night in hushing a baby whose desertion he pities, and whom he has taken to his care.

The poverty of the poor is understood by the poor, and their charity is according to the measure of Christ's. The charity of the rich is according to another measure, because they do not know of

<sup>1</sup> This table is taken from a paper written by my wife in the *National Review*, July 1896, in which she illustrates by many examples that the average wage is insufficient to support life.

poverty, and they do not know because they do not think. Only the self-satisfied Pharisee and the proud Roman would pass Calvary unmoved, and only the self-absorbed can be ignorant that every day the innocent and helpless are crucified. The selfishness of modern life is shown most clearly in this absence of thought. Absorbed in their own concerns, kindly people carelessly hear statements, see prices, and face sights which imply the ruin of their fellow-creatures. The rich would not be so cruel if they would think. Thought about the amount of food which 'good wages' can buy, about the hours spent in making matches or coats, about the sorrows behind the faces of those who serve them in shops or pass them in the streets—thought would make the rich ready to help, and the fact that there are in the 500,000 inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets 86,920 too poor to live, is enough to make them think.

The failure of the Fund is the other fact of the winter to stir thought. Mansion House relief represents the mercies to which the wisdom and the love of the completest age have committed the needs of the poor. Never were needs so delicate left to mercies so clumsy; needs intertwined with the sorrows and sufferings with which no stranger could intermeddle, have been met with the brutal generosity of gifts given often with little thought or cost. The result has been an increase of the causes which make poverty and a decrease of good-will among men.

The Fund failed even to relieve distress. In St. George's in the East there were nearly 4,000 applicants, representing 20,000 persons. All of these were in distress—were, that is, cold, hungry. 2,400 applicants, representing some 12,000 persons, the committee considered to be working people unemployed and within the scope of the Fund. For their relief 2,000*l.* was apportioned, and if it had been equally divided, each person would have had 3*s.* 4*d.* on which to support life during three months. Such sums might have relieved the givers, pleased by the momentary satisfaction of the recipient, but they would not have relieved the poor, who would still have had to endure days and weeks of want.

The Fund was thus in the first place inadequate to relieve the distress. An attempt was made by discrimination to make it useful to those who were 'deserving.' Forms were given out to be filled in by applicants; visitors were appointed to visit the homes and to make inquiries; committees sat daily to consider and decide on applications. The end of all has been, that in one district those assisted were found to be 'improvident, unsober, and non-industrious,' and in another the almoner can only say, 'they are a careless, hard-living, hard-drinking set of people, and are so much what their circumstances have made them, that terms of moral praise or blame are hardly applicable.' An analysis of the decisions of the committees shows that the decisions were according to different standards,



and, with different views of what was meant by 'assistance.' A half-crown a week was voted for the support of one family in which the man was a notorious drunkard. Twelve pounds were given to start a costermonger on one day, while at a subsequent committee meeting 10s. was voted for a family in almost identical circumstances. In one district casual labourers were given 30s. or 40s., but in the neighbouring district casual labourers were refused relief.

Methods of relief were as many as were the districts into which London was divided. In Whitechapel a labour test was applied. The labourers were offered street-sweeping; and those who were used only to indoor work were put to whitewashing, window cleaning, or tailoring. The women were given needlework. When it was known to the large crowd brought to the office by the advertisement of the Fund, that work was to be offered to the able-bodied, there was among the ne'er-do-weels great indignation. 'Call this charity!' 'We will complain to the Lord Mayor, we will break windows,' and, addressing the almoners, 'It is you fellows who are getting 1l. a day for your work.' Many 'finding they could not get relief without doing work did not persist in their application,' and they were not entered as applicants, but work was actually offered to 850 men and accepted by only 339. Of these the foreman writes, 'the labour test was a sore trial for a great many of them. I repeatedly had it said to me by them, 'The Fund is a charity, and we ought not to work for it.'

In St. George's there was no labour test, and there 1,689 men and 682 women received assistance in food or in materials for labour. In Stepney the conditions under which the Fund was collected were strictly observed, and only those 'out of employment through the present depression' were assisted. The consequence was that casual labourers, the sick, the aged, all known to be frequently out of work, were refused, and much of the fund was spent in large sums for the emigration of a few. In this district the committee was largely composed of members of friendly societies, men who, by experience, were familiar both with the habits of the poor and with the methods of relief. Their co-operation was invaluable, both in itself and also for the confidence which it won for the administration.

In Mile End the committee had another standard of character and another method of inquiry. They kept no record of the number of applications, and those relieved have been differently described as 'good men' and 'loafers' by different members of the committee. 2,539l. were spent among 2,133 families, an average of 4s. 10d. a person. The Poplar committee has published no report, but one of its members writes: 'Relief was often given without investigation to old, chronic, sick, and poor-law cases, without distinction as to character; the rule was, Give, give! spend, spend!' and another states the opinion 'that the whole neighbourhood was demoralised by the

distribution of the Fund.' As a result of their experiences, some of those engaged in relief in this district are now making efforts to unite workmen, and the members of benefit societies, in the administration of future funds.

The sort of relief given was as various as the methods of relief. Sometimes money, sometimes tickets, sometimes food; the variety is excused by one visitor, who says, 'We were ten days at work before instructions came from the Mansion House, and then it was too late to change our system.' Discrimination utterly broke down, and with all the appliances it was chance which ruled the decision. The gifts fell on the worthy and on the unworthy, but as they fell only in partial showers, none received enough and many who were worthy went empty away.

Discrimination of desert is indeed impossible. The poor law officials, with ample time and long experience, cannot say who deserves or would be benefited by out-relief. Amateurs appointed in a hurry, and confused by numbers, vainly try to settle desert. Systems must adopt rules; friendship alone can settle merit.

The Fund failed to relieve distress, and further developed some of the causes which make poverty.

Prominent among such causes are (1) faith in chance; (2) dishonesty in its fullest sense; (3) the unwisdom of so-called charity.

(1) The big advertisement of '70,000*l.* to be given away' offered a chance which attracted idlers, and relaxed in many the energies hitherto so patiently braced to win a living for wife or children. The effect is frequently noticed in the reports. The St. George's in the East visitors emphasize the opinion that it was 'the great publicity of the Fund which made its distribution so difficult.' A visitor in Poplar thinks 'the publicity was tempting to bad cases and deterrent of good ones.' The chance of a gift out of so big a sum was too good to be missed for the sake of hard work and small wages.

Faith in chance was further encouraged by the irregular methods of administration. Refusals and relief followed no law discoverable by the poor. In the same street one washerwoman was set up with stock, while another in equal circumstances was dismissed. In adjoining districts such various systems were adopted that of three 'mates' one would receive work, another a gift, and the third nothing. 'The power of chance' was the teaching of the Fund; started through the accidental emotions of a Lord Mayor, and they who believe in chance give up effort, become wayward, lose power of mind and body. Chance gives up her followers to poverty, and the increase of the spirit of gambling is not the least among the causes of distress.

(2) The remark is sometimes made that 'the righteous man is never found begging his bread,' or, in other words, that there is always work for the man who can be trusted. Honesty in its fullest sense, implying absolute truth, thoroughness, and responsibility, has

great value in the labour market, and agencies which increase a belief in honesty increase wealth. The tendency of the Fund has been to create a belief in lies. Its organization of visitors and committees offered a show of resistance to lies, but over such resistance lies easily triumphed, and many notorious evil-livers got by a good story the relief denied to others. Anecdotes are common as to the way in which visitors were deceived, committees hoodwinked, and money wrongly gained, while the better sort of poor, failing to understand how so much money could have had so little effect, hold the officials to have been smart fellows, who took care of themselves. The laughter roused by such talk is the laughter which demoralizes, it is the praise of the power of lies, and the laughers will not be among those who by honesty do well for themselves and for others.

(3) The mischief of foolish charity is a text on which much has been written, but no doubt exists as to the power of wise charity. The teaching which fits the young to do better work or to find resource in a bye-trade, the influence by which the weak are strengthened to resist temptation, the application of principles which will give confidence, and the setting up of ideals which will enlarge the limits of life—this is the charity which conquers poverty. In East London there are many engaged in such charity, and to their work the action of the Fund was most prejudicial. Some of them, carried away by the excitement, relaxed their patient silent efforts, while they tried to meet a thousand needs with no other remedy than a gift. Others saw their work spoiled, their lessons of self-help undone by the offer of a dole, their teaching of the duty of helping others forgotten in the greedy scramble for graceless gifts. They devoted themselves to do their utmost and bore the heavy burden of distributing the Fund, but most of them speak sadly of their experience. They laboured sometimes for sixteen hours a day, but their labour was not to do good but to prevent evil—a labour of pain—and one speaking the experience of his fellows, says, 'their labours had the appearance of a hurried and spasmodic effort.' The fund of charity, like a torrent, swept away the tender plants which the stream of charity had nourished.

In the face of all this experience it is not extravagant to say that the means of relief used last winter developed the causes of poverty. It may be that if all the poor were self-controlled and honest, and if all charity were wise, poverty would still exist; but self-indulgence, lies, and unwise charity are causes of poverty, and these causes have been strengthened. One visitor's report sums up the whole matter when it says:—

They (the applicants) have received their relief, and they are now in much the same position as they were before, and as they will be found, it is feared, in future winters, until more effectual and less spasmodic means of improving their condition can be devised, for the causes of distress are chronic and permanent. The founda-

tion of such a dependence of character as they possessed has been shaken, and some of them have taken the first step in mendicancy, which is the worst retreat.

Examples, of course, may be found where the relief has been helpful, and some visitors, in the contemplation of the worthy family relieved from pressure and set free to work, may think that one such result justifies many failures. It is not, though, expedient that many should suffer for one, or that a population should be demoralised in order that two or three might have enough.

The Fund as a means of relief has failed: it is condemned by the recipients, who are bitter on account of disappointed hopes; by the almoners, whose only satisfaction is that they managed to do the least possible mischief; and by the mechanics, whose name was taken in vain by the agitators who went to the Lord Mayor, and who feel their class degraded by a system of relief for working men which assumes improvidence and imposition.

The failure of the latest method of relief has been made as manifest as the poverty, and no prophet is needed to tell that bad times are coming. The outlook is most gloomy. The August reports of trades societies characterise trade as 'dull' or 'very slack.' The pawnbrokers report in the same month that they are taking in rather than handing out pledges, and all those who have experience of the poor consider poverty to be chronic. If not in the coming winter, still in the near future there must be trouble.

Poverty in London is increasing both relatively and actually. Relative poverty may be lightly considered, but it breeds trouble as rapidly as actual poverty. The family which has an income sufficient to support life on oatmeal will not grow in good-will when they know that daily meat and holidays are spoken of as 'necessaries' for other workers and children. Education and the spread of literature has raised the standard of living, and they who cannot provide boots for their children, nor sufficient fresh air, nor clean clothes, nor means of pleasure, feel themselves to be poor, and have the hopelessness which is the curse of poverty, as selfishness is the curse of wealth.

Poverty, however, in London is increasing actually. It is increased (1) by the number of incapables: 'broken men, who by their misfortunes or their vices have fallen out of regular work,' and who are drawn to London because chance work is more plentiful, 'company' more possible, and life more enlivened by excitement. (2) By the deterioration of the physique of those born in close rooms, brought up in narrow streets, and early made familiar with vice. It was noticed that among the crowds who applied for relief there were few who seemed healthy or were strongly grown. In Whitechapel the foreman of those employed in the streets reported that 'the majority had not the stamina to make even a good scavenger.' (3) By the disrepair into which saving is fallen. Partly because happiness (as

the majority count happiness) seems to be beyond their reach, partly because the teaching of the example of the well-to-do is 'enjoy yourselves,' and partly because 'the saving man' seems 'bad company, unsocial and selfish;' the fact remains that few take the trouble to save—only units out of the thousands of applicants had shown any signs of thrift. (4) By the growing animosity of the poor against the rich. Good-will among men is a source of prosperity as well as of peace. Those bound together consider each another's interests, and put the good of the 'whole' before the good of a class. Among large classes of the poor animosity is slowly taking the place of good-will, the rich are held to be of another nation, the theft of a lady's diamonds is not always condemned as the theft of a poor man's money, and the gift of 70,000*l.* is looked on as ransom and perhaps an inadequate ransom. The bitter remarks sometimes heard by the almoners are signs of disunion, which will decrease the resources of all classes. The fault did not begin with the poor; the rich sinned, but the poor, made poorer and more angry, suffer the most.

On account of these and other causes it may be expected that poverty will be increased. The poorer quarters will become still poorer, the sight of squalor, misery, and hunger more painful, the cry of the poor more bitter. For their relief no adequate means are proposed. The last twenty years have been years of progress, but for want of care and thought the means of relief for poverty remain unchanged. The only resource twenty years ago was a Mansion House Fund, and the only resource available in this enlightened and wealthy year of our Lord is a similar gift thrown, not brought, from the West to the East.

The paradise in which a few theorists lived, listening to the talk at social science congresses, has been rudely broken. Lord Mayors, merchant princes, prime ministers, and able editors have no better means for relief of distress than that long ago discredited by failure. One of the greatest dangers possible to the State has been growing in the midst, and the leaders have slumbered and slept. The resources of civilisation, which are said to be ample to suppress disorder, and to evolve new policies, have not provided means by which the chief commandment may be obeyed, and love shown to the poor neighbour.

The outlook is gloomy enough, and the cure of the evil is not to be effected by a simple prescription. The cure must be worked by slow means which will take account of the whole nature of man, which will regard the future to be as important as the present, and which will win by waiting.

Generally it is assumed that the chief change is that to be effected in the habits of the poor. All sorts of missions and schemes exist for the working of this change. Perhaps it is more to the purpose that a change should be effected in the habits of the rich.

Society has settled itself on a system which it never questions. It is assumed to be absolutely within a man's right to live where he chooses and to get the most for his money.

It is this practice of living in pleasant places which impoverishes the poor. It authorises, as it were, a lower standard of life for the neighbourhoods in which the poor are left; it encourages a contempt for a home which is narrow; it leaves large quarters of the town without the light which comes from knowledge, and large masses of the people without the friendship of those better taught than themselves. The precept that 'every one should live over his shop' has a very direct bearing on life, and it is the absence of so many from their shops, be the shop 'the land' or 'a factory,' which makes so many others poorer. Absenteeism is an acknowledged cause of Irish troubles, and Mr. Goldwin Smith has pointed out that 'the greatest evils of absenteeism are—first, that it withdraws from the community the upper class, who are the natural channels of civilising influences to the classes below them, and, secondly, that it cuts off all personal relations between the individual landlord and his tenant.' He further adds that it was 'natural the gentry should avoid the sight of so much wretchedness . . . and be drawn to the pleasures of London or Dublin.' The result in Ireland was heartbreaking poverty which relief funds did not relieve, and there is no reason why in East London absenteeism should have other results.

In the same way the unquestioned habit of every one to get the most for his money tends to make poverty. In the competition which the habit provokes, many are trampled under foot, and in the search after enjoyment wealth is wasted which would support thousands in comfort.

The habits of the people are in the charge of the Church, so that by its ministers (conformist and nonconformist) God's Spirit may bend the most stubborn will. Those ministers have a great responsibility. God's Spirit has been imprisoned in phrases about the duty of contentment and the sin of drink; the stubborn will has been strengthened by the doctor's opinion as to the necessity of living apart from the worry of work, and by the teaching of a political economy which assumes that a man's might is a man's right. The ministers who would change the habits of the rich will have to preach the prophet's message about the duty of giving and the sin of luxury, and to denounce ways of business now pronounced to be respectable and Christian. Old teaching will have to be put in new language, giving shown to consist in sharing, and earning to be sacrifice. For some time it may be the glory of a preacher to empty rather than to fill his church as he reasons about the Judgment to come, when twopence a gross to the match-makers will be laid alongside of the twenty-two per cent. to the shareholders, and penny dinners for the poor compared with sixteen courses for the rich—

when the 'seamy' side of wealth and pleasure will be exposed.' For some time the ministers who would change habits may fail. 'It is not until they are able again to lift up the God whose presence is dimly felt, and whose nature is misunderstood, that they will succeed. In the knowledge of God is eternal life. When all know God as the Father who requires rich and poor to be perfect sharers in His gifts of knowledge, beauty, and joy, as well as in His gifts of virtue, forgiveness, and peace, then none will be satisfied until they are at one with Him, and His habit has become their habit.

It may, however, be well here to suggest in a few words what may be done while habits 'remain the same' by laws or systems for the relief of poverty.

It would be wise (1) to promote the organisation of unskilled labour. The mass of applicants last winter belonged to this class, and in one report it is distinctly said that the greater number were 'born within the demoralising influence of the intermittent and irregular employment given by the Dock Companies, and who have never been able to rise above their circumstances.' It is in evidence that the wages of these men do not exceed 12s. a week on an average in a year. If, by some encouragement, these men could be induced to form a union, and if by some pressure the Docks could be induced to employ a regular gang, much would be gained. The very organisation would be a lesson to these men in self-restraint and in fellowship. The substitution of regular hands at the Docks for those who now, by waiting and scrambling, get a daily ticket, would give to a large number of men the help of settled employment and take away the dependance on chance, which makes many careless. Such a change might be met by a *non possumus* of the directors, but it is forgotten that to the present system a weightier *non possumus* would be urged if the labourers could speak as shareholders do speak. A possible loss of profit is not comparable to an actual loss of life, and the labourers do lose life, and more than life, as they scramble for a living that the dividend may be increased.

(2) The helpers of the poor might be more efficiently organised. The ideal of co-operating charity has long hovered over the mischief and waste of competing charity. Up to the present denominational jealousy, or the belief in crotchets, or the self-will which 'dislikes committees,' has prevented common work. If all who are serving the poor could meet and divide—meet to learn one another's object and divide each to do his own work—there would be a force applied which might remove mountains of difficulty. Abuse would be known, wise remedies would be suggested, and foolish remedies prevented. Indirect means would be brought to the support of direct, and those

\* Prices paid according to the Mansion House report are: Making of shirts, 3d. to 4d. each; making soldiers' leggings, 2s. a dozen; making lawn-tennis aprons, elaborately frilled, 5½d. a dozen to the sweeter, the actual worker getting less.

concerned to reform the land laws, to teach the ignorant, and beautify the ugly, would be recognised as fellow-workers with those whose object is the abolition of poverty. Money would be amply given, and the high motives of faith and love applied to the reform of character. The ideal is in its fulness impossible until there be a really national Church, in which the denominations will preach their truth, and in which 'the entire religious life of the nation will be expressed.' Such a Church, extending into every corner of the land and drawing to itself all who love their neighbours, would realise the ideal of co-operative charity, and so order things that no one would be in sorrow whom comfort will relieve, and no one in pain whom help can succour.

(3) Lastly, the qualification for a seat on a board of guardians might be removed and the position opened to working men.<sup>2</sup> The action of the poor-law has a very distinct effect on poverty, and intelligent experience is on the side of administration by rule rather than by sentiment. In poor-law unions, where it is known that 'indoors' all that is necessary for life will be provided, but that 'outdoors' nothing will be given, the poor feel they are under a rule which they can understand. They are able to calculate on what will happen in a way which is impossible when 'giving goes by favour or desert,' and they do not wait and suffer by trusting to a chance. Public opinion, however, does not support such administration, and as public opinion is largely now that of the working men, it is necessary that these men should be admitted on to boards of guardians, where by experience they would learn how impossible it is to adjust relief to desert, and how much less cruel is regular sternness than spasmodic kindness. A carefully and wisely administered poor-law is the best weapon in hand for the troubles to come, and such is impossible without the sympathy of all classes.

By some such means preparation may be made for dealing with poverty, but even these would not be sufficient and would not be in order at a moment of emergency.

If next winter there be great distress, what, it may be asked, can possibly be done? The chief strain must undoubtedly be borne by the poor-law, and the poor-law must follow rules—hard-and-fast lines. The simplest rule is indoor relief for all applicants, and if for able-bodied men the relief take the form of work which is educational, its helpfulness will be obvious. The casual labourer, whose family is given necessary support on condition that he enters the House, may, during his residence, learn something of whitewashing, woodwork, and baking, or, better yet, that habit of regularity which will do much to keep up the home which has been kept together for him.

<sup>2</sup> It might be necessary at the same time to abolish 'the compounder,' so that the tenant of every tenement might himself pay the rates and feel their burden.



The poor-law can thus help during a time of pressure without any break in its established system. If more is necessary, perhaps the next best form of relief would be an extension of that tried last year by the Whitechapel Committee of the Mansion House Fund. By co-operation with other local authorities the guardians might offer more work at street sweeping, or cleaning—which in poor London is never adequately done—under such conditions of residence or providence as would prevent immigration, but would be free of the degrading associations of the stone-yards. The staff at the disposal of the guardians would enable them to try the experiment more effectively than was possible when a voluntary committee without experience, time, or staff, had to do everything.

By some such plans relief could be afforded to all who belong to what may be called the lowest class; for the assistance of those who could be helped by tools, emigration, or money, the great Friendly societies, the Society for Relief of Distress, and the Charity Organisation Society might act in conjunction. These societies are unsectarian, are already organised and may be developed in power and tenderness to any extent by the addition of members and visitors.

These means and all means which are suggested seem sadly inadequate, and in their very setting forth provoke criticism. There are no effectual means but those which grow in a Christian society. The force which, without striving and crying, without even entering into collision with it, destroyed slavery will also destroy poverty. When rich men, knowing God, realise that life is giving, and when poor men, also knowing God, understand that being is better than having, then there will be none too rich to enter the kingdom of heaven, and none too poor to enjoy God's world.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

## *GUSTAVE FLAUBERT AND GEORGE SAND.*

THE genius of each generation chooses instinctively among traditional forms its particular method of expression and the means by which it can most easily influence mankind. It is mainly through the agency of the novel that this end is attained in our portion of the nineteenth century. Forty-two years ago Sainte-Beuve, while singing the requiem of the extraordinarily fertile period that reigned in the intellectual life of France from 1830 to 1840, prophesied that the old forms of art were passing away, and that new ones must arise : 'I place my hopes for the future on dramatic literature. In it will be found, I believe, the new development. The theatre, and the theatre alone, can rouse the wearied mind of this generation from its apathy, and give shape and colour to the mental speculations now germinating in men's minds.

The great critic failed to see that the new departure was destined to take place in the domain of novel-writing rather than in the domain of the drama, and that not only would the novelist appropriate much of the influence hitherto wielded by the playwright, but would compel the drama to join issue with the novel, as far as theatrical conventions would allow, in its realism and accuracy of finish. Many novels are now dramatised, and many novelists have become writers of plays. Alexandre Dumas, fils, before he was bitten by the desire to occupy the position of tragic moralist, led the way to naturalism on the stage. Emile Augier and Octave Feuillet have both successfully followed in his footsteps. Until, however, the naturalistic millennium, foretold by the new school, has completely descended upon the intellectual world the novel must depend for its effects on motives very different from those which rule dramatic action. The one evolves its story by describing every shade, every gradation, in surroundings and background which influence its personages, while the other is constrained to catch the attention of the public by colour, movement, sudden contrasts, and anomalous situations. 'Le Théâtre vit d'exceptions,' and our generation, living at high pressure as it does, likes, in its rare moments of repose, to take its doses of philosophy diluted, and its quota of morality in solution. A transcript of ordinary life, as it passes around it, suits its over-burdened digestion better than exceptional events or abnormal individualities.

It is to France we must look for the highest development of the modern novel. The French intellect is analytic, quick to seize the phantasies and fashions of the hour and give them expression and shape, sensitive to the ridiculous and to the weaker side of human nature, and gifted with an artistic appreciation of form and proportion which permits its imagination to 'vagabond' here and there, yet keeps its work symmetrical and within the limits of probability. The novel on so fruitful a soil has taken every form, socialistic and pathological, pastoral and erudite, political and domestic. No reticence hinders, no moral consideration prevents, the French writer of fiction from touching on any and every subject. Of these classifications, the most arrogant in its pretensions is the so-called 'Scientific' or 'Experimental' novel, by which, its exponents tell us, 'a work of fiction is to be approached like a study in pathology and reduced to the observation of the "Universal Mechanism of Matter"'

As the science of medicine, they tell us, has emerged, thanks to the experimental method, from a state of empiricism into the definite region of facts, so the study of mental feeling and passion is to be reduced from theory and supposition to a stern deduction from actuality. The high priests of this school of fiction are Zola, the De Goncourts, Guy de Maupassant, and a host of others in our day; Stendhal, Balzac, and Flaubert, a quarter of a century ago. In 1830 Stendhal (Henri Beyle), with the cynicism and materialism that has since distinguished the naturalistic following, gave forth his confession of pessimism and atheism to the world with a crudity and explicitness that offended a public accustomed to the vaporous vagueness of De Musset and Baudelaire. 'I shall be understood in 1880,' he said, with a shrug of the shoulders, divining, with a shrewd comprehension of human nature, that his theory of fiction was the one destined to rule men's minds in the future. *La Chartreuse de Parme* and *Rouge et Noir*, considered by the 'Moderns' as occupying a foremost position in French literature, were so disregarded at the time of their publication as to induce their author to shake the dust of his ungrateful country off his feet and spend the last years of his life in Italy. 'Arrigo Beyle, Milanese,' as he caused himself to be called on his tombstone, was only a little in advance of his time. Already young Balzac had entered upon his prodigious work the *Comédie Humaine*, and had paid a tribute to the memory of his predecessor in an exhaustive article on his literary method. George Sand met the innovator in Italy during her visit to Venice. Being then in the days of her fiery youth, she could not brook his plain speaking, and they parted with indignant words. Before becoming a friend of Flaubert's, she had begun to see the reverse of the medal; though remaining a 'troubadour' to the end of her days, singing ideal and romantic love without regard to science or

psychology, she listened to those who ranged themselves on the other side.

In the correspondence lately published between her and Flaubert we have a full exposition of this disparity in their views. The letters were never intended for publication, and we quite agree with the critic, M. Brunetière, that the editors have done their work carelessly and hastily; that they have not taken the trouble *de faire leur toilette*; that they have evidently suppressed pages without acknowledging the fact or without deigning to give explanatory notes; and that the dates are in many instances palpably wrong, showing that they cannot have taken the trouble to collate and compare her letters with his. For our part, we are glad the correspondence was published with its 'toilet unmade,' without the elision of Flaubert's misanthropy, or his strong language on the subject of the stupidity of mankind. As it stands at present it might be a dialogue between the two artists at 'Nohant,' or 'Croisset'—in her study looking out on the 'Vallée Noire,' or by 'the river that brings fresh breezes to his cavern.' They talk without reference either to the public or to professional considerations, or to anything that can check the full flow of confidential and unreserved plain speaking. We hear every phase and point of view of the two intellectual standpoints which they occupy discussed and ventilated. We are shown the stratagems of their craft. We see the ropes and pulleys, the shifting of the scenes, the necessary appearance or non-appearance of the principal figure, the extent to which idealism or realism is required to deceive the audience before which they perform. Sometimes there is a want of sentiment in Flaubert's matter-of-fact manner of discussing the methods of his art which is disturbing to all illusion. He is like a child in a garden pulling up the flowers to see how the roots grow. There is no pretension to fine writing; indeed, one is surprised at the want of fluency displayed by the author of *Mme. Bovary*; yet every now and then he demonstrates the 'anatomy' of his art with a rare precision and skill.

His first letter is dated 1866. He was then forty-five, George Sand sixty-two. It is written ceremoniously to thank her for a favourable criticism of some of his work. The next arranges a visit she is to pay him at Rouen. After this visit a constant interchange of letters sets in. The two discuss every subject in art, religion, and literature. They coin words for their own use. She signs herself the old Troubadour, 'qui toujours chante et chantera le parfait amour'; he addresses her as 'mon bon maître.' She rates him on his indolence.

And you, my Benedictine, alone in your charming monastery, working and never going out, that is what comes of travelling too much in your youth; and yet you can do a '*Bovary*,' and describe out-of-the-way corners like a great master. You are a creature quite out of the way, very mysterious, but gentle as a sheep.

Delate-Reuve declares that you are very immoral—perhaps he sees with unclean eyes, like that learned botanist who says the ‘germander’ is a ‘dirty yellow.’ The observation is so untrue that I could not help writing in the margin of his book, ‘It is your eyes that are unclean.’ . . . I believe you to be in a state of grace, since you like work and solitude, in spite of the rain.

They differ on every conceivable point, intellectual and moral. After ten years of correspondence, she writes,—

We are, I think, as unlike in our manner of seeing things as it is possible to be; yet, since we love one another, all is well, since we think of one another at the same moment. I conclude people require their opposites. Minds find their completion in identification for a time with elements essentially different to themselves.

As much dissimilarity existed in the origin, birth, and early surroundings of George Sand and Flaubert as in every other particular. Both are striking examples of the laws of heredity so insisted upon by the pathological school of fiction. She had royal and heroic blood in her veins, and reproduced in her fiction the personage of Maurice de Saxe, and women at variance with social laws—as were three of her ancestresses—to the end of her literary career. Gustave was the son of a doctor. The only ray of romance that illumined his bourgeois origin was the friendship subsisting in childhood between his maternal grandmother and Charlotte Corday. He was born at Rouen on December 12, 1821. Reared among the unbeautiful, almost sordid, surroundings of the doctor’s home, the boy grew up quiet, reserved, and backward for his age, except in the art of weaving stories out of the everyday occurrences round him. Flaubert’s father was a humane man in the best acceptation of the word. ‘The sight of a suffering dog,’ his son tells us, ‘brought tears to his eyes. He performed his surgical operations skilfully nevertheless, and invented some terrible ones.’ He took the same view of Gustave’s literary pursuits as the old Hamburg banker did of his nephew Henri Heine’s, ‘Hätte der dumme Knabe was gelernt, so brauchte er keine Bücher zu schreiben.’ The boy’s freedom was never interfered with, however, and he was allowed to sit reading all day long, his head between his hands. In the strange preface, with its mixture of reserve and effusion, which he wrote to the last poems of his friend Louis Bouilhet, he relates with subtle force of humour the absurd enthusiasms of their schoolboy life at the Alma Mater of Rouen:—

I do not know what the dreams of schoolboys are, but ours were splendid in their extravagance. The last ebullitions of romanticism that reached us, circumscribed by our everyday surroundings, brought about a strange excitement. Whilst enthusiastic hearts sighed after dramatic loves, with their accompaniments of gondolas, black masks, and great ladies fainting in post-chaises in Calabria, others dreamt of conspiracies and rebellions. One rhetorician composed an ‘Apology for Robespierre,’ which circulated outside the school and led to a duel between the author and a stranger. I remember that one schoolmate wore a red cap; another

declared his intention to die as a Mohican; while one of our intimate friends determined to turn renegade and seek service under *Abd-el-Kader*. We attempted suicide, we meditated every absurdity, but what a hatred of the commonplace! What aspirations, what respect for the masters! How we admired Victor Hugo!

As a young man he was exceptionally handsome, but no woman's love could tempt him from the one constant passion that animated his life. 'Je n'ai jamais pu emboîter Vénus avec Apollon,' he declared. From his earliest youth he devoted his entire intellectual and physical energy to literature, undermining his health, and ultimately sacrificing his existence to his imperious and exacting mistress. 'It is better to get drunk on ink than on eau-de-vie,' he answers, when his friend tells him prophetically, 'You love literature inordinately; it will kill you.'

Infinitely touching is the exhortation with which he ends the preface to Bouilhet's poems, alluded to above:—

Since the public always ask for a moral, here is mine: Are there two young students who spend their leisure moments reading the poets together, who, full of literary ambition, compare words and sentences, indifferent to all else; hiding their passion with the modesty of a young girl—then I give them this advice: Spend the days of your youth in the arms of the Muse; her love replaces all other, and consoles for every loss. Then, if events passing around you seem transposed into shape and form, and you feel imperiously driven to reproduce them, so that everything, even your own existence, seems useless for other purpose, and that you are prepared for all disappointments, ready for all sacrifices, proof against all trials, then I say, 'Take the plunge! publish! You will have put your powers to the test, and be able to bear reverses and trials of every kind with equanimity.'

In 1843 a cloud came over Flaubert's life. One evening, after a long walk with his brother, he fell in a fit, which proved to be epileptic. From that time he was subject to frequent similar attacks. His father did what he could for him, but medical skill seemed powerless. Flaubert himself studied every medical work upon the subject, but to no purpose. 'I am a lost man,' he said one day to a friend. 'Fêlé, si fêlé est le mot juste, car je sens le contenu qui fuit,' is his tragic lament, at a later period, to George Sand.

The attacks ceased in middle life, but recurred in later years, until one day he fell dead on his study table, strewn at the time with books of reference and the manuscript of a new novel.

The correspondence which is before us shows how this affliction was present to his mind at all times. In studying his literary work the recollection of his impaired health must never leave us, for there is no doubt it accounts for the intense gloom that pervades it. 'The saddest mourning is not the one we wear upon our hats,' as he says.

Towards the end of the year 1849 Flaubert finished the *Tentation de Saint Antoine*, and read it aloud to Du Camp and Bouilhet. The reading lasted thirty-two hours (eight hours a day for four days)

His friends were in a predicament. Neither ventured to tell him his work was hopelessly dull. At length Bouilhet plucked up courage. 'Mon cher,' he said, 'we think you ought to put that book in the fire, and not think any more about it.' Flaubert took his friends' advice so far as not to publish *Saint Antoine* until long after in a completely different form. Out of this incident, however, arose one of the most important events in his history, and indeed in the history of the French literature of the day. Bouilhet, after his frank advice, suggested the subject which Flaubert gave form to in *Mme. Bovary*. Bouilhet had heard the story in Rouen. Charles Bovary had been an old pupil of Flaubert's father, and all the main incidents were taken from the life:—the young girl married to a plain, uninteresting husband; the crime, the misery, the debts; ending with the wife's suicide and the man's death, after discovering his wife's infidelity;—nothing can be imagined more tragic than the subject, nothing more cruelly realistic than Flaubert's treatment of it. The very supplementary title, *Mœurs de province*, startles us by its cynicism and bitterness.

So base, so mean, so vulgar are the manners and minds of the people whom he describes, that we feel inclined, a dozen times during the reading of the book, to lay it aside disheartened and irritated, and a dozen times we are charmed back again by the marvellous descriptions and touches of realism in which it abounds. There are days on the coast of his own Normandy that remind one of its pages—days dark and stormy, when the sea breaks with a ceaseless, mournful sound. You look round in vain for a bright spot in the leaden sky; when, suddenly, a flash of lightning reveals a whole landscape undreamed of before.

Both the public and private history of *Mme. Bovary* form curious episodes in the history of literature. On its publication in 1857, the Second Empire, like all governments who attain to power with not very clean hands, wished to show the extreme orthodoxy of its moral and religious views, and endeavoured to suppress the book. The lawsuit that followed it was vehemently attacked by the counsel for the prosecution, and eloquently defended by M. Sénart for the defence. The acquittal of the author was obtained with difficulty; yet he was more than compensated by the publicity given to the book, and by its extraordinary and unprecedented success.

Its private history has been revealed by Guy de Maupassant. After five years of incessant labours Flaubert entrusted his manuscript to his friend Maxime Du Camp, who passed it on to Laurent-Pichat, editor of the *Revue de Paris*. Soon after, Maxime wrote to Flaubert to the effect that he and Laurent-Pichat, having read it, recommended him to allow them to cut out and shorten, as they saw fit, for publication in the *Revue*. They would concede him the right to publish it subsequently in any form he might like. If he did not

consent to this proposal, he was told that by the publication of a book overweighted with detail and involved in style, he would hopelessly compromise his literary reputation.

Be courageous [this remarkable letter ends]; shut your eyes during the operation, and have confidence, if not in our talent, at least in the experience we have acquired in dealing with affairs of this sort, and also in our affection for you. You have buried your story under a mass of matter artistic but useless. It must be unearthed. We will have this done under our own supervision by an experienced and skilful hand; not a word shall be added to your copy—only portions cut out. It will not cost you more than a hundred francs, which can be deducted from your royalties, and you will have published a really good book instead of an indifferent one.

This letter was found religiously preserved among Flaubert's papers, with the one word 'Gigantesque' written on it. He submitted to the operation, for a copy of the first edition of the book was found on which was written:—

This copy represents my book as it left the hands of Sieur Laurent-Pichat, poet, and proprietor of the *Revue de Paris*,—GUSTAVE FLAUBERT, 20th April, 1857.

The alterations were noteworthy. Each page was covered with erasures; paragraphs, entire pieces were cut out; almost all the original and striking passages ruthlessly expurgated. Flaubert at once took it out of their hands and published it in its entirety. Both the public prosecution and the private negotiation with Maxime Du Camp did much to embitter his views of 'la bêtise humaine.' 'When a man's got his limbs whole he can bear a smart cut or two;' but neither Flaubert's limbs nor his mind were whole.

In his *Opinions de Thomas Grandorge* Taine describes a dinner at which a young diplomat, seated beside a stiff Evangelical Englishwoman, attempts to defend French novels from the charge of immorality brought against them:—

'Miss Mathews, you judge us severely because you have not read us. Permit me to send you a French novel to-morrow, just published, the profoundest and most soul-stirring of all the moral writings of our time. It is written by a kind of monk, a Benedictine, who went to the Holy Land, and was even shot at by the infidels. This monk lives secluded in a hermitage near Rouen, shut up night and day, working incessantly. He is very learned, and has published a work on ancient Carthage. He ought to be in the Academy; it is to be hoped he will succeed Mgr. Dupanloup. Not only is he full of genius, but so conscientious. He studied medicine for some time under his father, who was a doctor, and judges character by physiognomy. If he has a fault, it is that he is too profound, too laborious to please frivolous readers. His end and object is to warn young women against indolence, vain curiosity, and indiscriminate reading. His name is Gustave Flaubert, and his book is called "Mme. Bovary; or the Results of Bad Conduct." Miss Mathews looked pleased, asked the name of the editor: 'I will,' she said, 'translate the book immediately on my return to London, and we will distribute it through the Wesleyan society for the advancement of morality.'



Flaubert had no intention of 'showing the results of bad conduct' in *Mme. Bovary*. 'Art for art' was his axiom; but like all true artists he was forced, in spite of himself, into 'preaching a moral.' He had lived long enough in the world to know its sorrows, and to know that deepest tragedy of all, unlawful, cruel, sensual love; and therefore he wrote the story of Emma Bovary, with its pitiful ending. He abstains from judging the conduct of his characters, but sees life through a glass darkly, and represents it so to his readers. His theory was that a novel ought to be a philosophical transcript of life, dispassionately and faithfully done, uninfluenced by the sentiment or bias of the author. 'If the reader does not without help discover the moral of a book,' he observes, 'either the reader is a fool, or the book is false and inexact.'

I do not write [he declares to George Sand] 'about the misery of the world' for pleasure, believe me; but I cannot change my eyes! As to my 'having no convictions'—alas! convictions smother me. I burst with internal rage and indignation. But in the ideal I have of art, I think one ought not to show one's convictions; the artist ought no more to appear in his work than God in nature. Man is nothing; the work everything. This discipline, which may start from an entirely erroneous basis, is not easy to observe, and, so far as I am concerned, it is a sort of permanent sacrifice that I make to good taste. I would like to say what I think, and to comfort the *Sieur Gustave Flaubert* by phrases; but what is the importance of said *Sieur*?

They both of them in their letters hark back to this vexed question, a vital one between the romantic and the realistic schools, whether the artist's individuality ought to appear in what he writes. 'As to giving expression to my personal opinion of the people I put on the stage,' Flaubert declares, 'No, a thousand times no. . . . I have an unconquerable dislike to put anything of my heart on paper.' Her answer, dated Nohant, February 2, 1863, says:—

To put nothing of one's heart in one's writing? I do not understand such a statement. It seems to me impossible to put anything else. Can I separate my mind from my heart? Can sensation be limited? Not to give myself up entirely to my work seems to me as impossible as to cry with anything but my eyes and to think with anything but my brain. What do you really mean? You will tell me when you have time.

Again, speaking of the novels they were going to set to work at in 1875, she says:—

What shall we do? You for certain will portray 'desolation,' and I 'consolation.' I do not know what influences our destinies. You see your characters as they pass, you criticise them; from a literary point of view you abstain from appreciating them, you content yourself with painting them, hiding your personal bias carefully and systematically. Still, it is visible through your work, and you only make people who read you more sad. I wish to make them less unhappy. I cannot forget that my personal victory over despair was the work of my will

and of a new method of comprehension which is the complete opposite of that which I hold firmly.

I know you blame the intervention of the doctrine of personality in literature.

Are you right? Is it not rather a want of conviction than an æsthetic principle? It is impossible to have a philosophy in the soul without its showing itself. I have no literary counsels to give you. I believe firmly your school have more talent and power of work than I have. Only I think theirs and your great want is a settled and wide view of life. Art is not only portrayal, and real painting must be always full of the soul that rules the brush. Art is not only criticism and satire; criticism and satire only paint one side of truth.

I wish to see man as he is. He is neither good nor evil; he is good and evil; but he is something yet more—a soul! Being good and bad, he has an internal force which leads him to be very bad and a little good, or very good and a little bad.

In this discussion, as in almost all they hold, 'George Sand is right, and Flaubert is not wrong.' She allowed her personality to appear to an overweening extent. She never wrote a novel that was not an account of one of her own love affairs or an exposition of some of her social or socialistic ideas, while he was impersonal and impartial to an unsympathetic and depressing degree. His characters submit to circumstances. They never mould them to their will. There is little doubt this is what constitutes the immorality of *Mme. Bovary* and although never alluded to in the prosecution it is this fatalism, or, as the school call it, 'determinism,' which instinctively filled moralists and ecclesiastics with dread. So you are made, and so you must act. Providence has developed your sensual appetites, therefore it is useless to resist them. If Emma Bovary does not yield to Léon, it is not from a moral effort to save herself, but because she is not ripe for the fall; and afterwards there is no passionate regret for sin, no endeavour to lift herself out of the degradation, no compunction even on account of her child. And when at the end she commits suicide, it is not from remorse for the ruin she has brought on all around her; but because it is the only possible means of escape from her own difficulties. All the exhilaration of human struggle and endeavour is ruthlessly eliminated.

Flaubert was above all an artist, nothing but an artist, and one of those artists in whom two or three predominant faculties absorbed and ended literally in annihilating the others. The result was that he understood nothing of the world, or of life, but that 'which could help to the completion of his own artistic individuality,' 'sa consommation personnelle.' He recognised nothing else. He was the head of the school of art designated 'L'art pour l'art.' He did not admit that any æsthetic creation should have any object but itself and its own completion. He had too great a contempt for his fellow-men to endeavour to improve them. His pessimism would have deterred him from any utilitarian tendency.

'Art,' he wrote, 'must be self-sufficing, and must not be looked on as a means.'

The end and aim of art for me is beauty. I remember my heart beating, with acute delight, as I looked at a wall of the Acropolis, a perfectly plain wall (the one on the left on the ascent to the Propylæa). I wonder if a look independently of what it says can produce the same effect? In the precision of arrangement, the rarity of material, the polish of its surface, the harmony of the completed work, is there not intrinsic merit?—a sort of divine force, something eternal, like a great principle?

The one thing that seemed to him enduring and absolute in his life made up of delusions and disappointments was form and beauty of expression. A well-proportioned sentence presented an indestructible and complete force to his senses that was as concrete and exact as the resolution of a problem to a mathematician.

When one knows how to attract the whole interest of a page on one line, bring one idea into prominence among a hundred others, solely by the choice and position of the terms that express it; when one knows how to hit with a word, one only word, placed in a certain position; when one knows how to move a soul, how to fill it suddenly with joy, or fear, or enthusiasm, or grief, or rage, by putting an adjective under the reader's eye, then one is really the greatest of artists, a real writer of prose.

There is something pathetically comic in the way he struggles with his composition—

I pass weeks without exchanging a word with a living being, and at the end of the week I cannot recall a single day or a single event. I see my mother and my niece on Sundays, that is all. My only society consists of a band of rats who make an infernal row in the garret above my head, when the water does not gurgle and groan and the wind blow. The nights are as black as ink, and a silence like that of the desert reigns around me. Such an existence reacts on the nerves. My heart beats at the least thing.

All this is the result of our intellectual occupations. This is what comes of torturing body and soul; but that torture is the only thing worth having in the world.

You astound me [George Sand replies] with the difficulty you find in your work. Is it coquetry? You show it so little! My great difficulty is to choose between the thousand and one scenic combinations, which can vary *ad infinitum* the simple situation. As to style, I treat it much more cavalierly than you. The wind plays on my old harp as it pleases: high or low, loud or soft. It is all the same to me, so long as the emotion is there. Yet I cannot evolve anything out of myself. It is the 'other' who sings as he lists, well or ill. And when I try to think about it, I get frightened, and tell myself that I am nothing, nothing at all.

A certain amount of philosophy saves us from despondency. Suppose we are really nothing but instruments, it is a delightful state, and a sensation unlike anything else to let yourself vibrate.

Let the wind rush through your chords. I think you take too much trouble, and that you ought to let the 'other' influence you oftener. The instrument might sound weak at times, but the breath of inspiration continuing would increase in strength. Then you could do afterwards what I don't do, but what I ought to do—you would raise the tone of colour of your picture, putting in more light or shade.

He had the faults as well as the merits of an artist. Towards the end of his life his exclusiveness and impatience with commonplace

humanity became predominant, often to the deterioration of his good heart and liberality of mind. It is not without a pained feeling of surprise, for instance, that we see a Frenchman writing in 1867, 'At the last Magny dinner the conversation was so "boorish" that I swore internally never to go again. They talked of nothing but "M. de Bismarck and the Luxembourg." I was sick of it.' This ebullition was perfectly sincere. He did not understand that among literary people and artists a conversation could turn on politics. Politics, as he thought, were outside of, and almost antagonistic to art. Man is made for art, and not art for man; 'La sacro-sainte littérature' is the only thing of any importance in life; everything else is but unmeaning and vulgar. Such is his estimate of men and things.

As a natural consequence of this extreme literary fastidiousness Flaubert declared that the artist ought only to work for a chosen few, and that the crowd for him did not exist. We can imagine how antagonistic this was to all George Sand's views of work and life. 'We novelists must write for all the world, for all who need to be initiated. When we are not understood, we are resigned to the inevitable and begin again. When one is understood, one rejoices and goes on.' And then she says, later on, 'You can hardly be accurate in saying that you write to please a dozen people, for failure irritates and affects you.' She knew that, like many others, when Flaubert succeeded, he did not find humanity so stupid, nor the public so dense; but also, that when he did not succeed, instead of trying to find out the reason, he declared it was a cabal, or prejudice, or jealousy. This incapacity of submitting to the mildest criticism did not arise so much from wounded vanity as from his incapacity to see that his work could have been conceived or executed in any other method than that in which he had conceived and executed it.

This exclusiveness, as far as the outside public was concerned, did not extend to his own circle of intimates. Guy de Maupassant has given us an interesting glimpse of his Sunday receptions in Paris in his bachelor apartments on the fifth floor. His intimate friend, Ivan Tourguénieff, 'le Muscove,' was often the first to arrive. He would sink into a chair and begin speaking slowly and softly, but with an intonation that gave the greatest charm to all he said. He was generally laden with foreign books, and would translate the poems of Goethe, Poushkin, or Swinburne as he read. He and Flaubert had many sympathies and ideas in common. Others soon followed: Taine, his eyes shining behind his spectacles, full of information and talk; then Alphonse Daudet, bringing the life, the vigour, the brightness of Paris, making jokes and telling stories with the sing-song voice and quick gestures of a southerner, shaking his black hair from his handsome, finely cut face, and stroking his long silky beard. George Sand, when in Paris, would sometimes join the circle.

In her coarse, black serge gown, made perfectly plain without crinoline or trimming, her hair cut short, looking as like the 'tante à la mode' to which Flaubert compared her, as possible, with a nod for all and a shake of the hand for a favoured few who crowded round, she also would sit down, and after the cigars were handed round, of which she partook, the talk began. Not a conversation, perhaps, which M. Taine would have recommended his imaginary Evangelical lady to listen to, or a society he would have recommended her to mix in; but interesting as all societies are interesting in which the yeast of speculative thought is working. Such was the moment, his biographer says, to see Flaubert. With grand gestures, moving from one to the other of his guests, his long dressing-gown blown out behind him like the dark sail of a fishing-boat, full of excitement, indignation, vehement expression of opinion, of overflowing eloquence, his voice like a trumpet, his good-natured laugh; amusing in his indignation, charming in his good-nature, astounding in his erudition and surprising memory, he would terminate a discussion with a profound and pertinent remark, rushing through the centuries with a bound to compare two facts of the same genus, two men of the same race, two religions of the same order, from which, like flints struck together, he kindled a light.

Since, as Flaubert says, the public 'will have a moral,' what conclusion do we come to between these two great artists? Is idealism, or realism to be the issue of true art? Is the primitive, often discordant and painful tune evolved by the human instrument to be transcribed by the hand of the artist without comment or addition? Or is it the mission of great art, by the aid of counterpoint and modulation, to give us a symphony which, from gradation to gradation, through unison and dissonance will lead us up to wider planes of sensation and knowledge? Either side argues, as we have seen, from its own standpoint. But after all the best test of art must be its results. And what are the results of Flaubert's tenet of 'art for art'?

Zola, who has formulated the axioms of his school more boldly than any, says, alluding to some coarse stories that had been made in *Gil Blas*, a low Parisian paper:—

Not that I blame the inspiration of them, for did I do so I should but blame Rabelais, La Fontaine, and many others I think highly of; but in truth these stories are too badly written. That is my only reason for condemning them. An author is guilty if his style is bad. In literature this is the one unpardonable crime. I do not see any other question of immorality. A well-turned phrase is a good action.

The pathological or scientific method of romance-writing, has brought us to the present school of French realistic novel, of which one would be sorry even to write down the name of one of the productions. We are surprised indeed that an artistic and analytic a

ness as the French can accept the term 'scientific novel.' We have heard the theories of science ironically called a fiction, but it is difficult to see how fiction can be erected into a science. The knowledge of a scientific student of medicine remains empirical until, by amassing a number of facts, and carrying out a large number of experiments, he makes it actual. This, the writer of fiction, by the nature of his art, which ties him to the treatment of one set of facts, is precluded from doing. Flaubert himself says:—

In spite of all the genius brought to bear on the development of one fable taken as an example, another fable can be made use of to prove the contrary, for 'démonstrations' are not conclusions. You cannot deduce general principles from one fact, and people who think they are making a step forward in that direction are at issue with modern science, which insists on the multiplication of facts before establishing a law.

The art of fiction is entirely governed by personality. It is a spontaneous effort of the creative faculty, and has nothing in common with the conclusions of natural phenomena, in which nothing can be created. We stop the new school, then, at the science of sociology, keystone of their edifice; for sociology is a study of humanity in the aggregate, while the novel must essentially be a study of humanity in the individual.

Flaubert had the misfortune to promulgate many theories, and unfortunately to be accepted literally by an inferior set of thinkers. We had a right to ask bread of such a genius as he, and he has given us a stone; but the pessimism, that like a canker has eaten into Flaubert's work, is farther to seek than in his own personality or that of his followers. Frenchmen are dreamers of dreams. Their genius ever endeavours to scale the heavens. The Revolution had awakened hopes and ambitions it had never been able to fulfil. Full of feverish restlessness they had fought and apparently conquered Europe under the leadership of Napoleon. When he disappeared the whole fabric tumbled to pieces like a pack of cards. They were cast back on themselves to feed on their disillusionment; hence a morbid cynicism and bitter atheism permeated all classes, finding expression in Alfred de Musset's *Rolla*, in Balzac's *Comédie Humaine*, and later in Gustave Flaubert's *Mme. Bovary*. The third Napoleon endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of his uncle; we know with what result. Deceived a second time, the gloom of pessimism seems to have descended on the young school of realists more impenetrably than ever. Their critics laugh at them; recommend 'douches,' 'iron,' 'devotion to domestic duties,' or repeat Voltaire's celebrated advice to the pessimists of his time, 'cultivez votre jardin.' The evil exists, and is undermining all vigorous thought and artistic endeavour in France. 'Le monde Latin s'en va,' Flaubert writes to George Sand; but at the same time he hardly recognises the superior robustness of those gentlemen (the

(Christians) who smash mirrors in white kid gloves, know flannel, drink one's champagne, but who, he is obliged to confess naively, took nothing from *La Cousine* but a 'needle-case and a pipe.' George Sand had inherited some of the Koenigsmannich blood, and with it a healthier, robustier texture of mind, which, had she been a man, subjected to the same scientific and practical bringing up as Flaubert, would have made a greater artist.

The individual named George Sand is well [she writes towards the end]; he is enjoying the wonderfully mild winter that reigns in Barry, is gathering flowers, making botanical discoveries, sewing dresses and mantles for his daughter-in-law, costumes for marionnettes, arranging theatrical decorations, drawing dolls, reading music, and playing with little Aurora, the most wonderful child on the face of the globe. There is no one calmer or more happy in his domestic surroundings than this old troubador retired from business, who sings from time to time his little romances to the moon, without particularly caring whether he sings well or ill so long as he speaks what passes through his brain, and who the rest of the time idles delightfully. It has not been so well with him all his life; he was stupid enough to be young once; but as he did not do any ill, or know bad passions, or live for personal vanity, he is happy enough to be quiet and find amusement in everything.

Alexandre Dumas describes her in her old age wandering about her garden in a broad-brimmed hat. She was gathering impressions, he says, absorbing the universe, steeping herself in nature; and at night she would give this forth as a sort of emanation. George Eliot recognised her greatness in spite of the prejudice that existed in England against the author of *Lelia*. 'I don't care,' she says, 'whether I agree with her about marriage or not—whether I think the design of her plot correct, or that she had no precise design at all, but began to write as the spirit moved her, and trusted to Providence for the catastrophe—which I think the more probable case. It is sufficient for me, as a reason for bowing before her in eternal gratitude to that "great power of God manifested in her," that I cannot read six pages of hers without feeling that it is given to her to delineate human passion and its results, and (I must say in spite of your judgment) some of the moral instincts and their tendencies, with such truthfulness, such nicety of discrimination, such tragic power, and, withal, such loving, gentle humour, that one might live a century with nothing but one's own dull faculties and not know so much as those six pages will suggest.'

We cannot resist giving two more extracts from her letters. She writes to Gustave Flaubert from Nohant, January 15, 1870:—

Here I am at home, tolerably convalescent, except an hour or two every evening; but that will pass away in time. 'The suffering, or he who endures it,' as my old curé used to say, 'cannot endure for ever.'

I received your letter this morning, dear friend. Why do I care for you more than many others, even more than old and tried friends? I am trying to find out, for the attitude of my mind at this moment is that of him—

—get to chuckant,  
An acid couchant,  
Fortune!

Yes, intellectual fortune, *light*! There is no doubt, when you grow old and reach the sunset of life (the finest hour for tones and harmonies of colour), you form new ideas of everything, and above all of affection.

When, in the age of vigour and strong personality, we advance towards friendship timorously and tentatively, feeling the ground of reciprocity, one feels solid oneself, and would wish to feel the solidity of that which bears you. But when the intensity of personality has gone, we love people and things for those qualities which they themselves possess, for that which they represent to the eyes of your mind, and not for the possible influence they may exert on your life. They become like a picture or a statue that we wish to possess, when we imagine at the same time a beautiful dwelling in which to place it.

I have traversed the green plains of Bohemia without amassing anything. I have remained foolish, sentimental, a 'troubadour.' I know it will ever be the same, and that I shall die without hearth or home. Then I think of the statue, the picture—and say to myself, What would I do with them if I possessed them? I have no place of honour to put them in, and I am content to know that they are in some temple unprofaned by cold analysis, too far off to be looked at too closely. One loves them all the better, perhaps, and says to oneself, 'I will pass again through the country where they are. I will see and love all that has made me love and appreciate them, but the contact of my personality will not have changed them. It will not be myself I will love in them.'

Thus it is that the ideal that one has given up endeavouring to incorporate, incorporates itself in us, because it remains itself. That is the whole secret of beauty, truth, and love, of friendship, enthusiasm, and faith. Think it over, and you will agree with me.

To the last she is to do battle for her opinions. Two months before her death, she writes:—

Because Zola's *Rougon* is a valuable work I do not change my opinion. Art ought to be the search for truth, and truth is not the mere portrayal of evil and good. A painter who only sees the one is as wrong as he who only sees the other. Life is not made up of villains and brutes. Honest people cannot even be in a minority, since a certain order reigns in society, and there are no unpunished crimes.

Stupidity abounds, it is true, but there is a public conscience that influences stupid people and obliges them to respect right. Let rascals be shown up and punished—that is just and moral; but let us see the other side also. Otherwise the unthinking reader is shocked, frightened, and, to save himself from a disagreeable impression, refuses to listen.

His letter in reply to the last of the series ends, 'You have always done me good, intellectually and morally. I love you tenderly.'

And so ends this delightful artistic dialogue, from which indeed we would gladly have given other extracts had space allowed of our doing so.

In an interesting essay of Hazlitt's he discusses what characters he would rather have met, and under what circumstances. He suggests a gossip at their club with Addison and Steele, a dinner



with Johnson and Burke, a supper with Charles Lamb. I would add a morning spent with George Sand in her garden at Nohant, when age had modified her views and matured her judgment. While the world 'scolded and fought' she remained an enthusiast, a believer in good, a troubadour singing ideal art and love. Through all her correspondence there is no trace of vanity, selfishness, or jealousy of others' fame; but, on the contrary, a generous carelessness, a courage and independence which are rare in the greatest of her sex. She touches every subject, often superficially and inaccurately; but her brain is ever active, ever bright, full of hope, aspiration, and the impetuous desire for good.

N. H. KENNARD.

## WORKHOUSE CRUELITIES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vast improvements that have taken place in the department of legal relief to the poor during the last twenty-five years, those who are best acquainted with the subject can hardly rest satisfied with the amount of reform to which we have attained, and we therefore desire briefly to call attention to some points which we consider still demand investigation and redress.

It need hardly be said that the subject is not a popular one, and that it meets with little sympathy from the public—scarcely even from philanthropists whose study may be the poor and their requirements. Had the vast interests involved in the expenditure and control of eight millions annually been considered as it deserves to be in the past, the grievances and abuses which have now been exposed during the last thirty years could never have taken place. Had even a due interest been felt in the election of our representatives for this great work we might have left the matter safely in their hands; but to the apathy and neglect of this primary duty may be traced the mismanagement to which we have alluded. Even if the large institutions scattered through the land were closed and inaccessible to the outside public, who contributed the rates for their support, still it was open to all, and an obvious duty, to use every exertion to secure the election of the best men (and we may now add women) to ensure the right management of these vast concerns.<sup>1</sup>

We can now thankfully acknowledge that an improvement has begun in this respect, which may, we believe, be partly traced to the interest excited in the fact that women have come forward to fill these posts of usefulness; fifty are now scattered through the 647 Boards of Guardians in the land, and, small as the number is by comparison, yet we can truly say they have made their mark and done good service to the cause of the poor and helpless, of whom women and children form so large a proportion.

Yet this is one of the points still urgently requiring attention and interest, as is proved by the fact that in one important West-end

<sup>1</sup> One means of creating an interest in Poor Law management would be the publication in each union of an annual report or statement of the workhouse and infirmary, with details of expenditure. It will scarcely be believed that only two Metropolitan Boards print and circulate any such statement at present.

which so much indifference prevailed that out of 17,000 voting papers issued but a few over 3,000 were returned, or, in other words, instead of the maximum number of 463,000 votes which might have been given, only 143,000 were actually polled. That there is great neglect in the issuing and collecting of voting papers is not denied, and there is besides another reason, which has been noticed elsewhere, deterring large numbers of the upper classes from recording their votes, viz. the almost invariable coincidence of the elections with the season of Easter, when many are absent from home, no interval of time being allowed for sending papers into the country for signature.\*

When the educated classes come to see that it is not only their duty to vote, but to fill the office of guardian also, we may look for the disappearance of those few remaining evils of which we still complain. We will now only dwell upon two departments of Poor Law management which seem to us to call for reforms, some requiring legislative interference, others the action of public opinion alone, to bring them about.

First in interest we may name the sick, now, within the Metropolitan District, contained within twenty-three separate, and chiefly new, buildings, in all respects like hospitals, under a management apart from the workhouse, with resident medical superintendents, matrons, stewards, and for the most part a staff of nurses who have had some training to fit them for their duties.<sup>†</sup> Outside the Metropolitan District, we may add, there are but three of our large towns which have as yet provided separate infirmaries (Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds), but Birmingham is preparing to do so, and we believe it is a step which is desired by the Local Government Board, as well as all who have the welfare of our sick poor at heart, and know the blessing which these our 'State Hospitals' have been to them. It may be said, then, what more remains to be done in this direction? We reply that public opinion, or legislative control, must require; 1st, that the matrons of these important hospitals should be educated women who have received a special training in the care of the sick to fit them for their work, and not, as too often at present, former workhouse officers, with little or no knowledge of sickness; 2nd, that pauper nurses should be excluded from all power and authority over the sick. And on this point we cannot refrain from adding how little is known or cared about the sad revelations which reach us from time to time through the pages of country newspapers of the cruelties still committed by such so-called nurses of the sick, rivalling in horror those stories which are supposed to belong only

\* A petition has been sent to the Local Government Board to ask for a further extension of time.

† The 'Workhouse Nursing Association' has done good service in this cause during the last seven years, and has now sixty trained nurses employed in the metropolitan infirmaries and country workhouses. Office, 24 Berners Street, W.

to past history. Five such instances are now before us, resulting in death, and investigations before magistrates or the Central Board.

It will be impossible to give all the details of these events, they are too revolting in all their deliberate cruelty, but some facts must be stated, in order that we may not be accused of exaggeration. In March an inquiry was held in Lincoln as to the alleged manslaughter of an imbecile inmate of the workhouse by an attendant, the man being seventy-five years old, and suffering from *senile dementia*, as well as acute bronchitis. The following evidence was given by the master at the inquest:—‘There were no paid attendants in the imbecile wards, but two pauper attendants, and one to make the beds. There was a nurse who only looked after the imbeciles if they were ill. The medical officer stated that he had only inmate help for the imbeciles; there were only two nurses for over sixty patients, and there were twenty-eight imbeciles; he considered that it was impossible for two nurses to discharge the duties properly.’ The man who died had been beaten with a strap, and a verdict of manslaughter against one attendant was returned, the coroner adding, in summing up, that ‘it was a sad state of affairs, and very lamentable, that there should be no supervision, that is, no paid nurses to look after the imbeciles.’

From Falmouth we have a report of the terrible death of a man subject to epileptic fits: he was left seated before a fire, on which he fell, and when he was found, the flesh was burnt to a cinder. At the inquest it transpired that although there were several epileptic patients in the house, there was no one specially appointed to look after them, and that the grates were all open and without fire-guards. From Ireland we have two sad tales: at Limerick an old blind woman was found dead in bed with her hands tied. It was stated that the *paid pauper nurses*, to save themselves trouble with the sick woman, tied her to the bed with a sheet, the patient released herself and fell out of bed, and then the nurses tied her hands, the woman being soon afterwards found dead. The doctor was of opinion that death was hastened by this treatment; and the guardians gave instructions for the body to be exhumed for the purpose of holding an inquest, at which the cruelty was proved, one of the culprits being committed for trial. The magistrate commented on ‘the wholly insufficient nursing arrangements in the hospital.’ Our tale of horrors is not, however, yet complete. There was recently an inquiry held at Dungarvan Workhouse into the death of a patient, when a male and female nurse were committed for trial. The man had been in the workhouse many years, and in hospital three months, from paralysis and softening of the brain. Being called in the night to assist this poor helpless creature, the nurse revenged himself by assaulting him, inflicting severe injuries, and death was accelerated, though not caused by them. The doctor stated he had frequently reported on the want of hospital accommodation, and the

advisability of appointing a paid night nurse, but an order was made on his report.

When we consider the startling fact that of all deaths occurring in London, one in fifteen takes place in a workhouse, and one in nine in a workhouse or hospital, we are able to form some idea of the awful amount of misery and suffering that is going on in our midst, when revelations such as these are occasionally brought before us. So much is heard now of the improvements carried out during the last few years, that we had begun to hope such tales were only of the past. In looking back upon scenes and events of thirty years ago, we have often wished that photography had then lent its valuable aid in perpetuating the aspect of some of the pauper help who were then the sole attendants upon the sick. One is at least before our mind's eye, who had more than once been within prison walls, and had emerged from thence to take charge by day and night—for she slept, lived, and ate in the ward—of numerous sick and dying patients; coarse, bloated, repulsive in look and manner, clothed in the pauper dress, drinking whenever the opportunity occurred, such was the sister of mercy in a large London workhouse, in which the sole paid woman was the matron! Often have we wished we could place the portrait of such a one beside that of our modern infirmary nurses, in order to point the moral of our tale. But the days of such tyrants are not yet over, and it is well that we should be reminded of this fact, and aroused from a pleasant dream to the terrible reality.

Closely connected with this subject is the urgent need (which was named, we may remark, thirty years ago) of a higher class of workhouse officials, especially as masters and matrons, the sick being still, in country unions, entirely under their control. Here again, definite reports are before us, of drunkenness, peculation, and other evil practices, which are far more common than the outside public believe. Surely the post of caring for hundreds of our fellow-creatures, consisting of many various classes, is one worthy of the intelligence and love and zeal of the many educated men and women who are now seeking remunerative work, and who would find in the administration of these large institutions (including district schools) an occupation worthy of their best energies.

And perhaps as important a reform as any is now being called for from many of high standing in the medical profession, viz. the admission of students into Poor Law infirmaries. There is more than one reason for this demand, the chief being that these institutions afford opportunities for studying a variety of chronic diseases which hospitals do not give, because such long-standing cases of months or years are not, and cannot be, retained there; many cases of rare interest are to be found in these wards, which can at present be studied only by the one medical superintendent and his assistant; another reason is that as 600, or even a larger number of patients, are often under the care of two such medical officers, it would be obviously a

help to them and a gain to the poor suffering if such persons were admitted into the wards. An application has already been made from one large parish for permission thus to introduce a limited number of students under the eye of the medical superintendent, but the reply of the central board was (as might be expected) that such a practice was not contemplated by their rules. As infirmaries did not exist when those rules for the treatment of the sick were framed, it could hardly be supposed that the admission of students would then be provided for; but at the present time and under present circumstances, can there be any conceivable reason why such an advantageous use should not be made of our state and rate-supported institutions, or that greater difficulties would be presented than in the case of hospitals?

As no general consolidated orders have as yet been issued by the Local Government Board for the guidance of the new infirmaries, which have been increasing in number ever since 1870, it may be hoped that some of these recommendations may be shortly considered and ordered by the authorities.

We now come to a less interesting, but not less important, part of the subject of Poor Law management which loudly calls for revision and alterations, viz. that which relates to the able-bodied, or, in other words, the class of men and women which makes use of the workhouse as a convenient hotel, to which they are at liberty to come and go at their own convenience and for their own pleasure. This class is known to all conversant with pauper life as 'Ins and Outs,' and so trying are their habits to all officials that there is an almost unanimous consent that some alteration of the law with regard to them has become absolutely necessary. Guardians of different parishes, as well as masters and relieving officers, have represented the present state of things to be well-nigh intolerable, both men and women being able to take their discharge with twenty-four hours' notice, and to claim re-admission whenever it suits them, whether sober or drunk. The occasions for which such persons desire a temporary absence from the workhouse are various; business or pleasure may be the object; of the latter, may be named the day of the annual boat-race, which always causes a large exodus, with a return at night, as may be supposed, not in the most satisfactory condition; from one able-bodied workhouse in London there is a departure on Saturdays in order to partake of a 'free breakfast,' with its accompanying religious devotions, on Sunday morning, in a distant part of London. From another, an old woman, although past eighty, goes out to stand at a crossing on Sunday mornings, to pick up pence from a generous and confiding public, to spend at the neighbouring public-house, before her return to her 'home.' In the country, girls go out on Fair days, dressed in their finery, as well as on other occasions, often, as is known, for immoral purposes. Women from the lying-in wards take their discharge, often at the end of a

fortnight, in order to baffle the inquiries that may be made as to any relief from the partners of their sin, such proceedings requiring a far longer time to carry them out. These and many other abuses, far too numerous to be detailed here, have brought about a conviction that greater powers of detention should be demanded, extending at the least to a week's notice of discharge. One pauper was discharged and re-admitted twenty-three times in ten weeks, and an experienced relieving officer urges that there should be power to detain such persons, even for a month, he having noted in his district 1,462 paupers who went out and returned the same day in the course of three months.' The Master of St. Marylebone Workhouse says, as the conviction of many years: 'The frequency with which a large number of able-bodied men still continue to leave the house for their weekly holiday shows, as I have pointed out on former occasions, the necessity for increased powers of detention for dealing with this class; 157 returned drunk and disorderly, in most cases on the evening of the day on which they left the house.'

Not less urgent, in the estimation of all who have to do with pauper children, is the need of increased power over them when their life in school is ended, and when, at present, the worst of parents have the right to claim them and employ them for their own purposes. The State, which has educated them, should surely, as in other countries, have control over them, at least till the age of eighteen.

Can the 'workhouse test' be considered of such great value in the face of facts like these? and is not the abuse of legal relief very great and real, when such facilities of admission and discharge exist as to render the workhouse a free and convenient abode to all the idle and depraved of every age who choose to resort to it, and who claim the right to do so? Persons with pensions amounting to 26s. a week are inmates because they choose to spend them on drink and vice out of doors, and then return as paupers to this refuge for the destitute, the authorities claiming the cost of their maintenance from the remainder. We cannot refrain from asking, is there any other country where similar practices are carried on, and are we not thus creating many of the evils we are seeking to remedy?

We earnestly hope that the attention of all guardians of the poor may be directed to these results of the system which we have endeavoured to point out, and that thus pressure may be put upon the central authority of the Local Government Board, to introduce reforms which are so earnestly desired by those who have to carry out the existing law, and are able to judge of its results.

LOUISA TWINING.

*The author adds the remark, that the permission to smoke is a great encouragement to this class, and should be refused.*

## THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE ON COMTE.

Only the high office and good name of the Bishop of Carlisle could justify serious notice of his article in this Review, entitled 'Comte's famous Fallacy.' His piece is based on a misconception—a typical example, indeed, of *ignorantia elench*—nay, a misconception which has often before been made by theologians, and which has been over and over again exposed. Yet such is the persistence of the 'theological stage,' even in the nineteenth century, that here the old primitive 'fiction' about the meaning of Comte's 'law of the three states' crops up again after twenty or thirty years, apparently under the impression that it is a new discovery. To any serious student of philosophy it might be enough to cite half-a-dozen passages from Comte, Mill, Lewes, and others, to show that the 'law of the three states' has no such meaning as the Bishop puts into it. But when a writer, who has won in other fields a deserved reputation, gravely puts forth a challenge to his philosophical opponents, although rather by way of sermon and for edification than by way of strict logic, perhaps it is respectful to do more than cite a few passages from the author whom he attacks.

Two main misconceptions pervade the whole of the Bishop's criticism on Comte's law.

I. First; he understands the 'theological' state to mean, a belief in a Creator; the 'metaphysical' state to mean, general philosophy; and the 'positive' state to mean, the denial of Creation, or atheism. Now, that never was, and never was understood to be, Comte's meaning.

II. Secondly, the Bishop assumes Comte to have said, that men, or a generation of men, are necessarily at any given time, in one or other of the three states exclusively, passing *per saltum*, and as a whole, from one to the other; and that one mind cannot combine any two states. Now, Comte expressly said that men do exhibit traces of all three states at the same time, in different departments of thought.

This last remark of his obviously proves that Comte could not have meant by the 'theological state,' believing in God, and by the 'positive state,' the denial of God; because no man can believe and deny the same thing at the same time. Again, had Comte said



that every man 'up to his age' can remember that he believed in God in his childhood, and that he denied his existence in manhood, he would have said something so transparently false, that it would hardly be needful for a bishop forty years afterwards to write an essay to expose so very 'famous a fallacy.' Had Comte's law of the three states implied what the Bishop takes it to mean, it never would have received the importance attached to it by friends and opponents of Positivism alike; it never would have been a 'famous fallacy' at all; it would have been the 'obvious fallacy,' and would have called forth no admiration from eminent thinkers. It must be remembered that the value of 'the law of the three states' has been acknowledged by men who have been as far as possible from being 'Positivists' in any special sense of the term, and who have been foremost in repudiating Comte's social and religious scheme. Mr. Mill, who wrote a book to that effect, expressed his profound admiration for this particular law of philosophy. So did Mr. G. H. Lewes in his *History of Philosophy*. Miss Martineau, Professor Caird, Mr. John Morley, who have written upon the system of Comte, have given us no criticism upon the principle involved in this 'law of the three states.' It is, to say the least, unlikely that writers like these would have missed so obvious a criticism as that now put forth by the Bishop, had they understood Comte as he does.

Forty years ago, Mr. Mill gave an admirably lucid account of the 'law of the three states,' and at the same time expressed his agreement with it, in words that are remarkable as coming from so cautious and measured a mind. He says:—

Speculation, he [Comte] conceives to have, on every subject of human inquiry, three successive stages; in the first of which it tends to explain the phenomena by supernatural agencies, in the second by metaphysical abstractions, and in the third or final state confines itself to ascertaining their laws of succession and similitude. *This generalisation appears to me to have that high degree of scientific evidence, which is derived from the concurrence of the indications of history with the probabilities derived from the constitution of the human mind.* Nor could it be easily conceived, from the mere enunciation of such a proposition, what a flood of light it lets in upon the whole course of history. (*Logic*, vol. ii. chap. x.)

I. By the term 'theological state,' Comte does not mean the ultimate belief in God. He means, as Mr. Mill says in the words quoted, a state in which the mind 'tends to explain (given) phenomena by supernatural agencies.' Comte first put forth his law in an essay published so early as 1822, where he states the theological stage to be one where, 'the facts observed are explained, that is to say, conceived *à priori*, by means of invented facts.' (*Pos. Pol.* iv. App. iii.) In his *General View of Positivism*, he calls the theological stage that 'in which free play is given to spontaneous fictions admitting of no proof.' In the *Positive Polity*, he usually calls it the *Fictitious* stage. The theological state of mind is one where

the phenomena we observe are supposed to be directly caused by supernatural agencies which we imagine, but of the reality of which we have no real proof. This state is certainly not identical with a belief in God; it includes all forms of Fetichism, of Nature-worship, Ghost-worship, or Devil-worship: and all the habits of mind out of which these forms of worship spring. The nonsense known as Spiritualism, Spirit-rapping, Raising the Dead, and the like, is a typical form of the theological state, in which men give 'free play to fictions admitting of no proof.' And men, otherwise eminent in science and letters, have been known so to play, even when they have ceased to believe in God.

Not only is Comte's 'theological stage' something widely different from ultimate belief in a Creator, but few educated men, however deeply they hold such belief, are now in what Comte calls the 'theological stage.' To all minds 'up to the level of their age,' even if theologians by profession, the phenomena of nature and of society are associated with regular antecedents, capable of being explained by known laws, physical, social, or moral. That is in fact the 'positive,' or scientific state of thought. If a man has a fit, or if smallpox breaks out, or two nations go to war, intelligent Christians do not cry aloud that it is a special judgment, or the wrath of God, or the malice of Devil. They trace the disease or the war to its scientific causes, or rather to its positive conditions. Men in the true theological stage attribute ordinary phenomena to the direct and special interposition of a supernatural being of some kind. This was done by devotees in the Middle Ages; is still done by Fetichists everywhere; and by the negroes the other day during the earthquake at Charlestown. But cultivated Englishmen do not so reason. In fact, very few thoughtful men in our age can be said to be, properly speaking, in the theological stage at all. They reason about life and man on the basis of both being amenable to observed laws, and not on the basis that both are directly subject to the caprice of supernatural wills.

The habitual reference of facts to observed conditions of nature, physical or human, does not prevent strong minds from believing in Creation and a Personal Creator. That is a very different thing. They refer all observed facts to observed antecedents; and behind this enormous mass of observations, they assume an ultimate source, as First Cause. Mr. Mill indeed insists that it is quite compatible with the Positive state in Comte's sense, to believe that the Universe is guided by an Intelligence. Comte himself warmly repudiates the atheistical hypothesis of the origin of the Universe from Chance. He calls Atheism a form of Theology: meaning that Dogmatic Atheism, as a theory of the Universe, is 'a spontaneous fiction admitting of no proof.' He thought that a mind perfectly attuned to scientific habits in all forms of observed facts, would cease to busy itself with any

The *Review* said:—

Comte invariably insists that the three stages have actually co-existed in nearly all minds. He says that a man takes a theological view of one subject, a metaphysical of another, and a positive of a third; nor did he ever pretend that one of these methods rigidly excludes the other. Most minds retain traces of all three, even in the same subject-matter. What an objector has really to show is this, that men use other methods of thought, or that they do not in the main use these successively in the order stated, and that in proportion to the complication of the subject-matter.

In considering a law of the human mind, such as this is, we should bear in mind the golden rule of Aristotle 'to demand that degree of precision that fits the matter in hand.' A law of our mental evolution, dealing with a subject so subtle and complex as the reasoning processes, does not admit of absolutely rigid mathematical exactness. Mathematical reasoning alone, partly because pure mathematics spring from laws of the mind itself, and are not inductions from imperfect observations, admits of absolute precision. In no physical science, perhaps, is the reasoner at all times strictly employing scientific methods without alloy. Few men of science, however competent, are incapable of error in their reasoning; and we know how liable they are to slide into dogmatism a good deal short of positive proof. But for all that, a trained physicist, or chemist, is properly said to be in the positive stage of thought, *when reasoning about physics, or chemistry*. A few minds trained in a variety of sciences, may remain at a uniformly positive level. If their scientific training embraces history, morals, philosophy, and the entire range of the social, moral, and intellectual laws, then they may be said to have completely attained to the positive stage of thought. Now the Creation of the Universe and the Moral Providence of all Creation, is an ultimate resultant of a man's reflections in the whole range of speculation—physical, social, intellectual, and moral. And to that great assize of human thought, few men in England come with a full positive training in the entire range. Hence the opinions about Creation of men like Herschel, or Faraday, are not the opinions of men in the positive stage of thought, but of men in the positive stage of astronomy and chemistry, and in the metaphysical or the theological stage in sociology and in morals. When Faraday was dealing with gases, he was rigidly working out physical and chemical problems on the basis of physical and chemical laws. If he discovered a new electrical phenomenon, he did not, as a savage or an alchemist might, attribute the flash to some latent god, or an explosion to some bottled-up devil. When Faraday was dealing with the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit, he deliberately put aside all reference to law, or to science; possibly when he was dealing with some big political problem, he grounded his opinion entirely on strong prejudices formed in youth, but certainly not tested as he tested his chemical compounds. The 'law of the three states' is, like all

other logical laws, a law of tendency in a subtle and complex organ ; and absolute exactness and rigid exclusiveness is out of place with our imperfect mental resources.

When Comte said that one state of mind excludes the other, he did not imply that a reasoner never makes a slip, or that a mind in the positive stage may not at times 'revert' back into a less scientific process. He meant that, in the main, a mind accustomed to true scientific processes in any class of speculation will adhere to that habit of mind, though it may occasionally lapse in its own subject, and may fail to apply the same scientific process in another class of speculation. The Bishop of Carlisle undoubtedly applies a truly positive process to the science of physics. Though perhaps he would hardly claim to be infallible there, even in method. But in dealing with a philosophy at once 'pernicious and dangerous' he collates the original authorities with far less patient scrutiny, than when he is tracing the growth of the Baconian induction.

Finally, the Bishop seems to me to err, in seeking to test the 'law of the three stages' by applying it to exact and real science. He declares that there are no three stages in Mathematics, in the science of Political Economy, and many such branches of our knowledge. Certainly, there are no three stages in any kind of *real knowledge*. Nor, strictly speaking, are there in *any science*—much less in *exact science*. All *real* knowledge, all *science*, truly so named, and certainly an exact science, like pure Mathematics, is already *positive*. Comte never said that there were three stages in *science*. He says, there are, 'three stages in each *branch of speculation*.' In many subjects, which are perfectly simple, a really positive state of thought is reached in the very infancy of the individual and the race. No doubt, there is a brief moment in the evolution of thought, when fictitious beings, or crude abstractions are supposed to determine the very simplest and commonest facts. When scarcity of food was thought to be a Divine warning to a King who defied the Pope, or when a strike was supposed to result from some physical law of Supply and Demand beyond human control, Political Economy was in the theological, or the metaphysical stage. That merchants, manufacturers, or workmen believe in Creation, or believe in Adam Smith, or in Mr. Ruskin, has nothing to do with Comte's law.

As to Mathematics something further may be said. Pure Mathematics, according to Comte, are really a branch of Logic, part of the furniture, an analysis of the processes, of the mind itself. There are of course not three stages in the 'law of the three states' itself, or in any other true logical process. Mathematics are wholly positive, i.e. proveable, and based on 'an exact view of the true facts.' Everything that we can call Mathematics, from the first idea of addition, is entirely *positive*. All our definite notions about number, form, and movement are strictly positive. But there was a time before the

birth of Mathematics; and then men's ideas about number, form, and movement were in a metaphysical (that is, hypothetical) stage, or even in a theological stage (that is, they are referred to supposed wills). Infants and savages, as the history of language suggests, associate changes in number and form with imaginary vital agents. A child, learning that two and two make four, thinks of a person purposely giving two more things. The counting and measuring of savages is formed out of organic movements. In Mathematics, even in Arithmetic, there is properly none but a positive stage. The proper sphere of the 'law of the three stages' is in the observation of phenomena; and to that Comte carefully limits it. Directly any mind attains to *real knowledge* in such observations, there are no further stages to pass. The mind remains in the one stage, the positive, or final.

I shall not follow the Bishop into the analogies to Comte's law, with which his reading furnishes him, or his own substitute for it. I fail to see what the analogies or the substitute have to do with the matter. The 'law of the three states' professes to be a theory of *mental evolution*, an account of a set of *successive processes* of thought. The Bishop's analogies and his substitute profess to be a *classification of ideas, a grouping of knowledge*. What have these in common? The first is a serial record of *movement*; the second is a coordination of *simultaneous* conceptions. One might as well find analogies between history and logic; or suggest that Kepler's laws are a history of astronomy. It is quite true that all men's knowledge can be looked at from different points of view, and may possibly be arranged under three groups. But how does that help us to explain the genesis of thought in the past? So, I fail to see how the citations from Bacon, the *Philosophick Cabbala*, or Mr. Gladstone, advance the matter in hand. The matter in hand is the law of progress in the genesis of science. No one of the three passages cited touches on that subject. And is it likely that Bacon, Henry More, or anyone else who wrote before any true science existed and before any social or moral science was imagined, could tell us much about the law of progress in the genesis of science? So I leave Bacon, the *Philosophick Cabbala*, and Mr. Gladstone, who seems to have written something profound on the latter topic.

With the Bishop's proposed substitute for Comte's law I have no wish to quarrel. He says that, instead of a law of the three successive stages, we may have a law of three simultaneous modes of thought. Certainly we may. And the Bishop proposes as his law this:—that 'many branches of knowledge may be contemplated from three points of view—the Theological, the Metaphysical (or Philosophical), and the Scientific.' With a slight modification of the terms, to which the Bishop ought not to demur, I should most heartily assent to this. Our general knowledge is Religious, Philosophical, or Scientific.

Religion, Philosophy, Science, is a threefold coordination of ideas, very much used by Comte: the distinctions between which three, and the harmonies of which he is constantly expounding. Positivism, as a system of thought, does not mean Science only. It means Religion—Philosophy—Science: each in their sphere completing and aiding the other. So far Comte is entirely at one with the Bishop. But this eminently Positivist idea is no sort of substitute for the 'Law of the three stages.'

As to that the Bishop must try again; and I cordially invite him to do so. But he must begin by understanding the law which he is to overthrow. The matter in hand has nothing to do with the belief in Providence, in the sense of a 'Great First Cause, least understood,' as modern men of science conceive Providence. The law is this:—that in the infancy of thought, the mind attributes changes in phenomena to a will of some kind, which it supposes to be acting, but of which it has no real proof; secondly, that the mind gradually passes to attribute the changes to some abstract principle, which it formulates without true verification; finally, that the mind comes to take an exact view of the true facts of the case. These three modes of thought pass gradually into each other, are applied to different matters in different degrees, and in the early stages are sometimes only traceable in transient pre-historic types. Now what an objector has to do is to show—that the sciences have been built up by some other definitely marked stages, or have passed through these stages in a reverse order, or do not pass through stages at all.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

## THE BUILDING UP OF A UNIVERSITY.

SOME years ago I found myself in a Northern capital, and committed myself to the guidance of a native coachman, whose business and pride it was to drive me from place to place, and indicate to me the important buildings of his majestic city. He was a patriotic showman, and I am bound to say he showed us a great deal; but the most memorable moment of that instructive day was when he stopped before, what seemed to us, a respectable mansion in a respectable street, and announced to us that 'yon' was 'the Free Kirk Univairisity.' It was the first time in my life that I had heard four stone walls with a roof over them called a University. It was not long, however, before I discovered that I myself had been living with my head in a sack and, in more senses than one, had been of those

who sweep the crossings, wet or dry,  
And all the world go by them;

only so could it have come to pass that this new meaning for an old word had struck me as strange, not to say ludicrous.

Licuit semperque licebit  
Signatum præsente nota producere nomen.

*Allowable?* Yes! and much more than merely allowable; it is inevitable that as the ages roll we should attach new meanings to old words. And if this is inevitable, not the less inevitable is it that, when we desire to trace the history of the thing signified, we should be compelled to recur to the original meaning of the name by which the thing is designated.

A word at starting upon the remarkable book<sup>1</sup> which has suggested the following article. To say of it that it is quite the 'most sumptuous work that has ever proceeded from the Cambridge Press, is to say little. It is hardly too much to say that it is one of the most important contributions to the social and intellectual history of England which has ever been made by a Cambridge man. The title of the work conveys but a very inadequate notion of its wide scope, of the encyclopædic learning and originality of treatment which it displays,

<sup>1</sup> *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton.* By the late Robert Willis, M.A., F.R.S. Edited, with large additions, and brought up to the present time, by John Willis Clark, M.A., late Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb. 4 vols. super-royal 8vo. Cambridge: The University Press.

and, least of all, of the abundance of *human interest* which characterises it so markedly. It is because of this wealth of human interest that the book must needs exercise a powerful fascination upon those who have a craving to get some insight into the life of their forefathers; and it is because I believe the number of such students of history is in our times rapidly on the increase, that I am anxious to draw attention to some few of the many matters treated of so ably in these magnificent volumes.

The term *University*, in its original acceptation, was used to designate any aggregate of *persons* associated in a political, religious, or trading corporation, having common interests, common privileges, and common property. The inhabitants of a town, the members of a fraternity, the brethren of a guild, the monks or canons of a religious house, when addressed in formal instruments, were addressed as a *University*. Nay! when the whole body of the faithful is appealed to as Christian men, the ordinary phrase made use of by lay or ecclesiastical potentate, when signifying his wishes or intentions, is 'Noverit *Universitas* vestra.' A University in this sense, regarded as an aggregate of persons, might be localised or it might not; its members might be scattered over the whole Christian world, or they might constitute an inner circle of some larger community, of which they—though a *Universitas*—formed but a part. A University in its original signification meant no more than our modern term an Association. When men associated together for purposes of trade, they were a trading *Universitas*; when they associated for religious objects, they were a religious *Universitas*; when they associated for the promotion of learning, they were a learned *Universitas*. But the men came first, the bricks and mortar followed long after. The architectural history, in its merely technical and professional details, could only start at a point where the University, as an association of scholars and students, had already acquired power and influence, had been at work for long, and had got to make itself felt as a living force in the body politic and in the national life. It was because the antiquaries of a former age lost sight of this truth that they indulged in the extravagances they did. Starting from the assumption that stone walls make an institution, they professed to tell when the Universities came into existence and who were their earliest founders. The authors of this modern *Magnum Opus* have set themselves to deal with a far more instructive problem. Their object has been to trace the growth of the University of to-day in its concrete form, down from the early times when it existed only in the germ; and to show us how 'the glorious fellowship of living men,' which constituted the *personal* University of the eleventh or the twelfth century, developed by



now suggest into the brilliant teacher Universities of the nineteenth—such Universities as are springing up all over the world; their teachers advertised for in the Times, and their students tempted to come and be taught in them by the bait of money rewards.

As to the exact time when a band of scholars and teachers first made their home in Cambridge or Oxford, and began to attract to themselves from the four winds classes of eager youths hungry for intellectual food and anxious to listen and learn, that we must be content to leave undetermined. They who like the flavour of the old antiquarianism may enjoy it in its spiciest form, if they choose to hunt up among certain forgotten volumes now grown scarce. They may read what John Caius (pronounced Keys) wrote as the champion of Cambridge, and Thomas Caius wrote as champion of Oxford; they may rejoice their hearts over the Battle of the Keys, and come to what conclusion they prefer to arrive at. For most of us, however, this sort of old-world lore has lost its charm. A man lives through his taste for some questions. The student of history nowadays is inclined to say with St. Paul, 'So fight I not as one that beateth the air,' and to reject with some impatience the frivolous questions which help not a jot towards bringing us into closer relation with the life and personality of our ancestors.

'I am half sick of shadows,' said

The Lady of Shalott:

and we, too, have grown weary of weaving our webs with our backs to the light. There is no making any way in Cloudland. We ask for firm ground on which to plant our footsteps, if we would move onwards.

It would have been very galling to the Oxford antiquaries of Queen Elizabeth's days to have to acknowledge that there was a Cambridge before there was any Oxford. Nevertheless the fact is so. Hide your diminished heads, ye rash ones who would fain have us believe that a thousand years before our era, King Mempric, the wicked king whom the wolves ate—as was right and fitting they should—built a noble city, which as time went on 'was called *Oxonia*, or by the Saxons *Oxenfordia*.' Alack! it turns out that we must make an enormous step along the course of time before we can find trace of any such city or anything like it. It turns out that 'the year 912 saw Oxford made a fortified town, with a definite duty to perform and a definite district assigned to it.' What! Seven years after the great Alfred had closed his eyes in death, and left to others the work which he had showed them how to do? Yes! Even so. It may be very hard to have to confess the odious crime of youth;

but it seems almost capable of demonstration that Cambridge, as a fortress and a town, existed a thousand years before Oxford was anything but a desolate swamp, or at most a trampy village, where a handful of Britons speared eels, hunted for deer, and laboriously manufactured earthenware pots. What have we to do with thee, thou daughter of yesterday? Stand aside while thine elder sister—ay, old enough to be thy mother—takes her place of honour. She has waited long for her historian; he has come at last, and he was worth waiting for.

In times before the Roman legionaries planted their firm feet in Britain, there was a very formidable fortress at Cambridge. It contained about sixty acres; it was surmounted by one of those mighty earthworks which the hand of man in the old days raised by sheer brute force, or rather by enormous triumph of organised labour. The Romans drove out the Britons, and settled a garrison in the place. Two of the great Roman roads intersected at this point, and the conquerors called it by a new name, as was their wont, retaining some portion of the old one. In their language it was known as *Camboritum*. This primeval fortress stood on the left bank of the river, which some called the Granta and some called the Cam; and for reasons best known to themselves, the Romans did not think fit to span that river by a bridge, but they made their great *Via Devana* pass sheer through the river—as some Dutch or German Irrationalist has pretended that the children of Israel did when they found the Jordan barring their progress—that is, those Roman creatures constructed a solid pavement in the bed of the sluggish stream, over which less audacious engineers would have thrown an arch. Through the water they carried a kind of causeway, and the name of the place for centuries indicated that it was situated on the *ford* of the Cam. But what the Roman did not choose to do, that the people that came after him found it needful to do. In the Saxon Chronicle we find that the old fortress which the Romans had held and strengthened, and then perforce abandoned, had got to be called *Grantabrygge*; and this name, or something very like it, it retained when the great survey was made as the Norman Conqueror's reign was drawing to its close. By this time the town had moved across to the right bank of the river, and had become a town surrounded by a ditch and defended by walls and gates. Already it contained at least four hundred houses, and on the site of the old mound the Norman raised a new castle, and in doing that he laid some twenty-nine houses low.

The early history of Oxford is more or less connected with that of the obscure and insignificant monastery of St. Frideswide, though even at Oxford it is observable that the town and the University grew up in almost entire independence of any influence exercised by any of the older religious houses. At Cambridge this was much

more the case. There were no monks at Cambridge at any time; there never were any nearer than at the Abbey of Ely, in the old days a long day's journey off, and accessible in the winter, if accessible at all, only by water. King Knut, we are told, greatly favoured the Abbey of Ely, visited it, was entertained there, in fact restored it. But at Cambridge there were no monks. No *real* monks; a fact which ought to be a significant hint to 'all educated men,' but which, unhappily, is likely to be significant only to the few who have taken the trouble to learn what a real monk professed to be. If there were no monks at Cambridge, there was something else. Outside the walls of the town there rose up, in the twelfth century, the priory of Barnwell—a priory of Augustinian *canons*; and, moreover, a nunnery—the Benedictine nunnery of St. Rhadegunda. Within the walls there was another house of Augustinians, which was known as St. John's Hospital; that is, a house where the canons made it part of their duty to provide a spurious kind of *hospitality* to travellers, much in the same way that the Hospice of St. Bernard offers food and shelter now to the wayfarer, and with such food and shelter something more—to wit, the opportunity of worshipping the Most High in peace, up there among the eternal snows. At St. John's Hospital, as at St. Bernard's, the grateful wanderer who had found a refuge would leave behind him his thankoffering in recognition for the kindly treatment he had met with, and it might happen that these free gifts constituted no small portion of the income on which the canons—for the most part a humble and unpretentious set of men—kept up their houses.

With the dawn of the thirteenth century came the great revivalists—the friars. Wherever the friars established themselves they began not only to preach, but to teach. They were the awakeners of a new intellectual life; not only the stimulators of an emotional pietism always prone to run into religious intoxication and extravagance. With the coming of the friars what may be called the modern history of Cambridge begins. Not that it can be allowed that there were no schools of repute on the banks of the Cam till the coming of the friars. It is certain that learning had her home at Cambridge long before this time.

As early as 1187 Giraldus Cambrensis came to Oxford and read his *Expugnatio Hibernica* in public lectures, and entertained the doctors of the diverse faculties and the most distinguished scholars.<sup>2</sup> Oxford was doubtless at that time more renowned, but Cambridge followed not far behind. If the friars settled at Cambridge early in their career, it was because there was a suitable home for them there—an opening as we say—which the flourishing condition of the University afforded. There were scholars to teach, there were masters to dispute with, there were doctors to criticise, oppose,

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs's *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, p. 141, 8vo, 1886.

or befriend. Doubtless, too, there were already strained relations between the townsmen and the gownsmen at Cambridge as at Oxford. The first great 'town and gown row' which we hear of took place at Oxford in 1209, but when we do hear of it we find the other University mentioned by the historian in close connection with the event recorded. The townsmen under great provocation had seized three of the gownsmen *in hospitio suo* and threw them into the gaol. King John came down to make inquiry, and promptly hung the three, guiltless though they were, as Matthew Paris assures us. Hereupon there was intense indignation, and the University dispersed. Three thousand of the gownsmen migrated elsewhere, some to Cambridge we learn. Oxford for a while was deserted. This was fifteen years before the Franciscans settled among us. It was the year in which King John was excommunicated. There were only three bishops left in England; the king had worried all the rest away. There was misery and anarchy everywhere. Yet, strange to say, in the midst of all the bitterness men *would* have their sons educated, and the Universities did not despair of the republic. Shadowy and fragmentary as all the evidence is on which we have to rely for the history of the Universities during the twelfth century, it is enough to make us certain that the friars settled at Cambridge because there they found scope for their labours. There was undoubtedly a University there long before they arrived. Nevertheless it is not till the middle of the reign of Henry the Third (A.D. 1216-1272) that we come upon any direct mention of a corporation which could be regarded as a chartered society of scholars at Cambridge, and it is difficult to resist the conviction that, whatever may have been its previous history, and however far back its infancy may date, the friars were to some extent nursing fathers of the University of Cambridge.

And this brings us again to the point from which we started a page or two back, and gives me the opportunity of quoting a passage from Professor Willis's introduction, which will serve at once as a continuation of and comment upon what has been said, while leading us on to what still lies before us.

The University of the Middle Ages was a corporation of learned men, associated for the purposes of teaching, and possessing the privilege that no one should be allowed to teach within their dominion unless he had received their sanction, which could only be granted after trial of his ability. The test applied consisted of examinations and public disputations; the sanction assumed the form of a public ceremony, and the name of a *degree*; and the teachers or doctors so elected or created carried out their office of instruction by lecturing in the public schools to the students who, desirous of hearing them, took up their residence in the place wherein the university was located. The degree was in fact merely a license to teach; the teacher so licensed became a member of the ruling body.

We have arrived at this point—we find ourselves at the begin-

ning of the thirteenth century face to face with a *University* at Cambridge, a *University* which, existing originally in its inchoate condition of an association vaguely aiming at the improvement of the methods of education and the encouragement of scholars, had gradually grown into a recognised and powerful body, with direct influence and control over its members; a body, too, which had become so identified with the interests of culture and research that a change had already begun in the generally received acception of its name, and already the word 'university' had begun to be restricted to such a *Universitas* as was identified with the life and pursuits of learning and learned men. This means that, *pari passu* with its increase in power, the University had grown, too, in the number of its members—the teachers and the taught. The time had arrived when the demands of professors and students for adequate accommodation would become pressing. Lecturers with popular gifts would expect a hall capable of holding their audiences. Public disputations could not be held in a corner. Receptions of eminent scholars from a distance, and all those ceremonials which were so dear to gentle and simple in the middle ages, required space, and were more effective the grander the buildings in which they were displayed. Yet how little the Cantabs of the thirteenth century could have dreamt of what was coming! What a day of small things it was! Six hundred years ago the giant was in his cradle.

Meanwhile, another need than that of mere schools and lecture-halls had begun to be felt. The scholars who came for what they could get from the teachers—the regents and the doctors—flocked from various quarters; they were young, they were not all fired with the student's love of learning; they were sometimes noisy, sometimes frolicsome, sometimes vicious. As now is the case at Edinburgh and Heidelberg, so it was then at Cambridge, the bonds of discipline were very slight; the scholars had to take their chance; they lodged where they could, they lived anyhow, each according to his means; they were homeless. It was inevitable that all sorts of grave evils should arise.

The lads—they were mere boys—got into mischief, they got into debt with the Jews; for there were Jews at Cambridge, not a few; they were preyed upon by sharpers, were fleeced on the right hand and on the left; many of them learned more harm than good. The elder men, and they who had consciences and hearts, shook their heads, and asked what could be done? For a long time the principle of *laissez faire* prevailed: the young fellows were left to the tender mercies of the townsfolk. There was no grandmotherly legislation in those days. Gradually a kind of joint-stock arrangement came into vogue. Worthy people seemed to have hired a house which they called a *hostel* or hall, and sub-let the rooms to the young fellows;

the arrangement appears to have been clumsily managed, and led to dissensions between town and gown; the townsmen soon discovered that the gownsmen were gainers by the new plan, and they themselves were losers. They grumbled, protested, quarrelled. But it was a move in the right direction, and a beginning of some moral discipline was made, and that could not but be well. These *hostels* were set up at Cambridge certainly at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and how long before we cannot tell; but it was at Oxford that the first *college*, as we understand the term, rose into being. It was Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor of England, who was the father of the collegiate system in England. So far from embarking upon a new experiment without careful deliberation, he spent twelve years of his life in working out his ideas and in elaborating the famous *Rule of Merton*, of which it is not at all too much to say that its publication constituted an era in the history of education and learning in England. Merton died in 1277. Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, who survived him nine years, appears to have been moved with a desire to do for Cambridge what Merton had done for Oxford. Balsham is spoken of as the founder of St. Peter's College, and in one sense he was so. The bishops of Ely were the patrons of Cambridge. Bishop Balsham asked himself what could be done, and set himself to deal with the problems which presented themselves for solution in the condition of his own University. He was not a great man, that seems clear enough: his schemes were crude; he bungled. The truth seems to me to be that the feeling at Cambridge was one of suspicion, and there are indications that the bishops of Ely in an awkward fashion were opposed to anything like *secular education*. We hear of money being left to support *priests* studying theology, and of an experiment for introducing scholars as residents in the Hospital of St. John. The canons were to take in the young scholars as *boarders* into their house, and look after their conduct and morals. The plan did not answer. It was an attempt to put new wine into old bottles. There came an explosion. Cambridge in the thirteenth century had not the *men* that Oxford had, so Oxford kept the lead. Perhaps there was some soreness. Did ecclesiastics shake their heads as they saw the walls of Balliol College rise, and learnt that there was just a little too much importance given to mere scholarship, and no prominence given to theology in those early statutes of 1282? Did they, without knowing why, anticipate with anxiety the awakening of a spirit of free thought and free inquiry among those scholars of the Merton Rule? Did the orthodox party resort to prophecy, which is seldom very complimentary or cheerful in its utterances?

This is certain, that while Balliol College was building there was a stir among the Benedictines, and an effort made to assert themselves and take their place among the learned. John Giffard

started his great college for the reception of student monks at Oxford. It became, and for centuries continued to be, the resort of the Benedictine order, and was supported by levies from a large number of the old monasteries. The inference is forced upon us that the English monasteries no longer stood in the front rank as seats of learning. Students and scholars would no longer go to the monks; the monks must go to the scholars. But the establishment of a seminary for the reception of young-monks at Oxford tended to the strengthening of the ecclesiastical influence in that University. Cambridge lost in the same proportion that Oxford gained. Even the great Priory of Norwich sent its promising young monks to Oxford, passing by the nearer and more conveniently situated University. As early as 1288 we find entries in the Norwich Priory Rolls of payments for the support of the schools and scholars at Oxford. It was long after this that Cambridge offered any similar attraction to the 'religious.'

Be it noted that until Merton's day people had never heard of what we now understand by a *college*. It was a novelty in English institutions. Men and women had lived commonly enough in societies that were essentially religious in their character. Some of those societies, and only some, had drifted into becoming the quiet homes of learning as well as of devotion; but the main business—the *raison d'être* of monks and nuns and canons—was the practice of asceticism, the keeping up of unceasing worship in the church of the monastery—the endeavour to be holier than men of the world need be, or the endeavour to make the men of the world holier than they cared to be. The religious orders were religious or they were nothing. Each new rule for the reformation of those orders aimed at restoring the primitive idea of self-immolation at the altar—a severer ritual, harder living, longer praying. Nay! the new rules, in not a few instances, were actually aimed against learning and culture. The Merton Rule was a bringer in of new things. Merton would not call his society of scholars a *convent*, as the old monkish corporations had been designated. That sounded too much as though the mere promotion of pietism was his aim; he revived the old classical word *collegium*. There had been *collegia* at Rome before the imperial times; though some of them had been religious bodies, some were decidedly not so. They were societies which held property, pursued certain avocations, and acted in a corporate capacity for very mundane objects. Why should not there be a *collegium* of scholars? Why should students and men of learning be expected to be holier than other people? When Merton started his college at Oxford, he made it plain by his statutes that he did not intend to found a society after the old conventual type, but to start upon a new departure.

The scholars of the new college were to take no vows they were

not to be worried with everlasting ritual observances. Special chaplains, who were presumably not expected to be scholars and students, were appointed for the ministration of the ceremonial in the church. Luxury was guarded against; poverty was not enjoined. As long as a scholar was pursuing his studies *bonâ fide*, he might remain a member of the college; if he was tired of books and bookish people, he might go.

When a man strikes out a new idea, he is not allowed to keep it to himself very long. The new idea soon gets taken up; sometimes it gets improved upon; sometimes very much the reverse. For a wise man acts upon a hint, and it germinates; a fool only half-apprehends the meaning of the hint, and he displays his folly in producing a caricature. Hugh de Balsham seems to have aimed at improving upon Merton's original idea. He meant well, doubtless; but his college of Peterhouse, the first college in Cambridge, was a very poor copy of the Oxford foundation. Merton was a man of genius, a man of ideas; Balsham was a man of the cloister. Moreover, he was by no means so rich as his predecessor, and he did not live to carry out his scheme. The funds were insufficient. The first college at Cambridge was long in building. Cambridge, in fact, was very unfortunate. Somehow there was none of the dash and enthusiasm, none of the passion for progress, which characterised Oxford. Cambridge had no moral genius like Grosseteste to impress his strong personality upon the movement which the friars stirred, no commanding intellect like that of Roger Bacon to attract and dazzle and lead into quite new regions of thought the ardent and eager spirits who felt that a new era had begun; no Occam or Duns Scotus or Bradwardine; no John Wiclif to kindle a new flame—say, rather, to take up the torch which had dropped from Bradwardine's hand, and continue the race which the others had run so well. What a grand succession of men it was!

Five colleges had been founded at Oxford before a second arose at Cambridge. After that they followed in rapid succession, and the reign of Edward the Third had not come to an end when no less than seven colleges had been opened at Cambridge. Five of them have survived to our own days, and two were eventually absorbed by the larger foundation which Henry the Seventh was ambitious of raising, and which now stands forth in its grandeur, the most magnificent educational corporation in the world.

Where did all the money come from, not only to raise the original buildings in which the *University*, as a teaching body, pursued its work, but which also provided the *houses* in which the *colleges* of scholars lived and laboured?

Unhappily, we know very little of the *University* buildings during this early period. All the industry of Mr. Clark has not



failed to penetrate the thick obscurity; but this at least is pretty certain, namely, that the earliest University buildings at Cambridge were very humble structures clustering round about the area now covered by the University schools and library, that it was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that any attempt was made to erect a building of any pretension, and that the 'Schools Quadrangle' was not completed till 130 years after the first stone was laid.' The University of Cambridge was for ages a very poor corporation; it had no funds out of which to build halls or schools or library. The ceremonies at *commencement* and on other great occasions took place in the churches, sometimes of the Augustinian, sometimes of the Franciscan friars. In these early times the gownsmen dared not contemplate the erection of a senate-house wherein to hold their meetings. When the fourteenth-century schools were planned their erection was doubtless regarded as a very bold and ambitious experiment. The money came in very slowly, the work stopped more than once, and when it proceeded it was only by public subscription that the funds were gathered. In 1466, William Wilflete, Master of Clare Hall and Chancellor of the University, actually made a journey to London to gather funds from whatever quarters he could, and he dunned his friends, and those on whom the University had any claim, so successfully that on June 25 of that year a contract for proceeding with the work was drawn up and signed, but it was nearly nine years after this before the schools were finally completed, together with a new library over them, by the special munificence of Archbishop Rotherham, who had further enriched the library with numerous volumes of great value.

The tie which bound the members of the *University* together was much weaker than that which united the members of the same *colleges*. The colleges were, in almost every case, founded by private munificence, and in most cases were commenced during the lifetime of the several founders; but when we come to look into the sources of the college revenues we find that the actual gifts of money, or indeed of lands, was less than at first sight appears. A very large proportion of the endowments of these early colleges came from the *spoliation of the parochial clergy*. Popular writers in our own time declaim against the horrible sin of buying and selling church preferment, as if it were a modern abomination. Let a man only spend half an hour in examining the *finis* or records of transfers of property in England during the fourteenth century and he will be somewhat surprised to discover what a part the buying and selling of advowsons played in the business transactions of our forefathers five centuries ago. Advowsons were always in the market, and always good investments in those days. But not only so. A pious founder could do a great deal in the way of making perpetual provision for the mention of his name by posterity at a small cost if he took care to manipulate ecclesiastical property with prudence. There was a

crafty device whereby the owner of the advowson could appropriate the tithes of a benefice to the support of any corporation which might be considered a *religious* foundation. The old monasteries had benefited to some extent from this disendowment of the secular clergy, the Augustinian canons, during the twelfth century, being the chief gainers by the pillage. When the rage for founding colleges came in, and the awful ravages of the Black Death had depopulated whole districts, the fashion of alienating the revenues of the country parsons and diverting them into the new channel grew to be quite a rage. The colleges of secular priests living together in common, or what it is now the fashion to call a clergy house, might be and were strictly *religious* foundations; and could the colleges of scholars, of teachers and learners who presumably were all priests, or intended for the priesthood, be regarded as less *religious* than the others? So it came to pass that the tithes of parish after parish were diverted into a new channel, and these very colleges at Cambridge which were professedly meant to raise the standard of education among the seculars were endowed at the expense of those same secular clergy. In order that the country parsons might be better educated, it was arranged that the country parsons should be impoverished!

Seven new colleges opened in less than thirty years at Cambridge alone! Think what this must have meant. I suspect that Oxford had attracted the reading men, and Cambridge possessed charms for the fast ones. How else are we to explain Archbishop Stratford's stringent order in 1342 for the repression of the dandyism that prevailed among the young scholars? These young Cantabs of the fourteenth century were exquisites of the first water. Their fur-trimmed cloaks and their tippets; their shoes of all the colours of the rainbow; their dainty girdles, bejewelled and gilt, were a sight to see. And then their hair! positively curled and powdered, and growing over their shoulders, too; and when they passed their fingers through the curls, look you, there were rings on their fingers! Call you these scholars? Chaucer's 'Clerk of Oxenforde' was of a very different type:—

- For all that he might of his frendes hente  
On bookes and in learning he it spente.

Nevertheless it can hardly have been but that the foundation of so many colleges at Cambridge brought in a stricter discipline; the new collegiate life of the scholars began. Perhaps for the majority of readers no part of Mr. Clark's great work will prove so attractive as the last four hundred pages, with their delightful essays on 'The Component Parts of a College.' Here we have traced out for us, in the most elaborate manner, the gradual development of the collegiate idea, from the time when it expressed itself in a building that had no particular plan, down to our own days, when colleges vie with one

another in architectural splendour and in the lavish completeness of their arrangements.

At the outset the uninitiated must prepare to have some of their favourite theories rudely shattered. We are in the habit of assuming that a quadrangle is one of the essential features of a college. It is almost amazing to learn that the quadrangular arrangement was adopted very gradually.

Again, we are often assured that the colleges at the two older universities are the only relics of the monastic system, and are themselves monastic in their origin. A greater fallacy could hardly be propounded. It would be nearer the truth to say that the founding of the colleges was at once a protest against the monasteries and an attempt to supersede them.

More startling still is the fact that a college did not at first necessarily imply that there was a chapel attached. So far from this being the case, it is certain that Peterhouse, the oldest college in Cambridge, never had a chapel till the present building was consecrated in 1632. It was with great difficulty that the Countess of Pembroke in 1366 was allowed to build a chapel within the precincts of her new college; and, so far from these convenient adjuncts to a collegiate establishment having been considered an essential in early times, no less than eight of the college chapels at Cambridge and four at Oxford date from a time after the Reformation. In the fourteenth century and later the young scholars, as a rule, attended their parish church. Sometimes the college added on an aisle for the accommodation of its members; sometimes it obtained a licence to use a room in which Divine Service might be conducted for a time; once the founder of a college erected a collegiate quire in the middle of the parish church, a kind of gigantic *pew*, for the accommodation of his scholars. Downing College has never had a chapel to the present hour.

Of all the developments, however, in the college idea, none has been more remarkable than that of the master's lodge. In the fourteenth century the master of a college was but *primus inter pares*, and the distance between him and his *fellows* or *scholars* was less than that which exists now between the commanding officer of a regiment in barracks and his brother officers. The master had no sinecure; the discipline of the place depended upon him almost entirely, for in those days the monarchical idea was in the ascendant; the king was a real king, the bishop a real bishop, the master a real master. Everything was referred to him, everything originated with him, everything was controlled by him. But as for the accommodation assigned to him in the early colleges, it was very inferior indeed to that which every undergraduate at Trinity or St. John's expects to find in our time. The Provost of Oriel in 1329 was permitted to dine apart if he pleased, and to reside outside the

residence; but this was clearly an exceptional case, for the master was at this time the actual founder of the college, and Adam de Brune might be presumed to know what was good for his successors in the office for which he himself had made provision. But for generations the master enjoyed no more than a couple of *chambers* at the most, and it was not till the sixteenth century that an official residence was provided, and then such residence consisted only of *lodgings* a little more spacious and convenient than those of any of the fellows, and in no case separated from the main buildings of the college. Even when masters of colleges began to marry (and the earliest instance of this seems to have been Dr. Heynes, Master of Queen's College, in 1529), it was long before the master's wife was so far recognised as to be received within the precincts; and as late as 1576, when the fellows of King's complained of their provost's wife being seen within the college, Dr. Goad replied that she had not been twice in the college 'Quad' in her life, as far as he knew. When the great break-up came in the next century, then the establishment of the master demanded increased accommodation for his family, and the master's lodge began to grow slowly, until university architects of the nineteenth century displayed their exalted sense of what was due to the dignity of a 'head of a house' by erecting two such palaces as the lodges of Pembroke and St. John's Colleges; for the glorification of the artist, it may be, but whether for the advantage of the college, the university, or the occupants of the aforesaid lodges it be reasonably doubted. One master's lodge in Cambridge *is at this moment let*, presumably for the benefit of the head of the house, whose official residence it is; and, if things go on as they are tending, the day may come—who knows how soon?—when Cambridge shall at last be able to boast of a really good hotel, 'in a central and very desirable situation, commanding a delightful view of'—what shall we say?—'fitted up with every convenience, and formerly known as the Master's Lodge of St. Boniface College.'

I am inclined to think that there is such a thing as architecture run to seed.

If any one imagines that it would be possible within the limits of a single essay to follow Mr. Clark through the exhaustive processes of investigation which he has gone through, or to summarise at all satisfactorily the results which he has arrived at and set forth in so masterly a manner, let such an one spend only a single hour in turning over the leaves of these splendid volumes. The exquisite illustrations alone (which count by hundreds), and the elaborate maps and ground-plans, are full of surprises; they speak with an eloquence of their own to such as have eyes to see and in whom there is a spark of imagination to enlighten the paths along which their accomplished guide can lead them. Do you think that such

a work as this tells us no more than how the stone walls rose and the buildings assumed their present form, and court was added to court, and libraries and museums and lecture-rooms and all the rest of them were constructed by the professional gentlemen who drew the plans, and piled up by the masons and the bricklayers? Then you will do it a grievous injustice.

Horizons rich with trembling spires  
On violet twilights, lose their fires

if there be no human element to cast a living glow upon them. The authors of this architectural history knew better than anyone else that they were dealing with the architectural history of a great national institution. They knew that these walls—some so old and crumbling, some so new and hard and unlovely—bear upon them the marks of all the changes and all the progress, the conflicts and the questionings, the birth-throes of the new childhood, the fading out of a perplexed senility, the earnest grappling with error, the painful searching after truth which the spirit of man has gone through in these homes of intellectual activity during the lapse of six hundred years. Do you wish to understand the buildings? Then you must study the life; and the converse is true also. Either explains, and is the indispensable interpreter of, the obscurities of the other. Mr. Clark could not have produced this exhaustive history of university and collegiate fabrics if he had not gained a profound insight into the student life of Cambridge from the earliest times.

How did they live, these young scholars in the early days? Through what whimsical vagaries have the fashions changed? As the centuries have rolled on, have the youth of England become better or wiser than their sires? Neither better nor wiser seems to be the answer. The outer man is not as he was; the real moral and intellectual stamina of Englishmen has at least suffered no deterioration. Our habits are different; our dress, our language, the look of our homes, are all other than they were. Our wants have multiplied immensely; the amount of physical discomfort and downright suffering which our ancestors were called upon to endure sent up the death-rate doubtless to a figure which to us would be appalling. We start from a standing-point in moral, social, and intellectual convictions so far in advance of that of our forefathers that they could not conceive of such a *terminus ad quem* as serves us as a *terminus a quo*. In other words, we begin at a point in the line which they never conceived could be reached. Yet the more closely we look into the past the more do we see how history in all essentials is for ever repeating herself—impossible though it may be to put the clock back for ourselves.

How significant is the fact that through all these centuries of building and planting, of pulling down and raising up, the makers

the realms of thought, inquiry, and discovery—never seemed to have thought that Death could play much havoc among them. In the old monasteries there was always a cemetery. The canon or the monk who passed into the cloister came there once for all—to live and die within the walls of his monastery. The scholar who came to get all the learning he could, and who settled in some humble hostel or some unpretentious college of the old type, came to spend some few years there, but no more. He came to live his life, and when there was no more life in him—no more youthful force, activity, and enthusiasm—there was no place for him at Cambridge. There they wanted men of vigour and energy, not past their work. Die? No! as long as he was verily alive it was well that he should stay and toil. When he was a dying man, better he should go. No college at Cambridge had a cemetery. Let the dead bury their dead!

Indeed, it must have been hard for the weak and sickly—the lad of feeble frame and delicate organisation—to stand that rugged old Cambridge life. ‘College rooms’ in our time suggest something like the *ne plus ultra* of æsthetic elegance and luxury. We find it hard to realise the fact that for centuries a Fellow of a college was expected to have two or three *chamber fellows* who shared his bed-room with him; and that his *study* was no bigger than a study at the schoolhouse at Rugby, and very much smaller than a fourth-form boy enjoys at many a more modern public school. At the hostels, which were of course much more crowded than the colleges were, a separate bed was the privilege of the few. What must have been the condition of those semi-licensed receptacles for the poorer students in the early times, when we find as late as 1598 that in St. John’s College there were no less than seventy members of the college ‘accommodated’ (!) in twenty-eight chambers. This was before the second court at St. John’s was even begun, and yet these seventy Johnians were living in luxury when compared with their predecessors of two hundred years before.

‘In the early colleges the windows of the chambers were unglazed and closed with wooden shutters; their floors were either of clay or tiled; and their halls and ceilings were unplastered.’ We have express testimony that at Corpus Christi College not even the master’s lodge had been glazed and panelled before the beginning of the sixteenth century. By an inventory which Mr. Clark has printed, dated July 3, 1451, it appears that in the master’s lodge at King’s College, ‘the wealthiest lodge of the university, there was then only one chair; that the tables were supported on trestles; and that those who used them sat on forms or stools.’ As for the chambers and studies, not only were they destitute of anything in the shape of stoves or fire-places, but their walls were absolutely bare, while in the upper chambers there were not even lath and plaster

between the tiles and the beams of the roof. It is to us almost incomprehensible how vitality could have been kept up in the winter under such conditions. The cold must have been dreadful.

At four only of five earlier and smaller colleges was there any fire-place in the hall, and the barbaric braziers in which first charcoal and afterwards coke was burned, were actually the only heating apparatus known in the immense halls of Trinity and St. John's till within the last twenty years! The magnificent hall of Trinity actually retained till 1866 the brazier *which had been in use for upwards of 160 years!* The clumsy attempt to fight the bitter cold which was usual in our mediæval churches and manor-houses, by strewing the stone floor with rushes, was carried out too in the college halls, and latterly, instead of rushes, sawdust was used, at least in Trinity. 'It was laid on the floor at the beginning of winter, and turned over with a rake as often as the upper surface became dirty. Finally, when warm weather set in, it was removed, the colour of charcoal!' Well might the late Professor Sedgwick, in commenting upon this practice, exclaim:—'The dirt was sublime in former years!'

Yet in the earliest times a lavatory was provided in the college halls, and a towel of eight or nine yards long, which at Trinity as late as 1612 was hung on a hook—the refinement of hanging a towel on a *roller* does not appear to have been thought of. These towels were for use *before* dinner; *at* dinner the fellows of Christ's in 1575 were provided with table-napkins. If they wiped their fingers on the table-cloth they were fined a penny. The temptation must have been strong at times, for *no forks were in use*—not even the iron-pronged forks which some of us remember in hall in our young days. The oldest piece of furniture in the college halls were the stocks set up for the correction of refractory undergraduates who should have been guilty of the enormity of bathing in the Cam or other grave offence and scandal.

Of the amusements indulged in by the undergraduates at Cambridge in the early times we hear but little. The probability seems to be that they had to manage for themselves as best they could. Gradually the bowling-green, the butts for archery, and the tennis-courts were provided by several colleges. Tennis seems to have been the rage at Cambridge during the sixteenth century, and the tennis-courts became sources of revenue in the Elizabethan time. It is clear that by this time the old severity and rigour had become relaxed, the colleges had become richer, and in another hundred years the combination-rooms had become comfortable and almost luxurious before the seventeenth century closed. In Queen's College in 1693 there were actually *flowers* in the combination-room, and at Christ's College in 1716 a card-table was provided 'in the fellows' parlour.'

. . . . .

It may be said that the immense expansion of the University, as distinct from a mere aggregate of colleges, dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Up to that time the colleges had for four hundred years been steadily growing into privileged corporations, whose wealth and power had been too great for the Commonwealth, of which they were in idea only members. With the Georgian era the new movement began. When Bishop Moore's vast library was presented by George II. to the *University*, when the first stone of the Senate House was laid in 1722, when the *University* arranged for the reception of Dr. Woodward's fossils in 1735—these events marked the beginning of a new order of things. Whatever confusion may have existed in the minds of our grandfathers, who had a vague conviction that the University meant no more than the aggregate of the colleges, and a suspicion that what the University was the colleges made it—we, in our generation, have been assured that the colleges owed their existence to the sufferance of universities; or, if that be putting the case too strongly, that the colleges exist for the sake of the University. The new view has at any rate gained the approval of the Legislature; the University is in no danger of being predominated over by the colleges in the immediate future; the danger rather is lest the colleges should be starved or at least impoverished for the glorification of the University, the college-fellowships being shorn of their dignity and emoluments in order to ensure that the University officials shall become the exclusive holders of the richest prizes.

For good or evil we have entered upon a new career. The old Cambridge, which some of us knew in our youth, with its solemn ecclesiasticism, its quaint archaisms, its fantastic anomalies, its fascinating picturesqueness, its dear old barbaric unintelligible odds and ends that met us at every turn in street and chapel and hall—that old Cambridge is as dead as the Egypt of the Pharaohs. The new Cambridge, with its bustling syndics for ever on the move—its bewildering complexity of examinations—its 'sweet girl-graduates with their golden hair,' its delightful 'notion of grand and capacious and massive amusement,' its glorious wealth of collections and appliances and facilities for every kind of study and research, is alive with an exuberant vitality.

What form will the new life assume in the time that is coming? Will the Cambridge of six centuries hence be able to produce such a record of her past as that which she can boast of now? Among her *alumni* of the future will there arise again any such loyal and enlightened historians as these who have raised to themselves and their University so noble a monument?

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.



## EUROPE IN THE PACIFIC.

DURING the last half-century our Australasian colonies have been merely spectators in the diplomatic drama of European politics; recent events, however, have caused a change in this respect, and now individually and collectively they are beginning to appear before the world as actors who will probably play important parts in the new political sphere of influence that is rapidly attracting the attention of Europe.—I mean the future policy of the Pacific. Imperial legislators have hitherto acted too much on their own responsibility in their diplomatic dealings with foreign Powers relating to Pacific affairs, and the public opinion of Australasia has not been sufficiently recognised in matters involving the annexation and giving up of islands in the southern hemisphere. True the advice of colonial statesmen and agents-general has frequently been asked, but it is not too much to say that, though generously given, it has seldom been seriously considered. Now it must be distinctly understood that the presence of possibly hostile Powers in the immediate vicinity of our Australasian colonies is fraught with much future danger to the colonists themselves, and, as they, and not the people inhabiting Great Britain and Ireland, are directly affected by the result of such diplomatic arrangements, their interest in questions of this kind demand first consideration. The half-heartedness so long displayed by the home authorities in Pacific policy will have to give place to more vigorous action, in which deeds must be substituted for words, and treaties for understandings.

Spain, France, and Holland long ago saw the advantage of possessing advanced posts in the Pacific—Spain and Holland for commercial reasons, France for naval purposes and the establishment of convict settlements. Germany and the United States have not been long in following suit, and slowly but surely the former Power is gaining a hold upon the trade in these latitudes and endeavouring to provide herself with coaling stations in the immediate vicinity of the maritime highways to Australia. Meanwhile, Great Britain is looking on, content with the passive possession of the Fijis and a small strip of New Guinea, while Australia and New Zealand, con-

stitutionally powerless to prevent or permit annexation, are daily in danger of an increase in the number of foreign convicts already lodged and provided for in islands adjacent to their shores.

I propose to give here some information concerning the more important groups of islands that lie scattered over the surface of the Pacific Ocean. The area with which I am about to deal is so vast, and the islands in question so numerous, that some classification becomes necessary. Several methods of course suggest themselves, but the one adopted will well illustrate the object in view, and show at once not only the relation which these groups of islands bear to each other, but also their individual importance to European Powers, both diplomatically and commercially, for which purpose I have arranged the accompanying chart.

Recent diplomatic arrangements between this country and Germany have settled that for political purposes the Western Pacific shall mean that part of the Pacific Ocean lying between the 15th parallel of N. and the 30th parallel of S. latitude and between the 165th degree of longitude W. and the 130th E. of Greenwich. No corresponding division has hitherto been proposed for the Eastern Pacific, probably because the reasons that prompted the one did not appear to require the other. Now I would venture to suggest that it would be a matter of some convenience if the area of the Eastern Pacific were defined and made to correspond more nearly with that of the Western Pacific. To illustrate my meaning I have drawn on the chart annexed an arbitrary line traversing the 100th degree of longitude west of Greenwich, and would define the Eastern Pacific as that part of the Pacific Ocean lying between the 15th parallel of N. and the 30th parallel of S. latitude, and between the 165th degree of longitude W. and the 100th degree of longitude W. of Greenwich. This division excludes the Galapagos Islands, which belong to the Republic of Ecuador, but takes in Pitcairn Island and Easter Island.

Six months since important declarations were entered into between the Governments of Great Britain and the German Empire relating to a demarcation of the British and German spheres of influence in the Western Pacific and to reciprocal freedom of trade and commerce in the British and German possessions and protectorates<sup>1</sup> in those regions. For these purposes the area of the Western Pacific was revised as above, and a conventional line of demarcation<sup>2</sup> agreed upon starting from the north-east coast of New Guinea at a point near

<sup>1</sup> The words 'possessions and protectorates in the Western Pacific' do not include the colonies which now have fully constituted governments and legislatures.

<sup>2</sup> Should further surveys show that any islands now indicated on the British Admiralty charts lying on one side of the conventional line are in reality on the other side, the line is to be modified so that such islands shall appear on the same side of the line shown on the said charts.

Mitre Rock on the 8th parallel of S. latitude, which is the boundary between the British and German possessions on that coast, and following that parallel to point A,<sup>1</sup> and thence continuing to points B, C, D, E, F, and G, as indicated in the accompanying chart. East, south-east, or south of this line Germany has engaged not to acquire land, accept protectorates, or interfere with the extension of British influence, and to give up any acquisitions of territory or protectorates already established in that part of the Western Pacific. Great Britain has entered into similar engagements concerning that part of the Western Pacific lying to the west, north-west, or north of the conventional line.

These engagements, however, do not apply to the Navigator Islands (Samoa), which are affected by treaties with Great Britain, Germany, and the United States; nor to the Friendly Islands (Tonga), also affected by treaties with Great Britain and Germany; nor to the island of Niué (Savage Island), which groups still continue to form a neutral region; nor, of course, are they applicable to any islands or places in the Western Pacific now under the sovereignty or protection of any other civilised Power.

Commercially both nations have agreed that the subjects of either State shall be free to resort to or settle in all the possessions or protectorates belonging to the other, as well as to acquire any kind of property and engage in any description of trade, agricultural or industrial undertakings, subject to the same conditions and laws, and enjoying the same religious freedom, protection, and privileges, as the subjects of the sovereign or protecting State. The ships belonging to both States are in all respects to enjoy reciprocal advantages as well as most-favoured-nation treatment; and merchandise, of whatever origin, imported by the subjects of either State, under whatever flag, is not to be liable to any other or higher duties than that imported by the subject of the other State or of any third Power.

It has been decided too that all disputed claims to land alleged to have been acquired by British subjects in a German possession or protectorate, and *vice versa*, prior to the proclamation of sovereignty or protectorate, shall be settled by a mixed commission; but any such claim may be decided by the local authority alone, provided the claimant to the land makes formal application to that effect. Convicts are not to be transported to, nor penal settlements

<sup>1</sup> A, 8° S. lat., 154° long. E. of Greenwich; B, 7° 15' S. lat., 155° 25' E. long.; C, 7° 15' S. lat., 155° 35' E. long.; D, 7° 25' S. lat., 156° 40' E. long.; E, 8° 50' S. lat., 159° 50' E. long.; F, 6° N. lat., 173° 30' E. long.; G, 15° N. lat., 173° 30' E. long.

The point A is indicated on the British Admiralty chart 780, Pacific Ocean (south-west sheet); the points B, C, D, and E are indicated on the British Admiralty chart 214 (South Pacific, Solomon Islands), and the points F and G on the British Admiralty chart 781, Pacific Ocean (north-west sheet).

established by either Great Britain or Germany in, the Western Pacific.

The table on the following page shows the exact geographical position and nationality of the principal groups and islands in these latitudes, and serves at the same time as an index to the chart annexed.

I will now deal with the groups separately, detailing more at length their diplomatic connection with European Powers, and pointing out some of the advantages they possess for commercial enterprise.

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC.

The Sandwich Islands, eight in number, and possessing an area of about 6,000 square miles, form the kingdom of Hawaii. The Government is constitutional, consisting of a King and Parliament. In 1843 their independence was formally declared by the French and English Governments; and in 1851 a treaty was entered into between her Majesty and the King relating to commerce and navigation, containing certain clauses granting concessions to whale ships, and regulating import duties and harbour dues. The islands, however, are practically Americanised, and the dollar is the standard coin. Their importance from a European point of view is chiefly owing to the position of Honolulu, which is the only coaling station on the mail route between Auckland and San Francisco and on the direct line between Vancouver and Fiji. Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Austria, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, and America are diplomatically represented.

The Ladrões, a group of about twenty islands, running almost due north and south, have a united area of nearly 1250 square miles, the largest being Guajan, ninety miles in circumference, where the governor resides. As a commercial possession these islands are very important to the Spaniards.

#### SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

The Kermadec Islands, a scattered group of small rocky islets situated north-east of New Zealand, were annexed by Great Britain on the 1st of August, 1886.

The Chatham Islands, discovered in 1791, consist of three islands and several islets. The soil is fertile, and European fruits grow well.

#### EASTERN PACIFIC.

Cook Islands are seven in number. The natives, a well-disposed and intelligent people, are Protestant, and adopt European habits.

Rarotonga, the finest and by far the most important of these

NAMES OF GROUPS	BETWEEN			
	Lat.	Long.	Lat.	Long.
<i>Northern Pacific.</i>				
Ladrone Islands <sup>4</sup> (S.) . .	12 24 N.	144 24 E.	20 30 N.	146 1 E.
Sandwich Islands (I.) . .	18 54 N.	154 50 W.	28 25 N.	178 27 W.
<i>Southern Pacific.</i>				
Kermadec Islands (B.) . .	29 15 S.	177 56 W.	30 36 S.	179 0 W.
Chatham Islands (B.) . .	43 30 S.	176 17 W.	44 20 S.	176 51 W.
<i>Eastern Pacific.</i>				
Marquesas Islands (F.) . .	7 53 S.	138 26 W.	10 30 S.	140 48 W.
Low Archipelago (F.) . .	14 9 S.	124 48 W.	25 3 S.	148 44 W.
Society Islands (I. and F.) .	15 43 S.	148 5 W.	17 53 S.	154 40 W.
Cook's Islands (I.) . .	18 5 S.	157 8 W.	21 55 S.	163 10 W.
Austral Islands (I.) . .	21 49 S.	143 28 W.	27 55 S.	154 43 W.
Rapa <sup>1</sup> (F.) . .	27 35 S.	144 17 W.		
Pitcairn Island (B.) . .	25 3 S.	130 8 W.		
<i>Western Pacific.</i>				
Palew Islands (S.) . .	6 53 N.	134 5 E.	8 45 N.	134 55 E.
Caroline Islands (S.) . .	1 0 N.	137 33 E.	10 6 N.	163 5 E.
Marshall Islands (I.G.) . .	4 39 N.	165 22 E.	11 48 N.	171 57 E.
Gilbert Islands (I.B.) . .	3 21 N.	172 55 E.	2 41' S.	177 0 E.
Admiralty Islands <sup>2</sup> } Bismarck	1 54 S.	145 54 E.	2 55 S.	148 10 E.
New Ireland } Archipelago	2 46 S.	150 33 E.	4 51 S.	153 18 E.
New Britain } (G.)	4 8 S.	148 17 E.	6 30 S.	152 15 E.
British } New Guinea . .	0 19 S.	131 0 E.	10 43 S.	150 54 E.
German } .				
Dutch } .				
Louisiane Archipelago (B.) .	10 58 S.	151 3 E.	11 42 S.	154 26 E.
Solomon Islands <sup>3</sup> (I.B. & I.G.)	3 27 S.	153 55 E.	12 45 S.	163 1 E.
Ellice Islands (I.B.) . .	5 20 S.	179 50 E.	10 41 S.	176 6 E.
Santa Cruz Islands <sup>7</sup> (I.B.) .	9 57 S.	165 41 E.	11 50 S.	167 11 E.
Samoa Islands <sup>8</sup> (I.) . .	12 53 S.	168 6 W.	15 57 S.	178 7 W.
New Hebrides Islands (I.) .	13 33 S.	160 40 E.	20 15 S.	170 11 E.
Fiji Islands (B.) . .	12 31 S.	176 51 E.	20 38 S.	178 12 W.
Tonga <sup>9</sup> (I.) . .	18 2 S.	173 40 W.	22 52 S.	176 14 W.
New Caledonia (F.) . .	17 59 S.	162 55 E.	22 40 S.	167 29 E.
Loyalty Islands (F.) . .	20 15 S.	166 14 E.	22 38 S.	168 56 E.
Niue <sup>10</sup> (I.) . .	19 10 S.	169 50 W.		

B. denotes British possessions.  
 S. denotes Spanish possessions.  
 G. denotes German possessions.  
 F. denotes French possessions.  
 I. denotes independent.

I.G. denotes independent, but within German  
 'sphere of influence.'  
 I.B. denotes independent, but within British  
 'sphere of influence.'

#### ROUTES FROM LONDON TO SYDNEY.

Via Brindisi & Alexandria & Cairo Rly.	10,540 miles, of which 1,490 are land miles
" Suez Canal . . . . .	11,533 "
" San Francisco . . . . .	14,895 "
" Panama . . . . .	12,545 "
" Vancouver . . . . .	12,811 "
	of which 3,300 are land miles
	of which 50 are land miles
	of which 3,271 are land miles

<sup>4</sup> Mariana Islands.

<sup>5</sup> Oparo.

<sup>6</sup> For division, see text, p. 756.

<sup>7</sup> Charlotte.

<sup>10</sup> Savage Island.

<sup>8</sup> Navigators.

<sup>9</sup> Friendly Islands.

islands, lies in the highway between Sydney and Panama. Although mountainous, it is very fertile, and fresh water abounds; while its two small but fairly secure harbours might be made of signal service to us, seeing we have no coaling station in the Eastern Pacific. About the year 1864 the king and his chiefs made a formal application to her Majesty's Government for protection, in the shape of a letter addressed to the then Governor of New Zealand. The same feeling continues, and (July 3, 1886) the New Zealand Government, in a telegraphic despatch, asked that the island should be brought under British protection.

It is not probable that, with the present spirit of annexation, islands possessing so many advantages commercially and diplomatically will remain much longer without an offer of protection from some European Power.

The Society group may be divided into—

(1) Tahiti, a valuable island with a good harbour (Papeète), Moorea, Mactia, and Tetuaroa. They were formally annexed by France in 1880.

(2) Huahine, Raiatea, and Borabora (to the leeward of Tahiti), and the adjacent small islands. Their independence was acknowledged by a treaty entered into between Great Britain and France in 1847, although, strange to say, the French flag has been flying at Raiatea since 1880.

The Austral group consists of five islands—Rapa, Ravaivai, Tubu, Rurutu, and Rimatara, ranging from fifteen to twenty-five miles in circumference and possessing a magnificent climate. The natives, who are Protestants, have little sympathy with the Roman Catholic teaching. These islands, cultivated properly by Europeans, would probably produce fine crops of cotton, coffee, sugar, and indigo, and constitute commercially a very profitable investment.

Rurutu and Rimatara are independent, but the other three belong to the French. Rapa, situated at the extreme south-east, possesses a fine natural harbour, and though it formed part of the 1843 Tahiti protectorate was not formally ceded to France till 1880.

The French possessions in the Eastern Pacific comprise—

(1) The Marquesas, a group of eleven islands, possessing a delightful climate and valuable agricultural land, ceded to France by a treaty with Admiral Dupetit-Thouars in May 1842.

(2) The Tahitian Archipelago, which may be subdivided into—

(a) Tahiti, Moorea, Tetuaroa, Meestia, Tubai, Ravaivai, and Rapa.

Admiral Thouars seized Tahiti in August 1842, and during the following year the island was, at the request of its queen and principal chiefs, placed under French protection. In May 1880 King Pomaré the Fifth handed over the administration of Tahiti and its dependencies to the President of the Republic, and they were formally annexed by France. Tahiti, now a great centre of

commercial activity in the Pacific, was then made, and still is, the seat of government.

(b) The Low Archipelago, or Paumotu group, a vast collection of coral islands, numbering seventy-eight or more, covering an area of 6,000 square kilometres, and chiefly valuable for their pearl fisheries.

(c) The Gambiers, a group of four small islands. The French official resides at Mangareva. The agents of Messrs. Godeffroy some years ago shipped to Europe, in one parcel, pearls to the value of \$20,000, the product of a few months' collection among the Paumotus, and the large pearl now in the possession of her Majesty, and purchased of Messrs. Storr and Mortimer for 6,000*l.*, came from the Gambiers.

The situation in the Eastern Pacific calls for immediate action. The islanders are becoming aware of the growing power of Germany in these latitudes, and, as the greater part of their trade is transacted through agents of that country, there is some reason to expect that Prince Bismarck may before long carry out here his principle of following the German trade with the German flag.

With the diplomatic dealings that led to the establishment of Kaiser Wilhelm Land in the Ireland of Australia still fresh in our memory, it might be politic and not altogether unnecessary to take some preliminary steps in a matter of so great importance to the future welfare of British commercial interests.

I would suggest that the limits of British and French spheres of influence in the Eastern Pacific be more accurately defined, and that declarations be made between the Governments of Great Britain and France similar in effect to those entered into between this country and Germany concerning the Western Pacific. The Panama Canal may or may not be a financial success. That it will be open for navigation in 1889 is more than doubtful, but that it may be *un fait accompli* sooner or later is a possibility which even the Americans cannot gainsay. Our duty is to be prepared for a favourable result of M. Lesseps' undertaking, which, if successful, will not only open a new sea route to Australia and New Zealand, but also bring the Pacific islands into very much closer communication with European Powers than is at the present time possible.

It would of course be necessary to agree to a conventional line of demarcation, and the diplomatic dealings that led to the fixing of this line might materially assist in solving the New Hebrides problem.

Provided that the settlement of the Newfoundland fisheries dispute does not interfere with the carrying out of the declaration entered into between this country and France, in 1847, respecting the independence of the islands of Huahine, Raiatea, and Borabora, and the small islands adjacent thereto, the withdrawal of Great Britain from this engagement in exchange for Rapa, Tubai, and Ravaivai

might be deserving of some consideration at the hands of her Majesty's Government.

A conventional line, as indicated in the chart overleaf, that secured Rapa and Rarotonga on the British side, would not be without its advantages to this country, and yet keep intact the rights of France, and not interfere with her diplomatic or commercial policy in these latitudes.

Tahiti being the great centre of French trade in the Pacific is absolutely necessary to France; but Rapa, which can only be approached from most of the French possessions by a circuitous passage, owing to the nautical dangers that surround the Low Archipelago, has hitherto proved of little service to that nation. In support of my case I would mention the fact that, although this island was included in the 1843 protectorate, it was only in 1867, after the Panama Mail Company had chosen it for a coaling station, that France thought it necessary to send a man-of-war there to reduce it into possession. In the event of the Panama Canal being opened for traffic, Tahiti must, from its geographical position, always be the coaling station for French vessels taking that route to Caledonia or Australia. Rarotonga is independent, and its inhabitants have already invited, and are still ready and willing to accept, British protection, while Tubai and Ravaivai are unimportant islands to France in comparison with the possession of Huahine, Borabora, Raiatea, and the remaining islands of the Society group. The guano islands Fanning, Malden, and Starbuck would, under the suggested arrangement, also go to France.

#### WESTERN PACIFIC.

The largest and perhaps the most important island in the Western Pacific is New Guinea, or Papua. It lies immediately south of the equator and north of Australia, and is under the control of three European Powers in the following estimated proportions :—

	Square miles
Western New Guinea (Holland) . . . . .	112,350
Kaiser Wilhelm Land (Germany) . . . . .	68,390
British Protectorate (Great Britain) . . . . .	86,800
Total area . . . . .	267,540

The secrecy and jealousy of the Dutch in relation to their East India possessions, even to a late period, has barred political and geographical information to the outer world. Lord Carnarvon in 1875 endeavoured to get some definite information as to their title, or alleged title, to the western portion of New Guinea, and to trace out the precise boundaries of the territory held by them. No specific information, however, on these points was forthcoming, beyond the fact that they claimed to extend to the 141st degree of longitude east of Greenwich.



The Dutch navigators in the early part of the seventeenth century explored the south-western shores of New Guinea as far east as the Torres Straits, while Le Maire, Schouten, and Abel Tasman (1613-43) traced the northern shores from about the 144° meridian to the westward. The Great Geel Viak Bay was explored in 1705. In 1820 and 1828 more explorations were made, and a settlement founded. In 1835 the Dutch sent out another expedition, which was followed in 1858 by a third to Humboldt Bay. None of these endeavours to colonise the place have, however, been very successful.

### NEW GUINEA.



Hence the assumption is their title depends upon the right of discovery and exploration.

Comparatively little too is known concerning German New Guinea, and although recent White Books give some information about the interior of Kaiser Wilhelm Land, the greater part of that territory remains unexplored; but owing to the untiring energy of the late Sir Peter Scratchley, who personally visited eighteen districts, twenty-seven islands, thirty-four inland and sixty coast villages, some definite and reliable information respecting the British territory has been acquired. With the exception of the north-east coast, the entire

littoral of the protectorate is inhabited, and in the west and north-west, from the Fly River to Hall Sound, the tribes are large. The soil there, too, is extremely fertile, and large crops of sago are produced. From Port Moresby to Kerupunu the natives are peaceable and inclined to the adoption of European ideas respecting labour; but at Aroma, Cloudy Bay, Milport Bay, and Toulon Island they are not to be trusted. Further south villages are smaller but more numerous, and the character of the natives is docile. Concerning those on the north-east coast, little is known of their habits or customs. The natives are far superior in physique to the Australian black, but there is no such developed tribal system as existed in Fiji, Java, and New Zealand. Sir Peter Scratchley and his guard only carried arms on rare occasions, but no hostility was ever shown, and even at Mr. Forbes's station, the furthest settlement inland hitherto attempted, a friendly spirit was exhibited.

The discovery of New Guinea is due to the Portuguese. Don Juge de Menenis landed there in 1526, and called the island Papua, which some authorities translate 'black,' while others construe it 'curled hair,' either of which meanings suits the native inhabitants. Thirty years later De Retz, a Spanish mariner, sailed along the northern coast, and rechristened the island Nueva Guinea, from a fancied resemblance it bore to the Guinea coast on the west of Africa. Dampier, in 1699, circumnavigated the island, and on landing met with considerable resistance from the natives. A similar experience befell Captain Cook when he visited the place in 1770.

Twenty-three years ago a company was started in Sydney to colonise that part not taken by Holland; but the idea was abandoned when the promoters of the scheme found they could not form a British colony without the express consent of the Imperial authorities. Since that date the coast-line of New Guinea has been to some extent explored by the missionaries and various Europeans who have visited its shores.

The Bismarck Archipelago consists of the Admiralty group, New Britain, New Ireland, Long, and Rooke islands, and several smaller dependencies round about.

The Louisiade Archipelago, included in the British protectorate, embraces the islands of Adele, Roussel, and St. Aignan, and the groups Rénard, De Boyne, Bonvouloir, D'Entrecasteaux, and Trobriande. Many of the islands are thickly populated, and the natives, mostly cannibals, are less to be trusted than those on the mainland.

I do not propose to deal with either the British or German occupation of New Guinea at any great length, but it may be interesting to give here a short account of the way Germany obtained a footing in the Ireland of Australia and a hold in the Western Pacific.

Like a triangle, the question has three sides—Imperial, German, Colonial. These I will discuss as briefly as possible, and leave my

readers to draw their own conclusions. The Imperial authorities, after much delay and a good deal of outside pressure from the colonies, decided not to annex New Guinea, but to declare a protectorate up to a certain point in the island, and on the 9th of September, 1884, her Majesty's Government announced to the German authorities that it was intended to establish a protectorate over the coast and contiguous islands, excepting that part between the 145th degree of east longitude and the eastern Dutch boundary. Baron von Plessen then made certain representations in London, the outcome of which was that another note was sent to Berlin on the 9th of October, stating that as an act of courtesy we would, pending negotiations with Prince Bismarck, limit the immediate declaration of the protectorate to the south coast and islands, it being understood, of course, that this was done without prejudice to any territorial question beyond that limit, and adding that, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, any question as to districts lying beyond the limit actually taken should be dealt with diplomatically rather than be referred to a South Sea Committee, as suggested by Baron von Plessen. Germany, however, saw no reason for entering into the negotiations suggested by this country, or waiting for the diplomatic discussion of Baron von Plessen's representations, and proceeded to annex a portion of the territory in question.

This action on the part of a friendly Power naturally caused some amount of irritation at the Foreign Office, and did not tend to allay the anxiety which was rapidly springing up at the Colonial Office in consequence of the alarming nature of the telegrams received from Australia. Much correspondence ensued on all sides, and on the 24th of December an interview took place between Prince Bismarck and Mr. Meade in Berlin, when the matter was personally introduced to the German Chancellor. Six months later it was officially announced in London that an arrangement had been agreed upon between the two Governments. Under this a point was selected on the north-east coast where the eighth parallel of south latitude cuts the sea-shore as the coast boundary, and the inland territories were respectively fixed by a line starting from the coast in the neighbourhood of Mitre Rock, on the eighth parallel of south latitude, and following this parallel to the point where it is cut by the 147th degree of east longitude, then in a straight line in a north-westerly direction to the point where the sixth parallel of south latitude cuts the 144th degree of east longitude, and continuing in a north-westerly direction to the point of intersection of the fifth parallel of south latitude and of the 144th degree of east longitude.

The British possessions lie to the south and the German to the north of the line thus defined. So the matter was settled, and 68,000 square miles of territory passed under German control which

might have formed part of the British Empire, without any additional expense to the British taxpayer, had the mother country but listened to the voice of the Australian colonies.

Prince Bismarck's explanation of the transaction to Mr. Meade, who at the interview in question expressed some surprise at Germany thinking of annexing land which she had just proposed should form the subject of special negotiation, was that the correspondence alluded to above was quite new to him, neither had he any recollection of seeing it. He considered that he was free to take the north shore when we had limited our protectorate to the south side. So it is apparent that Germany considered the matter settled by the second note, and that the only open question was how far the limits of our protectorate should extend so as not to clash with those of Germany on the opposite coast.

We now come to the third and perhaps most important side of the question—I mean the Colonial. On the 4th of April, 1883, Mr. Chester took possession on behalf of her Majesty and the Government of Queensland of all that part of New Guinea and its adjacent islands lying between the 141st and 155th degrees of east longitude. This fact was reported to the Imperial authorities, and the other colonies urged the necessity of the territory being taken under British rule. In spite, however, of the unanimous feeling expressed by Australasia in the matter, the annexation was annulled. Some soreness naturally resulted from so short-sighted a policy on the part of her Majesty's advisers, but upon its becoming known that, on the 2nd of July, 1883, Lord Derby had publicly announced in the House of Lords it would be regarded as 'an unfriendly act' if any country attempted to make a settlement on the coast of New Guinea, confidence was again restored in the colonies; and when this expression was followed up, on the 9th of May, 1884, with the assurance 'that her Majesty's Government are confident that no foreign Power contemplates interference in New Guinea,' Australasia felt secure. Still the Colonial Governments continued to urge the necessity of annexation, and ultimately agreed to pay a subsidy of 15,000*l.* towards the expenses of a New Guinea protectorate. On the 9th of September the announcement stated above was sent to the German Government, and on the 17th of November the late Sir Peter (then General) Scratchley received instructions to proceed as her Majesty's special commissioner to assume jurisdiction over the southern shore of New Guinea and the adjacent country from the 141st meridian of east longitude, as far as East Cape, including any islands near the mainland in Goshen Straits, and southward of these straits as far south and east as to include Kosman Island. These instructions also stated clearly that he was to act as Deputy Commissioner to portions of New Guinea outside the protectorate, a fact that goes far to prove in the result that either Lord Derby misled

the colonies or Prince Bismarck misled Lord Derby. Sir Peter pointed out the absolute absurdity of such a partial protectorate, but, buoyed up with the hope of his powers being extended, left England on the 20th of November for Australia. At Albany the news reached him of the German annexation. Public opinion ran very high in the colonies against the Home Government when they found their confidence had been misplaced, and this feeling of irritation was intensified upon discovering that they were to be asked to increase the subsidy, when half the territory for which they had agreed to pay was already in the possession of a foreign Power. It is not that the Australians dislike the Germans as colonists in the Pacific, but they object to the presence in their midst of a possibly hostile Power. With the example of South Africa before their eyes, the danger of border disputes is ever present, and it would be idle to disguise the fact that Kaiser Wilhelm Land, from its size and position, in the unhappy event of a European war, may prove the basis of awkward complications in that part of the world. The Germans, too, have a peculiar interest in New Guinea, seeing their other neighbours are so nearly allied to them in speech and habits, for the Dutch are in fact really German, who have only in consequence of a separate historical development acquired a special nationality.

There are three well-known routes from New South Wales to China passing eastward of New Guinea; the longest, traversing eastward of New Caledonia and the Solomon Islands, is about 6,000 miles, and the two shortest, westward of those islands, 5,500 and 5,000 miles respectively; while from Brisbane to Hong Kong the distance is only 4,400 miles.

The Caroline Archipelago numbers more than five hundred islands, of which some are uninhabited, others very populous. The western side of the group is comparatively unknown, but the eastern extremity has been to some extent explored. Strong Island, eighty miles round, possesses two good harbours, where the largest vessels may anchor with safety. Timber is the chief export, and large quantities were obtained here for building the ports of China. Ascension, a larger island than Strong, is similar to it in many ways. Westward of Ascension is Hogolu, a vast lagoon about three hundred miles in circumference, while to the south-east are the islands Nugunor and Sugunor, important chiefly from their trade in pearl oysters and *bêche de mer*. Yap, situated at the extreme west, is perhaps the most highly civilised island of the group. Here Messrs. Godeffroy and Co. have a large establishment. Ponapi, in the extreme east, is important only on account of the conditions respecting it contained in the conditional arrangement (between Germany and Spain) respecting the sovereignty of the Caroline group.

The Pelew group was discovered by the Spaniards in 1545, and forms a chain running about a hundred and twenty miles from S.S.W.

to N.N.E. Babelthuaup is the principal island. Tropical fruits of all kinds abound, and water is abundant. The natives are of the Malay race, and exhibit much skill in building canoes and in agricultural pursuits.

Last year a dispute arose between Spain and Germany as to the sovereignty of the Caroline and Pelew Islands. The Pope, having undertaken to mediate between the two Governments, proposed that the sovereignty of Spain over these islands should be recognised by Germany in return for the grant of concessions to that Power touching trade, shipping, and the acquisition of land, similar to that recorded in the protocol concluded on the subject of the Sulu Archipelago. Some correspondence ensued between this country and Spain upon the matter, and her Majesty's Government offered to recognise Spanish sovereignty to the same extent as Germany. Señor Moret, however, pointed out to Lord Salisbury that he could not suppose England was in need of a naval establishment in that part of the Pacific Ocean, and so trusted that point would be waived by us when claiming to participate in all the advantages which accrued to Germany under the convention concluded between that Power and Spain; whereupon Lord Salisbury did not urge his demand; and on January 8 last her Majesty's Government agreed to recognise the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline and Pelew Islands to the same extent as such sovereignty has been or may hereafter be recognised by the German Government; and the Spanish Government in return agreed that whatsoever privileges, advantages, favours, or immunities have been or may hereafter be accorded in these islands to the Government or subjects of the German Empire shall be immediately and unconditionally accorded to the Government or subjects of Great Britain. It was for the purpose of this protocol that the limits of the Caroline and Pelew Archipelagos were fixed as indicated by the <sup>10</sup> Spanish line in the chart.

The Ellice group, north-west of Samoa, consist of Mitchell Island, where the Peruvian slavers carried on their nefarious trade in 1863; Ellice, Tracy, De Peyster, Netherland, Spéiden, Hudson, and St. Augustine Islands.

The Gilbert group, better known as the Kingsmills, include about fifteen islands, the more important of which are Drummond, Hurd, Rotch, Francis, and Peru. The natives, a degraded race, have suffered much from their acquaintance with low Europeans.

I have already said my say about Samoa in this Review,<sup>11</sup> so do not propose to enter again into the internal affairs of these islands.

At the present time, so far as we know, Samoa is in a state of quasi-tranquillity. A commission composed of British, German, and

<sup>10</sup> The equator + 11° north latitude, and 132° + 164° of longitude east of Greenwich.

<sup>11</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, February 1886.

American representatives is sitting on the spot with a view of bringing about a final settlement of disputes and arranging some form of government that will be satisfactory to all parties concerned. Their report is to be submitted to a meeting of British, German, and American diplomats, to be held at Washington, where everything will be overhauled and the question of Samoa and her future relations to the Great Powers finally settled. I have, however, good reason for believing that Germany wishes to settle the matter by obtaining possession of Upolu, the most important island of the group, possessing the three fine harbours of Apia, Saluafata, and Safata, and offering America Tutuila, with the splendid harbour of Pagopago (already practically under their control), in which event Great Britain would have to be content with Savaii, the poorest island of the three so far as soil is concerned, and possessing but one small harbour, that of Mataatua, and even this is unsafe from November to February, when the north-westerly gales prevail. The adoption of any such scheme means good-bye to British and Colonial trade in Samoa unless transacted through German and American merchants. The fact that Samoa lies in the direct highway to New Zealand, and is only 630 miles from Suva, the chief port of Fiji, must not be lost sight of in the settlement; and if British commerce is to do any good in Samoa in the event of Apia going to Germany we must endeavour to secure the harbours of Saluafata and Safata, in Upolu. Saluafata is regarded by men of nautical experience as being equal in security to Apia, and although only a few miles apart the nature of the country is not such as to allow much communication by land between the two settlements; but a considerable trade would probably spring up along the sea coast.

The best form of native government that would be able to rule the country and maintain its position with foreign Powers is that which was in existence when Steinberger arrived in Samoa—a house of representatives and a house of nobles, with two kings possessing joint power.

The Solomon Archipelago, now divided by the sphere of influence line existing between this country and Germany, and extending N.W. and S.E. for about 600 miles, is composed of eight or ten principal islands and many others smaller in size and comparatively unknown.

On the German side lie Bougainville, a very mountainous island; Bourka, Choiseul, and Ysabel, valuable chiefly on account of its valuable ebony and satinwood.

On the British side is Treasury Island, called 'the British naval depôt'; Malayta; Guadalcanar; New Georgia; and San Chrisoval Islands.

The Phoenix Islands, seven or eight in number, are composed for the most part of coral and sand, and the vegetation is stunted.

Charlotte or Santa Cruz Islands consist of seven fairly large and several smaller islands. Santa Cruz, about fifteen to sixteen miles in length, is well wooded and watered. The natives, a fine-looking race, are treacherous, but exhibit great ingenuity in building houses, constructing canoes, and making mats.

The Fiji Islands are too well known to call for remark here, and as they are a Crown colony information concerning them is easily obtainable.

New Caledonia was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, but in 1854 passed into the hands of the French, who use it chiefly as a convict establishment. The island lies about 270 miles E.N.E. of Queensland, and is about 200 miles long and 30 broad. It possesses two secure harbours at Port Balade and Port St. Vincent.

The Loyalty Islands, distant about sixty miles from New Caledonia, consisting of Maré Lefu, Uea, and the dependencies, are also French possessions.

Nieué, called Savage Island by Captain Cook, is about thirty-six miles in circumference, and the land ascends in places to 200 feet. In several places anchorage is to be found, and plenty of fresh water exists near the coast. This island is one of those specially excepted in the declaration between Germany and Great Britain, owing no doubt to the trade carried on with the natives by the Godeffroy firm, who maintain an agent among them.

The New Hebrides Islands and their relations with France and England have lately<sup>12</sup> been discussed by me in these pages, but several months have elapsed since the French authorities, in order to avenge reputed massacres and enforce native obedience to a trading company, deemed it necessary to utilise the services of two men-of-war, land soldiers, and hoist the tricolour flag in these islands.

Since the occurrence of this unconstitutional act on the part of French colonists the negotiations concerning the proposed bargain with France respecting the New Hebrides have come to an end. In spite, however, of remonstrance from the mother country and the Australian colonies, the French troops still continue in possession, a fact which exasperates colonial opinion and continues to call forth severe criticisms from Australian statesmen. In the interests alike of ourselves and Australasia the French soldiers must go, and it is not too much to ask that France should be called upon to give some further assurance that she will assist Great Britain in endeavouring to support the independence of the natives and carry out by deeds as well as words the understanding of 1878.

It is, too, of the utmost importance for the well-being of the natives of these islands, as well as to meet the requirement of British subjects in Australia and New Zealand, that there should exist in the New Hebrides some form of government which can insure pro-

<sup>12</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, July 1886.



tection of life and property and facilitate commercial intercourse in the Pacific, and I would suggest the formation of a government that, while leaving the islands practically independent, would represent native interests as well as those of France, Great Britain, and Australasia.

The Tonga Archipelago consists of about a hundred islands and islets, which may be divided into three groups—Tonga, Hapai, and Vavao. Like Samoa the formation is volcanic, and Tofoa is merely an active volcano. The group is rich in coconuts, and the natives make large quantities of copra, which is exported to Europe by the Hamburg firm of Messrs. Godeffroy and Co., whose headquarters are at Apia, in Samoa. The largest and most important island of the group is Tongatabu, situated in the extreme south. Here is a good harbour, guarded by immense coral reefs. If this island should fall into the hands of a foreign Power the position of the Fijis will indeed be perilous; and in the unhappy event of a European war the little Crown colony will be surrounded by ships of possible hostile Powers, and Great Britain, with valuable possessions in Vancouver and Sydney, will have no island in the 6,830 miles of ocean that separate these two ports wherein to obtain coals or fresh supplies. Surely no time should be lost in securing possession of Tongatabu.

The government, which consists of a king and a parliament of chiefs, is officially recognised by the Great Powers; and our relations with the King of Tonga and his people, both politically and commercially, are fixed by the treaty of friendship concluded between the two Governments in 1879.

On the 19th of February, 1844, the Tongans, through their king, expressed a desire to become British subjects. This memorial remained unanswered for four years, when the request was renewed by the chiefs of the islands, and finally declined by Lord Palmerston.

With very few exceptions the bulk of the trade with the Pacific Islands is carried on by Hamburg merchants and their agents. Messrs. Godeffroy and Co., who have a network of agencies, do a very large trade with the natives. Their method is to trust an agent with goods and expect from him within reasonable time a return at a fixed rate; but they pay no salaries, and are very careful to select men who can not only speak the language of the place but also keep on good terms with the inhabitants and hold their tongues about their masters' business when meeting with white men.

Englishmen are far behindhand in the way of commerce and enterprise. Wherever there is money to be made there you will find the Hamburg merchant, no matter how remote the spot or how unhealthy the region. Why at Gnucipeti, through which town all the mining business of that district passes, not a single British house of business exists, and this large and profitable work is carried on solely

by German and Venezuelan firms; and the same is the case at Bolivar. The sooner our system of trading abroad is altered the better; and if we are to do any good in the Pacific we must employ men who know their work and can do it. A German looks before he leaps, but having leaped he remains where he lands until he has got every farthing out of the place and the people. An Englishman leaps without looking, and as soon as he has done his business either goes elsewhere, or remains thinking everything and everybody about him a great bore and acting accordingly.

Then again there is another difference. The German is educated not only commercially but diplomatically; he knows the language of the place he is going to and can always speak English, whereas the Englishman may know a smattering of French and German but is totally ignorant of the commercial or native language of the people among whom he is trying to push his trade.

There is every inducement to our countrymen to extend their commerce in the Pacific. The name of Englishman is associated in the minds of the native races with a feeling of friendship—the Queen of England is looked upon by the native mind as the helper of the defenceless and the avenger of crime, and in Samoa many of the native girls are named ‘Victoria,’ after her Majesty—while that of Frenchman (Tangata Napoleon) is to many a word of fear. The word Spaniard (Pamoiā) expresses a meaning similar to ‘fiend,’ while Callao might be construed ‘hell.’ The native feeling is against the Spaniards because of the treachery and violence of the Peruvian shipmasters who were engaged in the labour traffic.

Germans alone are our rivals. Their name at present has not been dragged in the mud, and the natives are willing to give their agents the preference, for the German firms are politic and treat the natives with kindness, while if their pay is small it is at any rate certain.

The German method of mixing up consular and commercial work acts very well from the Bismarck point of view, seeing that Germany does not colonise, but only protects. Prince Bismarck’s principle is to follow his traders when they establish themselves in territory under no civilised jurisdiction, and to afford them protection, not against competition by levying differential duties, but against direct aggression from without. The German Chancellor’s intention is to adhere to the statement he made last year, that the German flag shall only go where German trade has already established a footing. Hence the German consuls in the Pacific work hand and glove with Hamburg merchants, and together push the commerce of their country and extend the territory of the German Empire.

Our method of procedure is widely different. We leave British commerce to look after itself, and if an enterprising trader goes a-trading, why, he does so at his own risk, and does not carry the British flag

with him. This is all very well if we had no rivals in the field, but while the Germans are pursuing tactics that continue to bring grist to their mill, it is simple folly to allow our consular system to go on in the same old groove, and make no effort to secure some of the crumbs that now go to make up the Hamburg loaf.

If British trade interests are to cope with those of Germany in the Pacific, we must establish agents in the various centres of commercial activity that are rapidly springing up in that hitherto comparatively unknown sphere. The mixed nature of the German consul's duties is no guide to us, inasmuch as our policy is not on all fours with that of Germany. We must, however, do something. Why not start a system of Pacific commercial agents, whose duties would be not only to tell British merchants where to find the best market for their goods, but also to give information of a reliable kind about the natives themselves and their disposition to trade and barter? Make the British consul a diplomatic agent pure and simple, and confine him to his instructions. Care of course must be taken that these commercial agents are men of tact and sound character, and while able and anxious to do their best for the interests of British trade, will at the same time do nothing to imperil the *entente cordiale* at present existing between European Powers in these regions.

In order to cope with the increasing spirit of annexation in the Pacific developed lately by France and Germany, it is a matter of paramount necessity to Australia that she should possess a navy. The present system of naval defence would be quite inadequate to protect her shores, much less secure the coasting trade in the event of a European war. Besides, what guarantee have the colonies that at the first outcry of war the Imperial navy, being entirely out of their control, might not leave them for fields of greater activity. During the late Russian scare there was not a ship on the coast capable of catching a Russian cruiser, and only one able to fight with an armoured vessel. Even the late Sir Peter Scratchley felt it his duty to give up H.M.S. 'Wolverene' for defence purposes, and chartered the 'Governor Blackall' to take him to New Guinea. Under these circumstances it is scarcely a matter of surprise that the proposals made to the Australian Government by Admiral Tryon concerning contributions to the cost of the Imperial navy are not being received with avidity. The colonies are not likely to pay for a navy to be controlled entirely by the mother country, without being first satisfied that their shores will be sufficiently protected at all hazards and at all times; nor are the past proceedings with regard to New Guinea and the present negotiations concerning the New Hebrides likely to inspire confidence.

Besides the Australian shores and coasting trade, there is the highway to India and China from New Zealand to protect, on the

one side, and the trade route from Vancouver to Sydney, in addition to the mail highway to San Francisco and the probable route to Panama, on the other, every one of which passes uncomfortably near islands in the possession or under the control of a foreign Power. In the event of a European war it would not be possible for the Imperial navy, as at present constituted, to protect both the colonies and the Pacific; and as Australia and New Zealand are practically powerless to help themselves, the sooner this important question is settled the better for all parties.

Either the Imperial and colonial navy must be one, the colonies paying their share of the cost and having a voice in the control of the ships, or we must build the colonies' ships to their order, and let them manage their own navy, merely paying a subsidy for use of the vessels in matters where Imperial interests are chiefly concerned.

The necessity for unity in matters affecting Imperial interests cannot be too strongly impressed upon Australasia. If Imperial and colonial authorities are to carry out in unison the future policy of the Pacific, Australasia must speak with one voice. Once allow the rights and wrongs of individual colonies to enter the arena of Pacific politics and hesitation is sure to follow, the amalgamation will become a farce, and instead of a result brought about by a combination of ideas focussed on one point, we shall have a babel of voices but no decisive action, and in the end the allied forces will have to concentrate their attention in solving the problem of how best to shut the stable door after the horse is stolen.

Inter-colonial jealousy is far too prevalent in Australasia. Victoria and New South Wales are the chief offenders in this respect, with New Zealand not far behind. Examples are not wanting. Take for instance the New Guinea question. No sooner did Victoria advocate its annexation by England than New South Wales began to oppose the proposition, notwithstanding the fact that the Government of the latter colony were the first to advise its being annexed by Britain after the refusal of the Imperial Powers to recognise the action of Queensland. Again, while Victoria was striving hard to get the Enabling Bill passed through the House of Commons, New South Wales was apparently indifferent to the result, and now, together with New Zealand, objects to join in the Federal movement. Then take the proposal to establish a parcels post between Great Britain and Australia: while the Postmaster-General of New South Wales thought the project somewhat premature, the corresponding official in Victoria saw that the difficulties standing in the way of its accomplishment, so far as his colony was concerned, could be easily overcome. More lately we have seen New South Wales assenting to a bargain between Great Britain and France concerning the New Hebrides, while the other colonies were

vigorous opposing this transaction. Only three years ago the famous memorandum of the Agents-General to Lord Derby respecting colonial ideas in the policy of the Pacific was prevented from being the unanimous voice of Australasia by the withdrawal at the last moment of South Australia. On the other hand, in the action taken by New South Wales and Victoria during the late Egyptian campaign, we have Victoria as the aggressor. The mother colony had scarcely offered to send troops to the Soudan before Victoria began to throw cold water on Sir Bede Dally's proposition. However, as soon as the offer was accepted by the War Office, that colony veered round, and begged to have a finger in the pie.

The New Zealand House of Representatives, some few months since, after a debate on the question of Federation, passed a resolution 'that in view of the little consideration that has been given to the subject of Federation in the colony, it is undesirable for Parliament in the present session to legislate upon the matter, but at the same time strongly urges the necessity of some form of Imperial Federation.'

It is a well-known fact among men who have practically studied on the spot the internal politics of Australia and New Zealand, that colonial legislators are not in harmony on the subject of Australasian Federation.

Imperial Federation, on the other hand, finds some favour in the eyes of the Colonial Parliaments, because it will give each colony an additional status, greater or less according to the scheme that is yet to be developed, and at the same time not take away from or undermine the value of existing institutions; while Australasian Federation tends to place the colonies upon a more equal footing, and intimates a change in their constitutional powers, a revolutionary proceeding extremely distasteful to the parties directly interested.

New South Wales boldly asserts its intention to work out its country in its own way and in its own time, and refuses to be dictated to by other colonies, whose interests that colony considers to be of less magnitude than her own.

Victoria believes she is the first colony in Australia, and if Federation of the colonies is to take place, her position must be recognised, and Melbourne made the basis of operations. There can be no doubt that Melbourne is a finer city than Sydney, and nearer to England, and that Victoria is a more advanced colony than New South Wales. But then, if we except gold, the resources of New South Wales are greater than those of Victoria, and the mother colony has the advantage of possessing abundance of coal, whereas none has been discovered in Victoria. In my opinion Albany, which is the key to Australia, should, in the event of a capital becoming necessary, be the place chosen.

New Zealand is opposed to Federation, because New Zealand is

of opinion that she is the colony of the future, and that the time is not so very far distant when her importance will be more openly recognised by the civilised world. She is jealous, and justly so, of her individuality, and sees no immediate necessity to federate with colonies that are hundreds of miles distant, while, strange to say, the fact that their interests are to a great extent similar to her own does not appear to act as an incentive in the matter.

Colonial politicians at home and abroad are well aware of the value to the Empire of some scheme of Imperial Federation, but the more thoughtful and practical among them know equally well that as long as we continue to rule our colonies on the present lines Imperial Federation is manifestly impossible. In view, then, of the importance of an Imperial-colonial Pacific policy, it is time to consider the situation, and if, after mature consideration, it should be found advantageous to the Empire to alter the existing mode of administering Australasian affairs, it becomes imperative upon Imperial legislators to consult with the colonies upon the best system to be adopted, and, having sought their advice, to act in concert with them. What the colonies really require is a body of men at home, possessing at once commanding influence and official status, who can speak to the English people with the voice of authority on all questions affecting Australasia. If each colony had such a representative to appeal directly to the English people, the result would be eminently beneficial both to us and to them.

It may be said that the Agents-General exercise this authority. I maintain this is not so. On paper they certainly have great power, while privately they no doubt possess influence, but their power of control, as seen in the treatment of their suggestions concerning the annexation of New Guinea question, is practically nil. The area of Australasia is so vast and its interests so varied, when compared with the other dependencies of Great Britain, that these interests cannot be adequately treated by a Board of Advice that includes representatives from all our colonial possessions. It is equally manifest that the machinery of the Colonial Office, able though it is, cannot effectually deal with the future work of the Pacific without more practical assistance, nor can the organisation of the Foreign Office carry out a vigorous Pacific policy, satisfactory alike to the colonists and the mother country, without similar aid. I would suggest the formation in London of a Colonial Governing Body, in which each colony would be represented in proportion to its area and population, the latter having more weight than the former; the members to be chosen by their own Parliaments, and to hold office for a period of three years. This would enable the more able of colonial politicians to come to England, and yet only deprive the colonies of their services for a limited period. These representatives, being in constant telegraphic communication with their individual Governments,

could discuss in open debate questions involving Imperial and colonial interests, and so enable the British press to ventilate alike Imperial and colonial opinions upon questions where the interests of the two are so closely connected.

The conclusions come to would be drafted into a Bill, to be taken in charge by the Government official representing the colonies in the Imperial Parliament, and the House of Commons would in the ordinary course of events debate upon the Bill thus introduced, and on its second reading either approve or reject it, or, admitting the principle of the Bill, allow it to proceed to Committee, with a view of amending the clauses which Imperial legislators considered objectionable or unworkable.

C. KINLOCH COOKE.

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*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake  
to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY.

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No. CXVIII.—DECEMBER 1886.

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*ON THE SUPPRESSION OF BOYCOTTING.*

It may be doubted whether the portentous importance of the system of boycotting has been appreciated by the public, although some of its immediate effects have attracted a great deal of notice. As the weapon in Ireland of the National League, and in the United States of the organisation called the Knights of Labour, it has attracted a good deal of attention; but the public has not, I think, appreciated the importance of the principle on which it rests, or, if it has done so, it has recognised it as something which cannot be contended with, but is—like a well-conducted strike—a weapon which, however terrible, is still legitimate. The object of this article is to display its true character, as contradistinguished from strikes, and to show what it involves; and to call attention to the way in which it ought to be attacked and frustrated.

The distinctive special characteristic of all law and government is force—coercion in some one of its shapes. It is this which draws the line between law and advice, between government and speculative discussion. It is because nations have no common superior that international law commonly so called is not really law at all, but merely a form of morality. It is for a similar reason that questions arising within a nation must, if they involve the question of sovereignty, be settled, not by argument, but by civil war, or by a compromise guaranteed by the fear of civil war. The question, for instance, whether each particular State of the Union was sovereign; or whether the United States was a sovereign State, was one which depended, not on any argument about the proper construction of the Constitution,



but on the power which the States individually and the United States collectively actually possessed over the feelings and imaginations of the individual citizens.

The question whether the King or the Parliament was sovereign of England was a question of the same sort. If Charles the First had been able to conquer the Long Parliament, constitutional writers would have been able to prove that England was constitutionally an absolute monarchy nearly as well as they have, since the Civil War and the Revolution, been able to prove the contrary. In a word, the doctrine that force is essential to and characteristic of law, and that established admitted force is the origin and measure of all legal rights and of all the institutions by which life is regulated, lies at the very root of all fruitful inquiries into political subjects—of all inquiries, that is, which tend to any definite result.

Of course, it is possible, as to many persons it is pleasant, to begin political speculations at the other end; to confound—or rather deny—the validity of the distinction between ‘is’ and ‘ought to be,’ to lay down schemes of abstract and so-called natural right, and to make such schemes the measure by which actually existing institutions are to be tried, and the ideal at which reformers are to aim. The objections to this method are in my opinion insuperable. They are well known, and need not here be referred to. The terrible practical consequences to which they lead are displayed in the most glaring light in every stage of history, but in none so strikingly as in the history of the last century. If, however, this view is taken of the proper mode of conducting historical speculations and inquiries, it sets in a still stronger light than it would otherwise stand in, the truth of what I have already said—that force is the specific peculiarity and characteristic of law. Speculative systems of natural rights produce no definite legal effect till they are definitely embodied in definite laws—definite commands issued by some man or body of men having power to enforce them. Few men have had an influence over their contemporaries comparable to that of Rousseau; but every sort of arrangement absolutely opposed to his principles continued to exist and to be carried into practical effect till the States-General and its legislative successors were able by legislation to give many of his ideas the force of law. The question whether, according to the Constitution of the United States, an individual State had the right to secede from the Union, was discussed with the utmost possible ardour for years before the Civil War, and might have been discussed for centuries; and the discussion no doubt had considerable effect on a large number of the people. But it was not and could not be decided till a civil war of four years, which cost hundreds of thousands of lives and more than five hundred millions of pounds sterling, settled the question in a way which no living man, and probably the son and the grandson of no living man, will think it worth while to protest

against. Look at the whole subject of rights and duties how you please, view them *à priori* or *à posteriori*, look at them from an abstract or an historical point of view, and it remains true that force is the origin of laws, institutions, and legal rights, and also the special characteristic which distinguishes them from advice, opinion, and moral rights. It is quite true that force may have a moral or speculative origin, and that this may and does give its direction to the force which is essential to law; but the moment at which speculation passes into law is the moment at which it is clothed with an efficient sanction. In short, the question which in relation to all institutions takes the lead of all others is the question, What is the sanction of your proposed laws? Let any one get into his hands an efficient sanction for his own ideas, and he becomes to a greater or less extent a legislator on the subject to which he applies it and over the people to whom he can apply it. All history is filled with the gradual growth of different kinds of sanctions and laws, and all constitutional struggles may be described as struggles to define and to regulate the scope of different sanctions, and the manner of their application.

There are sanctions which in the nature of things must always exist. All human life at all times and in all places is regulated mainly by what may be called the physical sanction. Eat and drink or you will die; Eat and drink wisely or you will not live in health; and a thousand other maxims of the same sort resemble in some ways rules enforced by inexorable sanctions, though for reasons which are irrelevant to the present subject I do not like to call them laws. Most of our conduct is affected to a greater or less extent by what Bentham called the popular sanction—that is to say, by our regard to the opinions and feelings of others. These sanctions act automatically, and in that respect do not differ from all the common mass of motives. The other great sanctions are imposed from without by institutions constructed to a great extent with a view to improving human life by imposing them. They may be described collectively as political sanctions, and may be divided into religious and secular, the one imposed by the Church, the other by the State. Of the religious sanctions and the body or bodies which impose it I say nothing here. Of the secular political sanction—that which rules by the application of punishments, which may affect life, liberty, property, character, civil rights—two assertions may be made: first, that its existence is necessary, and, secondly, that its existence implies its being exclusive. There can be but one government using the temporal political sanction in one nation. If there are two, the more powerful will drive out and destroy the less powerful, as certainly as bad coin will, if allowed to circulate, drive out of circulation all coin more valuable than itself.

The first of these propositions no one will dispute. It is admitted

that there must be laws to regulate marriage and the devolution of property, to prevent the infliction of injuries to person, character, or property, or to give a binding force to contracts. Who is to make such laws? who is to administer them? by what sanctions are they to be enforced? with what safeguards against oppression is their administration to be protected? are questions which have been made the subject of infinite discussion, but which in most countries, and especially in our own, have been practically solved in a fairly satisfactory manner. What is not sufficiently noticed is the truth that such a system must for its nature have the exclusive control of the sanction on which it depends. This is so clear that to my mind it is difficult to make it clearer, and indeed it can be made clearer only by trying to imagine it not to be true, and by tracing out the absurdity of the consequences which would follow.

Let us suppose, then, that there were two governments, each of which could say to the same persons, 'Do this or you shall be put to death.' If this were so, the result would be that, if the two governments contradicted each other and carried out their laws, the subjects must all be put to death, either for doing or not doing that which necessity compelled them either to do or leave undone. This would be not government, but destruction. This is merely an extreme illustration, but similar though less startling consequences would follow whenever the two governments disagreed.

Another illustration may be taken from the possible case in which two sets of sanctions of different classes clash—cases where the Church says, 'If you do you will be damned,' and the State, 'If you do not you will be hanged.' In such a case the stronger fear, whatever it may happen to be, will prevail over the weaker, and the government which disposes of the weaker sanction will to that extent cease to govern at all.

A simpler and more popular way of proving the same thing may perhaps be found in the reflection that liberty is usually regarded as good, and that oppression is universally regarded as bad; but it is not till after the formation of a reasonably good system of government and law that it is possible to give any intelligible definitions of liberty and oppression; and when such definitions are given, the absence of coercion unauthorised by law will be found to be essential to liberty, and the application of such coercion to be a constituent element of oppression. The only meaning which can be given to the word liberty taken absolutely is the absence of all artificial restraints whatever on any one of the passions and inclinations of men; this is a description of unbridled anarchy involving the destruction of all that makes life worth having. If, therefore, liberty is to be spoken of as a blessing and object of rational desire, it must mean absence from all artificial interferences with speech or action of any kind, except those which are imposed by a system of such laws as are above shortly described;

but this cannot exist if other powers besides the law impose artificial restraints on conduct. Liberty considered as a blessing thus presupposes an established government, a system of coercive laws which preserves each man from the oppressions which others might otherwise exercise over him; for it follows from what has been said that oppression may be defined as coercion not authorised by such laws as have been described.

Moreover, it is obvious that every moderately good system of law and government must constitute some recognised legislative authority, by which the existing laws can from time to time be modified as circumstances may require.

Assume the existence of a state of things such as cannot reasonably be denied to exist in this country at the present time—namely, a set of laws which are in the main wise, good, and fairly administered, though both in substance and in form they have considerable defects; and also a legislature having full power to discuss their alteration and every inclination to do so, and it seems to me to follow that every man who has the smallest regard for the reasonable liberty of himself and his neighbours, the least appreciation of the benefits of a well-organised society, and of the infinite miseries arising from anarchy—in a word, every reasonable man and good citizen—ought to feel in the strongest way that there should be no law but Law, that the established authorities should be its prophets, and that the usurpation of the functions of government should be recognised in their true light as acts of social war, as the modern representatives of the old conception of high treason. The ancient penalties for treason were to some extent barbarous, and the steps taken to repress actual rebellious war often needlessly cruel, though perhaps in some cases they might be palliated or even justified by what to us appears the harshness and brutality of the times in which they were exercised; but to me it appears that our ancestors were under no mistake at all in attaching as much importance to the maintenance of a regular established government, possessed of an exclusive right of legislation, as to the confinement of that government in all its parts to the limits which the law assigned to it. It appears to me that the nation will give up one of the most valuable parts of its great inheritance if it does not, at all hazards and by every means at its disposal, follow the example of its ancestors by maintaining the recognised government of the country in the exclusive possession of legislative authority, and resisting and putting down by whatever exertion of public force may be necessary all attempts to usurp any part of it.

One consideration which at first sight appears to make against this is in reality the strongest reason which could be alleged in its favour. I refer to the great changes of opinion and feeling which have taken place, and which still are taking place, on religious, moral,

and political subjects; the freedom of discussion on all subjects, which is now theoretically all but complete and practically quite complete; and the great favour which has been shown both by law and by public opinion to every kind of association, so that we have any number of religious, political, and social leagues, some of which even go so far as to call themselves armies, whilst of associations and unions of all degrees of importance, and for every variety of purpose, the name is Legion.

The natural and obvious result of this is that the public look languidly, not to say sympathetically, on very dangerous things, and are led easily and insensibly to overlook vital distinctions because of superficial resemblances between what is both in practice and in theory legal and right, and what is in theory and ought to be in practice illegal and criminal. One of the strongest instances of this which can be mentioned is the prevalent notion that boycotting rests on the same principle as strikes. The law on strikes is now as clear as possible, and is this: Those who are so minded may combine to fix the price to be given or taken for labour, but they must not compel those who are not inclined to do so to take part in their combinations. This result was arrived at after many years of discussion and struggle, in which some harsh laws were passed and many disgraceful outrages were committed. In 1875 a distinction was laid down by law, which has been well recognised and acted upon since, between combinations intended to enable workmen to sell their labour at their own price, which are solemnly recognised as lawful, and intimidation in all its forms, including intimidation by acts exactly resembling those which are done for the purpose of boycotting, which is illegal and criminal.

Nothing but the most hasty superficial glance at the subject can really fail to distinguish between the legitimacy of a strike for wages and that of a so-called strike against rent. The essence of the first is that the persons on strike keep what is their own—namely, their labour—and refuse to part with it except on terms which suit them. The essence of the second is that the persons who are absurdly described as being on strike against rent keep what belongs to somebody else—namely, land or houses—and refuse to pay for the use which they have already had of it. The word ‘strike,’ however, conceals this glaring contrast, and hardly any phrase has been more frequently or more effectively used by those who wish to lead English workmen to sympathise with Irish Land Leagues. The National League, it is said, is only their trade union.

In the same way nothing is more common than to consider that, because it is desirable that people should not be punished only for the expression of political opinion, or only for meeting together for the purpose of expressing or discussing their opinions, it is therefore lawful that they should meet in numbers and under circumstances

likely to annoy and to intimidate those who do not agree with them, and to cause breaches of the peace, and that when so assembled they should use language constituting an incitement to the commission of crime. In this case, no doubt, the confusion is not so gross as in the other just mentioned, because the line between what is and what is not objectionable can be drawn only by the use of a good deal of discretion and the exercise of calm judgment.

These illustrations, and others which might easily be given, and of which, as I hope to show, boycotting is the most glaring, are sufficient to show that the modern changes in the direction of freedom are so far from being an argument in favour of permitting methods of coercion unauthorised by law, that they form an unanswerable reason for suppressing them.

In a state of society where political discussion and the statement of grievances is not permitted, the establishment of coercive systems independent of and even antagonistic to law may be unavoidable, though even in such cases the process always involves great evils. It is a great misfortune even for a good system to be established by rebellion and violence, not only on account of the immediate evils which ensue, but because the precedent set is mischievous. Where, however, the statement of grievances is not only permitted but invited, and where an active legislature is provided to consider and determine upon any measures which can be suggested for their removal, unauthorised coercion ought, as I have already said, to be viewed in a moral light analogous to that in which our ancestors regarded high treason. Some persons appear to think that, whereas the doctrine that an established government should be treated with profound respect, and should not, except under the most pressing necessity, be actively resisted (which is the essential meaning of the doctrine of the divine right of kings), is natural and not irrational in an absolute monarchy, it is absurd when applied to a popular government. This view is generally held by the strongest advocates of popular government. It appears to me that there cannot be a greater inversion of all the rules of logic, and that such views ought to be held only by the enemies of popular government; for it is surely absurd to say that a presumably bad government can reasonably claim respect and obedience and consistently resist its enemies, but that a presumably good one cannot; that Charles the First or Louis the Fourteenth could rightly, or at least consistently, suppress a rebellion, but that the United States act against their own principles in forcibly keeping the Confederate States in the Union.

If government is looked upon from a practical point of view, and apart from theological theories as to its origin and as to the nature of moral obligations, it is hardly possible to rate too highly the duty in all common cases of submission to any government which has maintained itself long enough to show that it rests on solid bases,

and which discharges fairly well the primary indispensable objects for which all governments exist—namely, the security of person and property—or to condemn too strongly those who, instead of trying to reform its abuses and supply its shortcomings by the legal means which the law puts in their hands, presume to try to set up unauthorised governments of their own. It is necessary in order to do so to use means which must from the nature of the case be relentlessly severe and recklessly unjust. They must be relentlessly severe, because such secret and unrecognised governments can assert their powers over those who do not like them, and impose the laws which they make on those who are unfavourable to them, only by punishments severe enough and administered with sufficient pertinacity to overcome that resistance to lawless tyranny which is natural to every man of common courage. They must be recklessly unjust, because people who try to displace the existing law and to establish a rival system of their own cannot by the nature of the case do justice. They cannot hear before they punish. They must determine, but cannot try. If they do try, their trials must be carried on by the bitter enemies of the accused; almost of necessity behind his back, in secret, without anything which can be called evidence, and according to laws interpreted and administered in a manner which gives him the benefit of no doubts and of no discussion as to their meaning or as to their applicability to his particular case.

In illustration of these remarks I may notice a singularity in the use of popular language which has lately become common and which is most significant, though a slight thing in itself. It is the constant use of the word 'war' in reference to every sort of popular movement which would formerly have been called 'agitation,' 'movement,' or the like. The Irish disturbances are a 'land war,' a 'rent war.' The 'tithe war' is a regular heading in the newspapers about the agitation in Wales. The title of the Salvation and other armies, and the language which they consider appropriate to their functions, is a standing hint that those who conduct them mean to make bad people good by some sort of forcible means; and this use of language shows how ready people are in the present day to fall into what Hobbes called 'the monstrous confusion between power and liberty.'<sup>1</sup> How eagerly they snatch at force and seek to become legislators and belligerents, instead of being content to advance their views by peaceable means and to leave the coercive sanction of law in the hands of the government of the country.

I have thought it desirable to preface what I have to say of boycotting in detail by these general observations because, though

<sup>1</sup> Burke, who had little love for Hobbes, says the same. Liberty, he says, is not an unqualified good. 'Liberty when men act in bodies is power. Considerate people, before they declare themselves' [i.e. in favour of liberty], 'will observe the use which is made of power.'—'French Revolution,' *Works*, vol. v. 87-8.

they are sufficiently obvious to any one who is accustomed to such speculations, they do not seem to me to have received the attention which they deserve. They lead me to the conclusion that people in general ought to accustom themselves to the thought that any such attempt at the usurpation of coercive authority over persons who have in no way whatever consented to it, is one of the most serious social and political offences which, in the present state of society, can be committed.

I have one further remark to make before I pass to the special questions connected with the subject of boycotting. The establishment of a government which fulfils what is rightly regarded as its most essential duties has a tendency to defeat itself by discharging those duties too well. It tends to unfit the comfortable well-to-do classes for self-defence and the defence of the society to which they belong. I do not mean to say that in our time and country the well-to-do classes are effeminate. I think that individually they are as vigorous in body and as spirited in mind and character as they ever were. In one way and another, taking in the experience of those who were young men when I was a boy, and that of my sons and their friends, I have known intimately the habits both of English University students and of the pupils of at least three of the great public schools, Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, for more than fifty years, and I cannot see the smallest signs of degeneracy amongst them in these respects. The present generation of young English gentlemen appear to me to be in all essential respects the same sort of people as their predecessors of 1830-1840, and the vigour of the earlier generations has been proved in all sorts of ways notorious enough to every one. But, though all this is true and important, it is no less true that the comfortable classes of the present day are to the last degree indisposed, and I think are by no means well fitted, 'to descend into the streets,' to encounter unlawful by lawful violence, to undertake in any case the duties which they have delegated to the police. How far this could be altered, and how far it is desirable to try to alter it, is a great question. Much might be said on a proper occasion about the American system of Militia, our own Volunteers, and the French National Guard, but I do not at present propose to go into the matter. I confine myself to the remark that the circumstances of the time are such as to give immense facility to revolutionists of all kinds, for the institution of rival governments, which by the use of weapons that respectable people cannot employ may easily assume the command of the vast mass who are not indisposed to submit to any form of coercion exercised for an object to which they are not altogether averse. A very small amount of shooting in the legs will efficiently deter an immense mass of people from paying rents which they do not want to pay. Our age is full of new ideas; it is full of all sorts of discontent with the present and of wild hopes



for the future; and this makes the establishment of new forms of government specially easy and tempting, and thus affords a special motive to all friends of law and established order to keep the ferment, if possible, within the limits of discussion and exhortation, and to prevent the different revolutionary leaders from getting possession of effective sanctions by which they can convert into coercive laws their various crude systems.

I now come to the special points to be attended to in connection with Boycotting.

The word means several different things, to which entirely different considerations apply, and which ought, I think, to be dealt with on different principles; but its meaning is plain enough for some general considerations applying to every kind of operation which passes by the name. It may be used as a sanction to any sort of laws whatever by any man or set of men who can appeal with any great success to the sympathies of any considerable body of people. Such a process might perhaps be not unfairly employed in some cases as a legal punishment. The most effective way of dealing with habitual drunkards might be to give notice to all public-houses &c., within a certain area, not to supply certain named persons with drink, under penalties. On the other hand, it might be made a frightful instrument of religious and moral persecution. I can imagine ways in which different 'armies,' 'leagues,' and the like might, by the use of the zeal about morals, religion, and irreligion which devours so many people in these days, make themselves an intolerable nuisance to wide circles of people, by methods which as yet are not forbidden by law, and which, if employed with a moderate amount of persistence and ingenuity, might be effectual for the purposes for which they were employed.

Of its powers in the hands of men who do not shrink from secret crime it is hardly necessary to speak. In part of Ireland it has enabled a small number of ruffians, by the help of a moderate number of outrages, to paralyse the law of the land and to erect a government which confronts and defies the lawful government. The shooting in the legs of a few people avowedly because they have sent goods by a boycotted railway will deter, perhaps, hundreds from incurring the risk of being shot for the same cause, as one execution for murder protects a large number of people from other murderers. It is, however, needless to multiply illustrations upon this matter. Boycotting is only a modern application of the old Roman '*Ignis et aquæ interdictio*,' and is very like the weapons of excommunication and interdict by which the Church of Rome was able practically to govern a great part of the world, till the terrors of excommunications and interdicts were destroyed by the decay of faith in their importance.

It must also be remarked that the process of boycotting is par-

ticularly dangerous because it is so plausible, so quiet, so closely allied with moral feeling, and so readily capable of being represented as a mere exponent of it and legitimate vent for it. The mere act of shunning a man, of refusing to deal with him, of not taking his land or the like, in no way shocks or scandalises any one. Nothing, in itself, and if it stands alone, can be more natural and harmless. Human life could not go on at all if all of us were not at liberty in a certain sense to boycott each other, to cease to associate with people whom we do not for any reason like, to cease to do business with people with whom for any reason, good or bad, we prefer not to do business—in a word, to regulate all the course of our lives and of our intercourse with others according to our own will and pleasure. To resent what you regard as harsh conduct in a landlord in evicting a tenant, or as meanness in a tenant who plays into his hand by taking the farm from which the tenant has been evicted, by refusing to have any dealings with either, may be wise or foolish, right or wrong, if it is a mere individual act, the *bonâ fide* result of the natural feelings of the person who does it. The transition from this to concerted action is not one which shocks the common and uneducated mind, and the further and final step which leads you to help to compel others by fear to do that which you rather like to do yourself is little less natural and easy. By this plain and easy process what Bentham described as the popular sanction may be readily and quickly applied as a sanction of unequalled efficiency to any code of unwritten laws which vaguely represents the current sentiment of the most ignorant and passionate part of the community—those who are guided almost exclusively by sentiment and passion. The terrible importance of the subject needs no further proof. It is capable of growing into an instrument as effective in use and as difficult to control as the spiritual censures of the Roman Catholic Church used to be.

How, then, ought boycotting to be dealt with? It should be carefully studied, and those forms of it should be effectually suppressed which are bad in themselves, as contradicting the first principle of the exclusive supremacy of the law of the land, which is that it is the only form of coercion (I do not speak here of the religious sanction) which ought to be brought to bear upon all, whether they like it or not.

Theoretically I have no doubt the law of conspiracy would reach the case of boycotting. There are cases well known to lawyers in which this has been laid down, and it would indeed be a scandal if it were not so; for the result would be that a sufficiently powerful and well-organised conspiracy might deprive people not only of all the pleasures of life, but even of life itself, without breaking the law. In the state of society in which we live every man is dependent for the necessities of life upon his neighbours. A man cannot get so

much as a loaf of bread or a roof to shelter him, be he ever so rich, without the help of others, which help they could of course be prevented from giving to him by properly calculated forms of intimidation.

These remarks must, however, be taken with one important qualification. Urgent as is the necessity of dealing with the practice of boycotting effectually, it is at least equally necessary to deal with it fairly, and on intelligible principles. Any legislation on the subject likely to be effectual and useful must be based upon a full consideration of its strong as well as its weak side, and should draw a broad line between intimidation which should be prevented, and the mere withholding of voluntary good offices with which the law ought not to interfere.

The word boycotting is, of course, as vague as it is convenient. Its essence is that the process brings the force of numbers to bear upon individuals. It consists of the repetition of a number of what may be called disobliging acts, so concerted and repeated as to make life wretched, though individually they are of no importance, and are for the most part well within the rights of those by whom they are done. To refuse to sell a man a loaf of bread is in itself nothing. In connection with other things it may be a step in the execution of a sentence of death. To employ one lawyer or doctor rather than another, to send a parcel by one conveyance or another, are matters in themselves indifferent; but they may be steps in the infliction of professional or commercial ruin. Can such practices be brought under legal control? If they cannot, then, as a great deal of recent experience shows, the result is that individual liberty is restricted within limits far narrower than has ever been regarded as desirable by the most despotic of men, the limits, namely, under which any irresponsible association, which can get itself backed by a small local public opinion, controlled and maintained by a certain amount of crime, sees fit to leave to it. There is no doubt a difficulty in legislating against boycotting, on account of the apparent harmlessness of the individual acts of which the process consists; but it can hardly be carried out without combination, and cannot be carried out effectually without a good deal of publicity and noise. Tradesmen will not give up their customers, labourers will not give up their wages without a good deal of exhortation, discussion, and denunciation. Where an act of boycotting is in progress it is always notorious in the neighbourhood, and every one knows who is responsible for it. The National League and the association called the Knights of Labour make no secret of their operations; on the contrary, they give them the very widest and broadest publicity in their power. Such matters are easily susceptible of proof. They are according to English law indictable conspiracies; for an agreement of several persons to interfere and to procure others to interfere with the comfort of their enemies, and to inflict or procure others to inflict loss

upon them in the pursuit or profession by which they live, is a combination to intimidate, and this is a crime. It is, however, a crime which it is often difficult to punish, especially when juries sympathise with the offenders and cannot be got to convict. It must also be noticed that, if the remedy against the actual authors of the process of boycotting were made more effective, it might be found practicable to carry it out in a more secret way.

Be this as it may, the propriety of treating as a crime the contrivance of an act of boycotting, or the issuing of orders for that purpose, can be denied only by those who are also prepared to deny the principle of the well-known Act of 1875,<sup>2</sup> which makes it a crime to 'intimidate' any person 'with a view to compel' him 'to abstain from doing or to do any act which such other person has a legal right to do or to abstain from doing.' It is impossible to intimidate a man—to make him afraid—in a more definite emphatic way, in order to compel him to abstain from paying his rent or evicting a tenant for not paying it—than by threatening him in the one case or the other with all the penalties of social excommunication.

Fortunately there is no difficulty in defining the offence in an unequivocal way. It would require more knowledge of the details of the practices of boycotters than I possess to give a full specification of all the practices which should be punished in a moderate but effectual and summary way; but about many of them there can be no doubt, and the enactment already quoted supplies a precedent for such a definition. I do not give the following as a complete definition, but as an illustration of the sort of enactment which might be passed:—

'Everyone shall be guilty of an offence, and shall upon conviction thereof be liable, &c.,

'Who, with a view to compel any person to do or to abstain from doing anything which he has a legal right to do or abstain from doing,

'Or with a view to punish him for having done or abstained from doing any such thing,

'Or with a view to deter other persons specified or not from doing or abstaining from doing any such thing,

'(1) Counsels, procures, or commands, or conspires with any other person or persons to counsel, procure, or command, any person or body of persons, or persons in general, not to deal with any such person or not to employ him in the way of his profession, trade, or calling, or not to associate with him, or to inflict upon him any other kind of inconvenience or loss or damage whatever, whether such counsel, procurement, or command is conveyed by writing or by speaking or by any means whatever likely to produce the effect.

'(2) Publishes, or conspires to publish, the name of any person or

<sup>2</sup> 38 & 39 Vict. c. 86, § 7.

of any firm or company in order that he or they may incur any such consequences as aforesaid ;

‘(3) Refuses to deal with any such person in the ordinary way of business in compliance with any such counsel, procurement, or command as aforesaid, provided that any person accused of this offence may defend himself by proving any reasonable excuse ;

‘(4) Attends any public sale of goods taken under any distress, execution, or other legal process, with intent to obstruct the same or the removal of goods purchased thereat, and who manifests any such intention by any act, word, or gesture, or conspires to do so, or counsels, procures, or commands any person to do so ;

‘(5) Commits any assault upon any such person, or injures his property, or threatens to do so, or publicly insults, or otherwise intimidates or injures him ;

‘(6) Takes any part whatever in any of the proceedings of any body of persons, by whatever name it may be called, which assumes, or purports to exercise, over any person any of the powers of a court of justice with any such object as aforesaid.’

No doubt such an enactment would require the greatest consideration, and there may be practices which the language suggested would not cover, and which ought to be brought within its scope ; but if it were courageously and vigorously enforced, it would go a long way to render boycotting impossible, and would effectually protect society at large from what may easily be an intolerable tyranny. The measure ought to be carried one step further. I have myself known a case of boycotting in which the person sentenced to that punishment—for such it was—was unable to procure bread except through his friends, by more or less indirect means, and could get his horses shod only by sending them to a forge at cavalry barracks some miles off. I cannot see why this should be permitted. If a man chooses to drive a hackney carriage, he is under a legal obligation to ‘admit and carry at the lawful fare any passenger for whom there is room and to whose admission no reasonable objection is made.’<sup>2</sup> Why should not a similar obligation be extended to every person who keeps a shop for the sale of articles necessary to life or to the enjoyment of its common comforts ? We are all dependent on butchers, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, chemists, medical men, and many others for articles either absolutely necessary to life, or at all events essential to comfort. Why should these persons be allowed to make themselves the instruments of the unlawful commands of a set of irresponsible tyrants, and to refuse to sell to a boycotted man articles or to render to him services essential to his life, or at all events to his comfort ? In cases of boycotting, tradesmen and others who carry a great part of the operation into execution are themselves for the most part terrorised, and would be only too glad of a reasonable excuse for not carrying out the orders

of those who set the movement on foot. I would therefore not only provide in the manner already stated for a penalty upon them for refusing to deal with boycotted persons, if their intention in so doing could be proved, but I would go further, and enable a boycotted man to demand to be supplied, upon payment in ready money at the market price of the day, with any necessary of life exposed, for public sale or dealt in by any person dealing in it; and I would authorise any magistrate to send a policeman to take it and deliver it to the person boycotted, leaving the price at the house from which it was taken, the shopkeeper being liable to all costs. Of course with regard to personal services this could not be done. No one can make a man shoe a horse; but I do not see why, if a blacksmith refuses to shoe my horse, when I am ready and willing to pay him for doing so, and thereby compels me to send him many miles to be shod at a distance, he should not be liable to me in damages in the county court for loss of time, loss of the horse's services, and my own costs. Of course in the common state of things it is needless to give a man a legal right to buy things in shops, to have his boots cobbled, or to hire a carriage or cart. No difficulty occurs on such points, and law ought not to occupy itself with trifles; but when trifles are turned by combination into instruments of starvation or torture the matter is altered. No one would seek or ought to be entitled to recover damages for a slight touch; but if a large number of people conspired together to touch a man continually whenever he walked along the road, each touch would go to make up a grievous and monstrous injury. Collectively, indeed, they would operate as an imprisonment, by making it impossible for the injured person to leave his home.

It would be unwise to exaggerate anything. There are and must be many practices more or less analogous to boycotting which it might be unwise to attempt to interfere with by any process of law. It would not be desirable to attempt to give legal protection against those forms of the manifestation of popular displeasure which a man of courage may be expected to defy, and which it is possible to encounter or endure without undergoing any intolerable evil. Refusals of voluntary good offices which depend on the consent of others to what, without such consent, would be a violation of their legal rights, even if they are made systematically and at the exhortation of conspirators and for the purpose of a conspiracy, fall under this head. It appears to me that the tenants of land in Ireland ought not to be interfered with if they combine together to prevent hunting over their fields; for, technically, hunting is undoubtedly a trespass which the occupier has a right to prevent. With regard to shooting or fishing the case is usually different, as in most cases the landlord has a right to shoot. At the worst a conspiracy or combination to deprive people of amusements which depend on the permission of their neighbours is no great

matter. People ought to be able to do without such amusements in case of need.

The same may be said of other social advantages and voluntary good offices. A systematic refusal to associate with a person, to visit him, to employ or recommend him, may be a great hardship, especially to a sociable, sensitive man; and those who form a conspiracy to do so, and by public denunciations induce others to take such courses, may justly, I think, be punished for it, if their proceedings are proved; but I do not see how the actual infliction of such penalties can be prevented, nor would it be within the clause numbered (3) above, which applies only to refusals to deal in the way of business, accompanied by an intention, which it would be in most cases impossible to prove. The attempt to go further would involve intolerable and tyrannical inquiries into conduct and motives, for the most part incapable of being ascertained. It is one thing to punish a priest who denounces a man by name in his chapel, and declares that no one ought to eat with him, speak to him, or marry him; and quite another to interfere with a girl who thereupon refuses to marry him, though the injury might be most cruel; or with a man who ceases to call upon him, or passes him in the road without speaking, though such conduct may cause great pain.

On the same principle, in any attempt which may be made to suppress boycotting, the utmost care should be taken not to interfere with the right, now happily conceded and established, to strike. For many reasons—too obvious to be mentioned—it would be impossible to interfere even with a concerted and combined refusal of labourers to work for an employer whom it was intended to reduce to submission, unless the case fell within the principle of the statute which punishes as crimes some particular breaches of contract.<sup>4</sup> The employer's remedy in such cases is to get other workmen, and the duty of the legislator is to protect them in their work and against interference by boycotting or similar means. It might be possible theoretically to draw a line between a strike—the essence of which is an effort to raise the price of labour by withholding it except on certain terms—and a refusal of labour intended merely to punish the employer or coerce him; and there is no doubt a distinction in principle between the two things. But the distinction is much too refined for practical use.

A form of boycotting which presents some special difficulties is that practised against steamship companies, railroads, and hotels. In these cases the distinction between the ringleaders—those who counsel, procure, and command—and those who merely carry out their directions seems to apply. It would be practically impossible, and it would not be desirable to attempt, to compel people to

<sup>4</sup> 35 & 39 Vict. c. 86, § 5, relating to contracts of which the breach endangers life or property, or the deprival of a town, &c., of gas or water.

travel by or deal with railway or steamboat companies; but it would be possible to enable all common carriers, whether railway companies or not, to protect themselves to a greater or less extent against those who might boycott them by enabling them to retaliate for a fixed time. If, for instance, it were provided that a railway with which the people of a district refused to deal in order to punish them was to be at liberty to refuse to deal with any of the people of the district for a given time, the boycotting of a railway would be a dangerous matter. The railway would have no wish to refuse to deal with those who had not interfered with it, but it might inflict serious inconvenience on those who had by refusing to carry them or their goods for a considerable period.

In all cases of boycotting the maxim of *Vigilantibus non dormientibus* ought to be carefully kept in view. It is undesirable to afford legal protection in such a form and to such an extent as to lead people to give up the practice of protecting themselves effectually. Bolts and bars and firearms in the hands of the inmates, vigorously used in case of need, are and ought to be the natural protection for a dwelling-house. If a man is exposed to serious personal attack by a person for whom he is anything like a match, the person attacked ought to regard it as a solemn duty to resist to the utmost, and if necessary with deadly weapons. In the same way the first and most natural, and often the most effective, protection against boycotting is to be found in associations for defence by lawful means. These means might be used with dreadful effect, and this should be remembered by those who provoke retaliation. No one can legally force people to employ labour, any more than they can force labourers to work. The poor are to a great extent dependent on the rich for good offices, for the performance of which there is no legal obligation, as well as the rich upon the poor. If each party, the boycotters and the boycotted, combine together to hold each other at arm's length, to exact to the very utmost their legal rights, to withhold to the very utmost all that the law does not compel them to give, boycotting would not be confined to one side. The systematic refusal not only of all charity, but of all credit; the systematic and combined prosecution of every legal claim for rent (for instance) the moment it became due, constitute means of defence to which it might be possible for the poor to drive the rich, if the poor push to extremity the many powers which the present state of the law and of society have placed and are placing in their hands. The old association between riches and power is no doubt to a great extent broken down. The poor are now the powerful. They have by their numbers physical power, unorganised indeed and undeveloped, but even in its present state formidable. They have political power by their votes; they have leaders who can and do instruct them how to use their political power to procure the



enactment of laws providing legal means of plunder, and intended to realise visionary communistic theories; their leaders also point out to them how by strikes and boycotting they can impose their rule on the rich, interpreting the word in the widest sense. Besides all this, they have on their side all the topics of prejudice. All the commonplaces of an earlier state of things have outlived the alterations which are gradually falsifying them. All sympathy, all pathos, is conventionally on the side of the poor. Dives is presumably bad, Lazarus presumably good and only unlucky; and the public at large is being powerfully moved in all directions by all sorts of people, most of whom, strange to say, belong themselves more or less decidedly to the Dives class, to comfort the one and torment the other. There is thus a strong current running in the Socialist direction, and circumstances have given it a character which is extremely engaging to many minds. It looks disinterested and religious, and those whom it attracts are so accustomed to assume the solidity of the foundation of the state of society in which they live, that they feel no fear of succeeding beyond their wishes.

This, as I think, constitutes a public danger; for, though it is idle to use any longer the old commonplaces about the weakness of the poor and the strength of the rich, it is still true that the rich have great power in their hands; and if they are forced to think that the poor require, under whatever names, a redistribution of property, they might be forced into using it to the utmost to protect their property and the state of the law which enables them to accumulate and enjoy it. It must be remembered in reference to this matter that the word 'rich' in this connection includes, not only those who have anything to lose, but all who hope to have anything, and all who hold positions in any station of life in which they feel themselves secure and comfortable. It is needless to dwell on so odious a topic as that of a struggle in which those who fall within this description would be arrayed in one camp and those who do not in another. Such a struggle would be by far the greatest calamity which the world ever has incurred or ever could incur. War, pestilence, and famine all in one would be less fearful. It would involve the destruction of all that we mean by civilisation, and miseries of all sorts falling on all classes of society alike in a way hitherto unexampled.

For many years this has been a well-worn commonplace. It was, to take one illustration out of a million, one of the main topics of Carlyle, and it is the teaching of all his most famous and popular books. The moral which he and other writers drew from it was almost invariably put in the form of exhortations to the rich—'For your own sakes, and in order to avoid a repetition on a larger scale of the excesses of Jacobinism, be kind, be charitable; look on yourselves as Captains of Industry, and not as accumulators of wealth for personal

enjoyment. Throw aside political economy. It is the theory of a mere shopkeeper. Address all the faculties of your minds to the task of devising in practice some way of life by which human beings may all be enabled to live as such without grinding poverty or want.'

There was much in this doctrine which I think no one can complain of. It, no doubt, was so preached as to impress powerfully on many rich people their moral duties; but it has also great defects, at least, in my opinion, and it is preached by innumerable writers without that clear recognition, which was one distinctive feature of Carlyle's teaching, that such a process implies a well-organised and really powerful government, which knows and does not shrink from doing its duty, and that the measures which it recommends cannot be carried out merely by exhortations to charity.

The great defect of teaching of this sort (and Carlyle was as deficient in that respect as any one else) is that it is for the most part entirely silent on two matters of capital importance—namely, first, the duties of the poor, and, secondly, the truth of the fundamental principles of political economy in its old-fashioned form—the political economy of half a century ago, of the new Poor Law and Free-trade—principles which, to me, at least, appear to be as true as the second table of the Ten Commandments, with which they are closely connected, and which these principles resemble in being deeply rooted in the most permanent parts of human nature.

This is little more than saying that this teaching is too absolute. Moral teaching of all kinds, whether addressed to individuals or to societies, always takes an absolute form, but ought always to be limited by the circumstances of the age to which it is given. These circumstances supply unexpressed exceptions which cannot be neglected without the worst results. The precepts of the Sermon on the Mount would destroy all human society and convert the world into a vast monastery if they were accepted absolutely and carried into full execution on all occasions. In the present day we have for many years past heard so much of the wrongs and woes of the poor, of the quasi-sinfulness of being rich, of mankind being all brothers and sisters, and of the duties of property, that it has become extremely important to insist upon the neglected truth, that poverty has its duties as well as its rights; that human nature is so constituted that nearly all our conduct, immensely the greater part of it, is and ought to be regulated much more by a regard to ourselves and to our own interests than by a regard to other people and their interests; that this is the basis on which almost all law reposes, and in particular that important part of it which assumes the existence of property—that is to say, the power of men to be, for purposes not forbidden by law, absolute masters of such things as they acquire by lawful means—and which pro-

fects liberty, which means for one thing the protection of the owners of property from being coerced in the exercise of their rights over their property, by any means whatever not authorised by law. These principles have till quite lately been accepted as of course. They might be now and then set forth in express words when it was desired to refute any theory which was inconsistent with them, but more often they were accepted and acted upon unconsciously. In the present day virtues which in truth are founded upon them, and which assume their existence, have been so much insisted upon as illogically to call into question the principle on which they depend.

Divide amongst the poor the superfluities of the rich, and all charity and generosity is at an end, unless it is charitable and generous to pay one's poor rates. Take away the great characteristic feature of property—the owner's absolute dominion over it—and it is no longer true that property has its duties in the sense of moral as distinguished from legal duties. Strain the quality of mercy, and it is mercy no longer. I am far from saying there should be no poor rate. I do not even say there should be no education rate, and it is fairly arguable whether education should be gratuitous; but I do say that these are exceptions to the general rule, justifiable only on the special grounds that rich and poor alike have a vital interest in the results which poor rates and education rates are supposed to procure, and that there is a dangerous tendency in the present day to enlarge the exceptions and to narrow the rule.

Apart from the special immediate reasons which exist for dealing with the subject of boycotting, the reflections just made supply a strong general reason for it. The adoption of such measures would assert vigorously and strikingly illustrate these fundamental principles. It is of the last importance to assert and vindicate the truth that legislative power must not be usurped; and that if property is to be redistributed, as many persons wish it to be—though they do not often propose it in so many plain words—they must at least obtain their object by lawful means.

JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN.

## *NOVA SCOTIA'S CRY FOR HOME RULE.*

HAVING spent much time in Nova Scotia, I am often asked—Why does that province wish to sever connection with the Dominion, and what means her cry of ‘Repeal and Reciprocity’? And some of my friends are not a little shocked that, at a time when the question of Imperial Federation is so much discussed, our nearest kinsfolk on the American continent should be agitating for what at the first glance looks like separation, though it is far from being so intended. Imperial Federation is indeed a grand scheme, or will be when it attains the dignity of a scheme. At present it seems little better than a vague, but decidedly alluring, dream. And it is likely so to remain unless, among other safeguards, each unit which makes up the mass is allowed such a measure of self-government as shall secure it against possible harsh treatment on the part of any other unit which happens to be stronger.

Why the inhabitants of the Acadian peninsula want repeal of the union with Canada, and reciprocity with the United States and other countries, I propose in the following article to show.

When Nova Scotia, in 1867, entered the Confederation her debt amounted to some 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 dollars. To-day her share of the rapidly increasing Dominion Debt, which during the last eighteen years has advanced from 96,000,000 to 281,000,000 dollars, is fully 28,000,000 dollars (Ottawa says 40,000,000 dollars), a burden far too heavy for her altered circumstances. And to-day the Dominion's annual expenditure, which at the time of Confederation was 13,000,000 dollars, and in the last year of Liberal Government (1878) 23,000,000 dollars, has, to the dismay of Canada's wisest statesmen, already reached 35,000,000 dollars, and ere the close of the present year is expected to touch 38,000,000 dollars. Of this charge Nova Scotia pays a tenth, if not a seventh, and of her contribution a large portion is spent outside her borders and in ways which benefit her not at all. ‘Previous to the Union,’ her Premier, Mr. Fielding, tells us, ‘Nova Scotia had the lowest tariff, and was in the best financial condition of any of the provinces.’ To-day she has the highest tariff, since she pays some three dollars more on every hundred dollars' worth of imported dutiable goods than her fellow

provinces, and is, the same high authority assures us, in the worst financial condition. The reason is not far to seek. Not only does she, with the most liberal hand, subscribe to fill the common Treasury, but for her own needs she gets back the smallest proportional share, the allowance meted out to the seven principal provinces being somewhat as follows:—

	Per head.
Ontario . . . . .	\$ 1.49½
New Brunswick . . . . .	1.50 to 1.95
Prince Edward Island . . . . .	1.65
Quebec . . . . .	2.10½
Manitoba . . . . .	7.50
British Columbia . . . . .	20.00
Nova Scotia . . . . .	0.98 to 1.18½ <sup>1</sup>

While on the subject of monetary payments, it would scarcely be out of place to instance another grievance. When the International Fisheries Commission, which sat at Halifax in 1877, paid the Ottawa Tory Government, in November 1878, the five-and-a-half million dollars indemnity for the injury sustained by the fishermen of the Dominion, Nova Scotia, which had suffered most, received no share. Newfoundland was more fortunate. She was outside the Confederation; thus there was no excuse for withholding her portion. As the 'grand old island' (to quote Captain Kennedy) keeps an attentive eye on the doings of her near neighbours, she is likely to remain outside.

The improvements, such as they are, made in Nova Scotia by the Ottawa Government, Mr. Fraser, a member of the local Parliament, assures us, are not paid for out of the taxes levied in the province, but are charged to the National Debt. It is to be hoped the improvements are of a lasting and beneficial character, so that the prospect of getting out of debt again may be less desperate than in the case of sundry other undertakings. For instance, the *Halifax Chronicle*, of June 11, tells us that 500,000 dollars have been spent in establishing a sugar refinery at Richmond, a suburb of Halifax, 'every cent of which is lost;' also that 350,000 dollars have been sunk in a cotton-mill hard by which is probably worth ten cents in the dollar, and has never yet paid a dividend. To keep life in these and other bantling industries, the Ottawa Government imposes pretty stiff duties on imported sugar and cotton, whether to commemorate the throwing away of the 850,000 dollars and other enormous sums on similar undertakings elsewhere, or to give cause for a new reading (by substitution of the word Protectionists) of a sneering old proverb anent the wisdom of our ancestors, I know not.

Among other efforts, some colonists, foolishly relying on that spirit of private enterprise which it seems to be the paternal mission

<sup>1</sup> See *Halifax Chronicle*, June 15, and other dates.

of Protection to thwart, once sought to rival Crosse and Blackwell by setting up a pickle factory. The vegetables were cheap and plentiful enough, but the duty on imported glass bottles was sufficient to cause the infant industry to die that premature death to which most of the infant industries seem doomed whose misfortune it is to be Protection's foster-children.

Let us examine awhile this matter of Protection, which has so much to do with Nova Scotia's discontent, and see whether it be true, as some of our friends so confidently and at times so flippantly assure us, that the doctrines taught by Cobden, Bright, and others are all wrong, and that we had much better return to that halcyon period when commerce lived in shackles and cheap bread was not. Abler pens than mine have exhausted the subject as regards Europe and the United States; therefore I will chiefly confine myself, because I can speak as an eye-witness, to the question as it affects the Acadian peninsula. And it may not a little astonish 'fair traders' to learn that the condition to which Nova Scotia is reduced is that which all sound political economists would expect, that she is indeed an existing 'awful example,' some 2,500 miles away, of the hideous folly of reverting to Protectionist principles. Her taxation is swollen some 150 per cent., and the tariff, being purposely framed to bar out foreign trade as much as possible, does her serious injury; albeit Protectionists on her side of the Atlantic labour with a zeal worthy a better cause (though fruitlessly, I am glad to say, for Acadians are not 'mostly fools') to make her people believe that an imported article which formerly came in free, or with only a 10 per cent. duty charged, is no dearer now when a 25 to 35 per cent. duty is paid. And, as the last report of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce declares, Protection presses especially hard upon a 'people who are chiefly fishermen, agriculturists, miners, and farmers.' 'Repeal,' says the *Chronicle* of May 12, 'would mean closer trade relations with all our natural markets,' to wit, New England, the West Indies, and other places, with which, says another writer, 'the province is bound together socially, commercially, and geographically.' These trade relations, so far from being cultivated, are, as I will still further show, distinctly discouraged. And one effect of this unduly heavy taxation, unequal distribution of its proceeds, and enforced isolation is to cause more favoured provinces to flourish at Nova Scotia's expense.

I spoke just now of altered circumstances. Let us glance at these. To do so is not to wander from the subject of Protection, as will at once appear. Halifax's two miles or so of fine wharves are doing far less business than of yore, and have so decreased in value that, as the Attorney-General, Mr. Longley, says, those 'which once could not be purchased for 50,000 dollars now will not sell for 20,000 dollars.' One wharf, the *Chronicle* tells us, which fifteen years ago sold

for 40,000 dollars, was bought in last year by one of the banks for 22,000 dollars. Another was sold some years since at 25,000 dollars, and a few weeks ago was bought in for less than half that sum. Meanwhile the polo ground, which occupies an excellent situation on that high tableland which in better times will form part of the city's centre, was sold some years ago for 16,000 dollars, and recently bought for 7,000 dollars. Shops, too, may be had at far less price than their cost of erection could they but meet with purchasers, and altogether between 300 and 400 houses in the once prosperous capital are for sale. Many families are without their grown-up sons, who are driven to seek a livelihood in other lands; and, owing to the constant exodus, the population, which between 1861 and 1871 increased over 17 per cent., is acknowledged, even by those who would fain shut their eyes to tell-tale statistics, to have grown during the succeeding decade at a much slower rate. If Nova Scotia be as prosperous as some would have us believe, how is it that every year thousands of her youth of both sexes and all conditions leave her shores? The exodus is sometimes, apparently for political reasons, denied, though the inhabitants of the province are well aware not only of its existence but of its magnitude. There are, the Attorney-General tells us, more Nova Scotians in Boston than in Halifax. New England contains a vast number. And, on the other hand, in summer the New Englanders gladly crowd into verdant Nova Scotia, driven by the tremendous heat of their own country to the more salubrious and enjoyable climate of this all-but island. An Ontarian in Nova Scotia, adds Mr. Longley, might be exhibited as a curiosity. Yet between the natural allies is raised the protective barrier. A Nova Scotian Q.C., Mr. Thomson, shows that the Assessment Rolls of many districts have steadily decreased, those of four leading counties, representing the four leading industries of coal-mining, farming, ship-building, and lumbering, which in 1868 amounted to a little below 11½ million dollars, having fallen in 1884 to less than 8½ millions. Every way the province suffers.

Were return made to the 10 per cent. ante-Confederation tariff, and were the taxes raised in Nova Scotia spent in Nova Scotia, there would, says a veteran member of the Provincial Liberal Government, Mr. Morrison, be money enough to 'build every projected railway, make our road and bridge service efficient, and still have a large surplus for other purposes.' As it is, railway enterprise halts, and roads and bridges are falling out of repair. Meanwhile, Nova Scotia is forced to consume Canadian flour, and to pay 60 cents in conveyance on the same amount thereof, as, before Confederation, she paid 10 cents to the nearer United States. In exchange for this dearer flour, distant Canada is supposed to buy Nova Scotian coal. Needless to say, distant Canada finds it as a rule more convenient to draw her 'black diamonds' from neighbouring Pennsylvania. That Ontario at least

should do so is inevitable. Her natural markets are not the maritime provinces, but the states of New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Those of Manitoba and the North-West are Dakota, Minnesota, and Michigan; while those of British Columbia are Idaho, Washington Territory, Oregon, and coalless California. When the trade relations between these states and provinces are hindered, the injury is mutual. But the provinces suffer most, for, when protecting themselves against the outside world, the United States were too wise to allow any individual state to protect itself against any other individual state. Thus they have an enormous country, compact of shape, and possessed of almost every variety of climate and of products, enjoying absolute Free Trade within its wide borders. It is as if international Free Trade prevailed throughout Europe, to the exclusion only of other continents. This most telling fact, however, the advocates of Protection over here, when exhorting us to let our small group of islands follow America's example and bar out the rest of the world, seem entirely to overlook. The Dominion, although it, too, has Free Trade within its borders, differs from the United States in being a long, straggling string of provinces, designed by nature rather to be gathered into three or four groups, and possessing too little variety of climate and products to justify imitation of her great neighbour's somewhat unsuccessful attempt at independence of other nations. The United States by Free Trade with other countries would enjoy greatly increased prosperity. So also would Canada prosper were she but to throw open her ports and gates. In the case of Nova Scotia, Protection is nothing less than a curse. Visitors to Canada—the tourists, I mean, who take a month's or six weeks' run across to the Dominion, are introduced to one set of people, make a mental note (for later use) of their opinions, give a hurried look round, and then return home to add yet another to the list of valuable books upon foreign countries and the colonies—are often invited to admire the progress the upper provinces have made, and are gravely assured that 'Protection has done much for Canada.' Much to make or much to mar? It is not the marring, however, which is implied. Of the making, how much has been done by individual energy, and in spite of Protection, and how much by the forced contributions of other provinces?

Protection, being as mischievous as it is foolish, has, wherever introduced, given rise to smuggling, thereby creating and fostering a dishonest calling. Was there ever delusion that was not harmful? Now, as there is no great Chinese wall built up between the two sections of friendly English-speaking races which people the United States and the Canadian Dominion, the boundary-line must exist in official imagination, except indeed where some custom house or other barrier has risen, some lake or stream traces the border, or where (if it still exist) the long lane cut through the primeval forest.



marks the forty-ninth latitudinal parallel. It also follows that as this boundary-line is some three or four thousand miles in length, it can scarcely serve its intended purpose as a hindrance to free trading between two kindred nations. In other words, smuggling flourishes apace. Needless to add, every smuggler, whether American or Canadian, is a staunch Protectionist. It is manifestly to the interest of his pocket so to be. As for his scruples of conscience, they are too microscopic a quantity, even if they have any existence, to be worth consideration. But Nova Scotia, like Prince Edward Island, nowhere touches the United States frontier. Therefore she has not one quarter of the splendid chance for smuggling, and consequent cheaper sale of, and larger profit on, dutiable articles of Cousin Jonathan's manufacture, which the more favourably situated provinces take, it is rumoured, such frequent opportunities to enjoy. Which fact doubtless adds to her embarrassment. And the longer she is bound against her will and against her interests in this unnatural bondage the more desperate becomes her condition. 'Wait till the West is more settled!' cry the Protectionists. 'Wait till the Canadian Pacific Railway gets into full running order! See how Nova Scotia's trade will flourish then, and how the West will deal with her!' Vain dream! Have Federationists ever realised the fact that by rail Montreal (Que.) is 859 miles from Halifax? If Ontario, which is yet further, is too remote to trade much with Nova Scotia, are the very much more distant North-West and British Columbia likely to do so? If there were no other impediment, there would still be the one item, in this huge straggling country, of cost of transport. No! it is impossible to create artificial trade or artificial markets. The oft-derided plan of 'making people virtuous by Act of Parliament' is not one whit more absurd.

After what I have said of the tariff, I trust that Nova Scotia's cry for Reciprocity may not sound amiss in British Free Trade ears. To us, it is a word retrogressive of meaning, synonymous with Retaliation. To a country severely suffering from Protection's blighting influence, Reciprocity, on the contrary, appears distinctly progressive, tends towards trade freedom, and has a sense identical with our term Commercial Treaty. Reciprocity with the United States to Nova Scotia would mean trade-resuscitation. The experiment has already been tried; and reference to statistics of the past will show with what success. The Reciprocity Treaty, which lasted fourteen years, came into operation in 1854. The previous year—English currency was then in use—the exports of Nova Scotia were a trifle below 280,000*l*. The succeeding year, 1855, they were over 481,000*l*. The imports were in 1853 nearly 416,000*l*.; in 1855, over 780,000*l*.<sup>2</sup> At the time

<sup>2</sup> Roughly calculated, five dollars are equal to a pound; exactly calculated, generally 4 *dols.* 86½ *cents.* This would make the last amount something under 4,000,000 dollars, which during the next dozen years had more than trebled.

of Confederation (1867) the province was importing 14,000,000 dollars' worth of goods. She now imports 8,000,000 dollars' worth. During these fourteen prosperous years the Halifax Assessment Roll advanced from about 10½ million dollars to 17½ millions, since which time it has steadily declined. No wonder the Attorney-General, when speaking of those years, should say, 'The period then was one of the golden days in the history of Nova Scotia, when fortunes were accumulated, farms increased in value, and prosperity abounded.' Is it, then, surprising that the provincials, with that crowning sorrow born of remembrance of happier things, should be resolutely striving to bring them back?

To those among us who are bitten with Fair Trade notions, I would earnestly recommend a prolonged residence in the Dominion, the maritime provinces perhaps especially. Those, too, who waste time and sentiment in deploring the (imaginary) harm done to a country by free imports, might derive much comfort through studying there the very real injury inflicted by trying the experiment of heavily taxed imports. It would be safe to wager that the hostility to Free Trade would soon be relegated to the society of last year's snows.

Those who think the Repeal cry in Nova Scotia is indicative of disloyalty make a great mistake. The question is being agitated in reasonable and dignified language. Indeed, the Repeal speeches in the Provincial Parliament have been at once so moderate in tone and sound in argument, that they might well command admiration in our own House. They are ably supplemented by a flood of correspondence in the *Halifax Chronicle* and elsewhere. Thus it is clear there is no deterioration in the race which two years before the mother country passed a measure of Catholic Emancipation. Nor is humour wanting to give pleasing variety to the discussion, as is made manifest when Mr. Mack, M.P.P., reminds the House that, as that man is considered a patriot who makes two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before, those who were instrumental in achieving Confederation must have been especially patriotic, since grass is now abundant—in the city streets. The Halifax Chamber of Commerce maintains that those are 'cruel and unjust laws' which restrict trade between 'natural customers,' and truly says that commercial 'relations between British Colonies should be free.' 'There are,' says Mr. Roche, M.P.P., 'no more loyal people within the wide compass of the British Empire than the Repeal party of Nova Scotia.' Elsewhere he reminds his fellow-provincials that Nova Scotia was true when Canada was in rebellion. And 'Loyalist,' in the *Chronicle* of the 8th of June, while shifting the reproach of disloyalty upon shoulders that far better deserve it, says the Dominion 'Tory Government introduced the first wedge of imperial disunion, in the form of a tariff framed to bar out British manufactures; and when warned that this would endanger our connection with Britain,

retorted flippantly, "So much the worse then for the British connection." The Premier 'asks permission from the Imperial Government to withdraw from the union with Canada, and return to the *status* of a province of Great Britain with full control over all fiscal laws and tariff regulations such as prevailed previous to 1867.' A provincial 'Home Ruler' writes, 'We want Nova Scotia for the Nova Scotians, and the dear old flag of England to wave over us. . . . We will be loyal to our Queen, as Nova Scotians always have been.' 'We ask for nothing,' declares the *Chronicle* of the 5th of June, 'inconsistent with true loyalty to the British throne—nothing that may not be granted by the British Government on a full hearing of the case.'

This is not the language of rebels or demagogues.

Let us not, then, grudge our sympathy to our fellow-subjects, the more so as we too have had not a few struggles for freedom, political and commercial, and seem likely to have more. Nova Scotians, moreover, can claim an illustrious parentage which it might be churlish to leave out of account. It is not so much their Anglo-Scandinavian or French descent I have in mind, as that nearer ancestry, the 'United Empire Loyalists,' who, a century ago, gave up everything rather than live in the revolted American colonies under a new and alien flag, and whose story—seldom, I fear, read here, where the stuff which is called history treats far oftener of dynasties and wars, than of heroes and heroines who renounce home, employment, wealth, kindred, and friends for conscience' sake—is one as affecting as it is worthy of admiration. These were the people who settled the then wilderness of Ontario, and sought refuge in the West Indies, New Brunswick, and elsewhere, very many coming to Nova Scotia, where their justly proud descendants keep green their honoured memory, and do it special reverence on St. George's Day.<sup>3</sup> Even in the present struggle these ancestors are not forgotten, as Mr. Weeks, M.P.P., showed when he said, 'Descended from a race who sacrificed their estates and shed their blood for that which they then considered the sacred cause of British connection, I would be the last to lightly regard or easily discard the sentiment of loyalty to the crown of England which every true Englishman should feel.'

And to come down to present times: may we not be proud that Nova Scotia's hardy sailors—true descendants of the ancient stock—are found all the world over, and that through their enterprise their native province counts for size and population chief among maritime powers? Do we not owe to her the 'hero of Kars' and Sir R. H. Inglis, the first Cunard, the eminent geologist Sir William Dawson,

<sup>3</sup> In May 1883, when the Centenary of the 'U.E.L.'s' departure from the now United States was celebrated in the Dominion with much *éclat*, the spirited people of St. John, N.B., had a procession through their streets, in which the quaint costumes of 1783 were worn, and an old stage coach and other curiosities formed interesting features.

and the genial writer and lecturer Principal Grant? And is not Judge Haliburton, whose 'Sam Slick' has enlivened many an otherwise dull hour, remembered still? Last, but by no means least, there is a statesman, Joseph Howe, who, though dead now many years, is yet spoken of in his native province with a reverence that does honour alike to the living and the dead. No other part of the Dominion has given birth to so large a proportion of distinguished sons, thanks to whose genius Nova Scotia, one of the finest provinces in all British North America, was once conspicuously prosperous; as she will be again when she gets rid of the disastrous partnership into which nineteen years ago she was beguiled.

For things cannot last as they are. The instinct of self-preservation teaches revolt against them. The better to realise the situation, let us imagine ourselves in Nova Scotia's place. Suppose this straggling Europe to be united like the Dominion with little local governments everywhere, but with an all-controlling and very despotic central power situated hundreds of miles away—say at Vienna. Suppose that by-and-by the Viennese decided, in the imaginary interests of Austro-Hungary, to adopt a rigorous system of Protection, and to impose it upon the rest of Europe. Suppose the inhabitants of the British Isles, on account of their superior wealth and energy, to be specially selected for taxation for the benefit of Austro-Hungary and adjacent countries. Suppose them to become aware of their consequent impoverishment, to feel its injustice, and to strive, year after year, constantly and vainly, to convince Vienna of the unsoundness of her economic views, and, still more, of the sacred right of each individual member of the European community to control its own affairs, political and commercial. And, finally, suppose them, conscious at last that the choice lay between gradual ruin and timely secession, to prefer the latter alternative, and to try to reach it by peaceable and legitimate means. They would only be taking the course followed by Nova Scotia now. Should we not, looking on, say, from the neighbouring continents of Asia or Africa, think they were justified in so doing? Should we not indeed despise them were they indifferent to their country's decay, and did they not make every reasonable effort to free her and themselves from what had grown to be an intolerable bondage?

The grievance of the Nova Scotians, then, being so genuine, and their spirit so constitutional, the case surely merits a patient hearing. It is important, too, to recollect that their demand comes not from *clique* or from a single nationality. Those of British birth or extraction, the many descendants of the French Acadians immortalised by Longfellow, the Germans of Lunenburg, and others who are dwelling together in this fair land in amity, and gradually fusing to make a stock as good as any in America, alike protest, and in no uncertain voice, against the existing state of things. How much in earnest

these people are—spite of sundry sneering assertions that the agitation is all talk, means nothing serious, and is a mere vote-catching trick—is abundantly proved by the fact that, at the Provincial Parliamentary General Election on the 15th of June last, of 38 candidates, 31 were returned (many with large majorities) pledged to Repeal and Reciprocity.

E. C. FELLOWS.

## *THE CLASSES, THE MASSES, AND THE GLASSES.*

THE Classes is an expression which, speaking generally, is used to describe persons who have a competency, who can manage to get along, and to whom, on the balance, life is more of a pleasure than of a 'worry.'

The Masses is an expression which is employed to describe the great bulk of mankind, who have, more or less, to struggle and to strive in order to procure for themselves the bread which perisheth, as well as the amount of leisure time which enables them to rise to anything above mere animal employments and enjoyments.

The classes comprise the men of leisure and of pleasure. The masses consist of the toilers and moilers of the world, along with their numerous dependents. The classes are not more selfish than other folks, and would be pleased rather than the reverse to see the masses increase in prosperity and happiness. They do not, perhaps, realise very clearly that each one finds his happiness in others' good, but they have a vague idea that the public welfare is the right thing at which to aim, though their human nature tells them that of course their own advantage must be the first and main point.

The masses being also human beings show all the weaknesses and follies of that curious organism; and while many of the classes believe that the best way to maintain their exceptionally pleasant position is by keeping the masses in their present station, very many of the latter hold that the way of salvation for them and for their order consists in pulling the classes down to their own level.

I believe that both the putting-down and the pulling-down theories are all wrong, and that the interests of the classes and of the masses are identical. I believe that the misery and degradation of the masses may be removed without interfering in any way with the agreeable position of the classes, but, on the contrary, in a manner greatly to their advantage.

There's plenty for all, but we thwart one another,  
And the weak gather weeds while the strong pluck the flowers;  
But let man aye treat man as a friend and a brother,  
And there's plenty for all in this wide world of ours.

It seems to be an almost universal idea that the maker of wealth and the spender of wealth should live apart, and form, as Mr. Disraeli expressed it, in one of his earlier novels, 'Two Nations.'

Nothing could tend more to the safety of the commonwealth than any course which should bring these two nations—the rich and the poor—to see and to feel that their true interests are identical. Statesmen and politicians are continually crying aloud that this is so, but I suspect that it is only a very limited portion of the public who believe them. I do not wonder at this.

If I were a poor man I know that I should look with suspicion and mistrust on the actions of the rich, however plausible those actions might be represented to me. The 'two nations' misunderstand one another. Most quarrels arise from misunderstandings. 'Hell is paved with good intentions,' and the poor often suffer from the mistaken kindness which ends in unmistakable suffering.

We live in a democratic age, and no one seems to have a very clear idea as to how Demos is likely to comport and disport himself in the sweet by-and-by. But, though we talk about democracy, it is 'the upper ten thousand' who at present are paramount in our political arrangements. They have been so paramount during the years that are passed; and it is well to consider what they have done for the multitude whom they have swayed, influenced, and ruled.

It seems to me that, while talking much of their superiority to the mob, while proud of their superior education, culture, and manners, they have not taken the wisest course for raising their poorer fellow-countrymen to the standard of which they are themselves so proud.

Looking upon the poor as beings of a totally different order from themselves, and convinced that only low and grovelling amusements are to their taste, they have considered it an act of kindness and condescension to provide for them these amusements.

I believe that the text which reads, 'The love of money is the root of all evil,' ought to have been translated, 'The love of money is the root of all manner of evil;' and no one will dispute that a similar text would be equally true if it dealt similarly with drink—The love of strong drink is the root of all manner of evil.

Here, I fancy, the acute reader says, 'Ah! but you cannot do without either money or drink.' Possibly the acute reader cannot do without drink—or thinks that he cannot do without it, which comes to much the same thing. But I would remind him that when he knows that the myriads of the Eastern World abstain from alcohol, and that ever-increasing numbers of dwellers in the West find themselves in every respect better for abstinence from intoxicating liquors, it is proved that we can do very well without this drink, the love of which is the root of all manner of evil.

No one that I know of—except Lord Randolph Churchill—maintains that drink is a necessary of life. All responsible speakers and writers admit virtually that it is a luxury; and most responsible speakers and writers admit that it is a dangerous luxury. Indeed, its danger has been acknowledged for generations by our legislators, who, in countless enactments, have endeavoured to provide that its distribution shall only be in the hands of patriotic, prudent, and godly men, who shall see that the luxury is consumed in the right form, in the right places, at the right time, and by the right people, so that no harm may come to the public.

About fifty years ago a movement arose among the working men having for its object to pledge one another to consume no longer this dangerous luxury. Those who adhered to this pledge soon found the great benefit which accrued to themselves and to their families from cutting off such a source of useless and indeed harmful expenditure. Their plan encountered, but survived, ridicule, opposition, and even persecution, and those who adhered to it might truly have been called ‘the aristocracy of the working classes.’ Time went on—the ‘moral suasion’ of those who had tasted the benefits of abstinence went on, clearer and clearer evidence of the evils of drinking went on, but something else went on at the same time, viz. the moral suasion of thousands and thousands of licensed drink-sellers—the patriotic and godly men whom I have already mentioned—whose living depended on maintaining the existing system of dispensing the dangerous luxury, and who were paid for every glass which the public could be induced to consume, while the advocates of temperance could only give their advice at their own charges, and without the widespread official organisation which, by virtue of the licensing system, spread its ramifications through the length and breadth of the land.

The contest was indeed unequal, and the fact that the temperance advocates could, under the circumstances, make even an approach to ‘holding the field,’ has ever appeared to me to be one of the strongest proofs of the soundness of their cause.

Gradually, but steadily and surely, it dawned on the minds of all those who longed to see a sober nation, that their wish could never be realised so long as the State should be allowed to employ its host of ‘paid agents’ to counteract in this practical and persistent manner all the efforts of those who were preaching abstinence to the people; thus from ‘the masses’ arose the prohibition party, which Mr. John Morley lately described as the most moral and the most powerful political party which has existed since the days of the anti-slavery agitation.

‘Not many great, not many mighty, not many noble’ have, up to a late period, joined that party. For years and years the classes persisted in asserting that the working man did not really object to



the drink-shops which were plentifully licensed in their midst, and that to remove these temptations to drunkenness from the working population would be an act of cruelty and oppression. It was dinned into our ears that to take such a course would most certainly provoke outrage, resistance, and tumult. To this the answer of the prohibitionists was, 'Then let the step be taken by the people themselves, in their own localities, if they wish to take that step; this will do away with even the suspicion of tyranny, oppression, and coercion.'

In this manner we arrived at what is termed 'permissive prohibition.' But permissive prohibition met with almost as much opposition as the policy of Imperial prohibition. The very men who would not hear of prohibition, through alleged fear of mob violence, now contemptuously condemned any regulated appeal to the people themselves. The Bishop of Peterborough shuddered at what he called 'the vote of the streets.' Orthodox politicians solemnly denounced anything in the shape of a *plébiscite*, and I remember one of the truest friends of temperance saying that he could not sanction this 'rough and ready' mode of procuring sobriety—'rough and ready' being, I suppose, another term for speedy and effectual.

It followed, therefore, that the influential and powerful classes were resolved that the power of scattering broadcast the temptations to drinking should still remain unchecked in the hands of irresponsible authorities. Nevertheless, so undeniably just was the contention that the public—for whose benefit it is argued that licensing is maintained—should be allowed to express their opinion on the matter, and so strong was the demand from outside for the extension of local self-government, that something was effected. The *principle* of the direct veto was endorsed, and subsequently twice confirmed, by resolutions passed in the Parliament which was elected in 1880.

But here we stick fast. Six years have elapsed since the House of Commons recorded its deliberate opinion that communities opposed to the establishment of drink-shops in their midst should be granted facilities for giving authoritative and practical expression to that opinion. During those six years we have had three different Parliaments and four different Governments, yet not a single step has been attempted by any of our statesmen to give effect to the resolution which I have mentioned. Meantime all the crime, lunacy, pauperism, and national degradation, of which the drink traffic is the exciting cause, continue in full blast, while the clergyman, the schoolmaster, the philanthropist, and the social reformer struggle almost hopelessly and helplessly against the counter-attractions towards drunkenness and its concomitants which the State lavishly places as obstacles in their path.

Whether such a state of things is or is not a national disgrace I leave to the decision of any one who impartially considers the situation.

For my own part, I will only say that it is a state of things which, in my opinion, should be altered with the least possible delay.

The experience of the last few years shows that we have nothing to hope from 'statesmen' acting on their usual statesmanlike impulses. These distinguished men always appear to be more interested in contemplating the condition of foreign countries than in seeking to alleviate the sufferings of their own. Egypt, Montenegro, Zululand, Burmah, or Bulgaria, they can discuss with ability and avidity, but to ward off from Englishmen an evil which the late Prime Minister declared to be bringing upon us the accumulated evils of war, pestilence, and famine, is a task to which they contemptuously decline to condescend.

Their lofty souls have telescopic eyes  
Which see the faintest speck of distant pain,  
While at their feet a world of agonies,  
Unseen, unheard, unheeded, writhes in vain.

But though it is not in the nature of statesmen to take the initiative in this great reform, they will be ready enough to act when the question 'has come within the range of practical politics, which simply means when there is a majority in the House of Commons which will say to them, 'You shall do this thing or out you go!'

It would have been very long ere the late unreformed Parliament would have spoken to them in terms so decisive. But the masses are now in power, and is it not probable that ere long they will compel their representatives to say something of the kind? They know that this power of local self-protection from the liquor traffic is already possessed by their Canadian fellow-subjects, as well as by vast numbers of the citizens of the United States. They know that it is being sought for and agitated for, more or less, by all the English-speaking communities throughout the world; and if they are to be much longer snubbed and thwarted by the classes when making the same demand, I fancy that they will insist on 'knowing the reason why.'

And what are these reasons? Do not let us be unjust to the classes. They bring forward arguments which, no doubt, appear to them to be valid in favour of this compulsory licensing, which is rapidly becoming so unpopular. Let us for a moment examine these arguments. We are told, 'You can't make men sober by Act of Parliament.' Certainly not—in one sense. When a man gets drunk, time, sleep, and cessation from drinking will alone restore him to sobriety. But if it be meant that laws have no effect in causing or preventing the consumption of drink—which is the only cause of drunkenness—that is an argument against the whole licensing system and in favour of complete free trade in liquor. As I have never met

with one single person who advocates such a complete measure as that, I think it unnecessary to pursue the point further.

I have already alluded to the great *plébiscite* bugbear. It is a splendid weapon to use against the prohibitionists, more especially as three parts of the persons to whom it is addressed have no idea of what is meant by a *plébiscite*, and think that it is something mysterious, awful, and wicked. But in our large municipal towns people know better. The 'Borough Funds Act,' has taught them the real meaning of the *plébiscite*, and they understand that when, in Manchester, 60,000 ratepayers can be called on to vote 'Ay' or 'No' as to whether they will have water brought to their town from a certain district, it is just as easy to get them to vote 'Ay' or 'No' as to whether the licensing system is to be in force or not to be in force in their locality. What can be simpler or more constitutional than to take the 'hearthstone' vote on a question which affects more or less the order, the happiness, and the morality of every household?

Then there is the idea that the interests of the liquor traders may be unduly damaged. Surely this is another bugbear. Did anybody ever hear of the House of Commons dealing unfairly with the beneficiaries of any venerable abuse or any powerful vested interest? Why, the leaning of the House of Commons is exactly the other way, and if there be one thing more certain than another in the future course of events, it is that if the liquor traders can make out even a plausible case for compensation, Parliament will be more than ready to meet them half way. At the same time it will be necessary that *some* arguments should be brought forward to prove that a man having, as a monopolist has, public money given him for selling liquor, is also to have public money given him for giving up selling liquor, or even the House of Commons will reject the claim.

But let the claim be well or ill founded, it does not affect the justice of the demand for the power of local protection from the liquor traffic. The two questions are distinct, and it is only a trick of the enemy to try and jumble them up together.

The above are the three objections which I have heard urged more frequently than any others against the policy of the direct veto. But there are many ardent temperance reformers, who are also true friends and supporters of permissive prohibition, who think it wiser and more politic not to confine the legislative attack on the great drink evil to a demand for the direct veto, but, in addition, to exert themselves in attempting to reform or purify the licensing system.

This again is a separate department of work from the prohibition movement, and it is much better that it should be kept separate. Those who believe that the common sale of drink is a public evil

cannot be expected to exert themselves to place that sale on a more popular, and therefore on a more permanent, foundation. The man who believes in licenses is bound, no doubt, to do all that he can to improve the licensing system. Let him do so without let or hindrance. If it is decided that municipal bodies, elected boards, commissions, or any other set of officials, are likely to be more satisfactory licensers, to fix on better houses, or to select superior characters for the sale of drink than the present benches of magistrates, let the new plan, whatever it may be, have a trial. Prohibitionists merely ask that *their* plan—no licensing—may also have a trial, where public opinion is so desirous, and that in such localities the new licensing authority—be it Board, Bench, or Commission—shall be required to hold its hand and leave that district free from drink-shops.

It should be clearly understood that the United Kingdom Alliance gives no official opinion whatever as to what should be the nature of the licensing authority so long as licensing exists. Its avowed and constant business is to destroy licensing, and not to reconstitute it in any shape or way. I therefore merely give my own individual opinion, and do not speak on behalf of the Alliance when I say that, personally, I agree with the Rev. Canon Grier, who, in alluding to the proposal for elected licensing boards, says that he should dread them more even than the present licensing bodies, for under their auspices we should probably be landed 'out of the frying-pan of aristocratic caprice into the fire of local jobbery.' Now, I have tried to prove that the demand of the masses on the drink question is reasonable and just. I also think that were the demand granted the classes would suffer but very slight inconvenience from the change. I know perfectly well that numbers of them consider that a certain amount of alcoholic refreshment is an essential to human happiness, and they conjure up alarming visions of the sufferings which they would endure while journeying through those thirsty regions in which no liquor would be purchasable. I can feel for them. Still it must be remembered that, even in these Saharas of sorrow, it would be possible for the traveller to carry a sufficient store of alcohol to sustain his spirits until he should again come within range of the 'resources of civilisation.'

Is it not a little selfish to resist a reform which aims at benefiting the whole public through fear of some slight personal inconvenience?

Some, doubtless, see no evil in public-houses. I remember a lady who declared that a public-house within a stone's throw of her gate was an advantage, because she always knew where to find the coachman. But this was an exceptional case, and does not shake the admitted truth that the public-house is the hotbed of crime and pauperism; and from crime and pauperism we all of us, classes, masses, and asses, suffer more or less every day of our lives.

I therefore respectfully ask the wealthy and leisured portions of the community carefully to consider this request of their poorer fellow-countrymen and to see whether there is any valid ground for longer refusing that request.

But the staunch, steady, sturdy opponents of the direct veto are to be found in the members of 'the trade,' and the liquor trade is very properly called the trade, since both in political and social influence it is head and shoulders above all other trades. These gentlemen reiterate *ad nauseam* how much opposed they are to intemperance, and I suppose nobody doubts them; were they advocates of intemperance they would be fiends and not men. We all hate intemperance and desire temperance. The whole dispute is as to the means, not as to the ends.

'The trade' say: 'Permit us to carry on our operations wherever we can persuade the magistrates to permit us to do so.' The permissive prohibitionists say: 'Prevent these traders from carrying on their operations in those places where the community object to their doing so. It is proposed to give the public an opportunity of proving how much they value and esteem the work of the publican. Yet the publican shrinks from this test. Is not this rather strange? Would the shoemakers, the tailors, or the drapers of any district fear to have the question put to their neighbours—Tailors or no tailors? Shoemakers or no shoemakers? Drapers or no drapers? Not they. They would feel perfectly sure that nobody would take the trouble to meddle with them. 'Conscience makes cowards of us all,' and it looks as though our friends the publicans had an uneasy consciousness that their trade is not considered a blessing, but quite the reverse, by those amongst whom it is carried on. But the publicans very naturally say, 'Why subject us to this exceptional treatment; why put these invidious questions about us alone?' The answer is, because they stand on quite another footing to any other class of tradesmen. The Statute Law, of which they are the creatures, already recognises that the permission or prohibition of their trade is optional, at the discretion of the magistracy. The magistracy are, or ought to be, merely trustees for the public, and it is only reasonable that these trustees should be informed as to the real wants of the public, and if the interests of the public clash with those of the publican, the publican's interests must go to the wall. But this fear on the part of 'the trade' is still more remarkable when we look back at the course of legislation with regard to its members. They are the picked men of the nation, they are selected by the magistrates, themselves men of 'blood and culture.' Every year their character and conduct pass again under the review of these magistrates. Strict laws have been enacted as to how, where, and when, as well as to whom, they are to sell their liquor, and a whole army of police are maintained at the public expense whose

main business it is to see that these laws are observed. 'And yet they are not happy!' It is touching to read—as I often do—their speeches when they assemble and meet together. They describe the suspicion with which they are viewed, the uncalled-for abuse which they encounter, the manner in which they are harassed by all sorts and conditions of men, the misrepresentations which are poured upon them, and the generally unsympathetic manner in which their self-denying and philanthropic efforts are met by an ungrateful public. One would think that they would be too happy to relinquish a business involving so much responsibility, entailing so much vexation of spirit, and producing so little personal satisfaction. But it is not so. Patriotism, love of liberty, hatred of fanaticism, and devotion to the cause of the 'poor man's beer,' urged them on, and they are banded together as one man to resist the movement of the permissive prohibitionists.

It is the old, old story—private interests against public rights, the individual against the nation, money against men, the gains of the few against the lives of the many. For, disguise it as we may, it is the enormous influence of 'the trade' which has hitherto succeeded in withholding from the people this simple extension of self-government, and the political power of the trade must be broken ere the boon can be obtained.

Surely it is not well that a whole nation should grovel at the feet of a great ring of monopolists, even though that ring should be composed, as we have seen, of the best of men. Is the curse of drunkenness for ever to blight our country? Are the efforts of those who spend their time and labour in attempts to elevate the working classes to be permanently thwarted by a gigantic system of State temptation? Are we to honour with lip service the memories of such men as Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Samuel Morley, and by our actions to show that we care nothing for the reforms to which their lives were devoted? Is England, with her enormous educational, industrial, and religious advantages, to remain permanently a drunken nation? Are our statesmen, unchecked, to fill the nation's exchequer by promoting the degradation and the misery of their poorer fellow-countrymen?

You answer 'No.' But how do you propose to effect the change? Are there to be more effective advocates of temperance? Are our clergy to be more eloquent or earnest? Are any new facts to be brought before the public? Is human nature to be changed? Is the nature of strong drink to be altered? I hardly think that any of these things are likely to happen.

Given, then, the same kind of human beings, the same kind of drink, and the same amount of temptation, I can see nothing for it but that the same results will follow.

Suppose we try the New Testament plan, and as we pray that we

may not ourselves be led into temptation, let us cease to lead others into temptation.

If anybody has a scheme to suggest which has not been tried and failed in regard to licensing the sale of strong drink, now is the time to produce it.

If such a scheme cannot be produced, then let the people in their own localities be permitted to try a plan which, when fairly tried, has never failed, and by entrusting them with the power of the direct veto over licenses, let us make at least one more effort towards the 'soberising' of England.

WILFRID LAWSON.

## THE 'HAMLET' OF THE SEINE.

IN treating of the recent production of *Hamlet* at the Théâtre Français, which may be considered as a new epoch in the dramatic history of France, it is not intended to institute comparisons between England and France, or between English and French actors, but merely to comment on the source of the enthusiasm excited at the present moment by this essentially English tragedy in an audience habitually indisposed towards anything un-French and chary of applause under all circumstances.

The first step towards the triumph of to-day was made in September 1796, when the tragedy of *Hamlet*, translated by Ducis, was acted as a startling novelty, with Molé and Dumesnil in the leading characters, and was listened to with respect if not with any great sympathy. M. Molé was Hamlet, Madame Dumesnil was Gertrude, the most remarkable tragic actor and actress of their time, for French critics have always held the part of the Queen to be second only to that of Hamlet, and when the tragedy was reproduced at a later date, in 1805, under the direction of the great tragedian Talma, he passed sleepless nights and agitated days in the pursuit of an actress sufficiently gifted to undertake the character of Gertrude. Ophelia was looked upon as a personage of comparatively little importance; she was a passing vapour, a slight incident in Hamlet's life, and her part, never a long one, was subjected to much cutting.

Of all the tragedians who have hitherto played *Hamlet* in Paris Talma was the only one who made a great permanent success, and this he did in spite of the translator's monotonous conventional verse and monstrous alterations of the text, in which no Ghost ventured to appear; Hamlet merely dreamt of him and told his dreams to an admiring chorus; and Hamlet, not Claudius, was King of Denmark; Claudius was a prince of the blood. It was then a wholly different play, yet Ducis firmly believed that he adored Shakespeare and that he had translated *Hamlet* as faithfully as possible for a French public, while, as Talma's genius carried success with it, French audiences were convinced that they were understanding and applauding the great English Poet.

Thus the first stone was laid, and the movement towards the romantic drama which was begun by Dumas (père), but which the



genius of Victor Hugo carried on to its great consummation, may fairly be traced back to the inauguration of the Ducis *Hamlet* by Talma. This great tragedian was an English scholar, and if he felt that the passionate creations of Shakespeare's genius could not be presented faithfully to French society, so long fettered by frivolous pedantries, he also knew how to transfuse the deep passion of his heart into the lifeless verse of Ducis with something of a Shakespearian force: it is the highest vocation, it is, indeed, the great first cause of the tragedian, that he can interpret the poet's mind to a dense public.

Since the days of Talma *Hamlet* has been played before Parisian audiences by Salvini and Rossi, by Rouvière, by Madame Judith, and by M. Garnier. As to Fechter, he was known in Paris only as an accomplished actor of melodrama and light comedy when he produced the tragedy in London and acted the leading character in English to an English audience.

Among the French *Hamlets* just cited Rouvière, at the Théâtre Historique, made the greatest mark. He was eccentric and fiery, often carrying his audience with him by the flash of his passion, but rarely satisfying their judgment; he played the version which Mounet Sully is playing now. Neither Salvini nor Rossi made much impression in this difficult character, which was indeed more successfully represented in the opera of *Hamlet* by M. Faure. This admirable vocalist is also an impressive actor, and there was much of the charm of the Prince of Denmark in his performance. Fechter never acted the character in Paris, but in London his success was extraordinary. He was graceful, he was subtle, he was a complete master of stage business; he was handsome and singularly dexterous: in short, he had all the necessary qualities for an ambitious actor, except the greatest. He had not a wide range of passion and he had not a single grain of poetical imagination; but for that very reason he was all the more welcome to the great bulk of spectators, who prefer the player to the poet, who seek nothing beyond brilliancy in stage representation and would rather not have the depths of passion sounded. *Hamlet's* complicated character offers many phases of interest, so many that most of his representatives have been listened to with attention, whatever their shortcomings; but to combine all or a chief part of his qualities is to be great among the greatest; it is to possess strong intellectual perceptions, intense passion, a habit of meditation, and a power of withering irony. It is also to have those exterior graces which we are in the habit of calling princely—to move gracefully, to have a commanding presence, a noble countenance, and a voice capable of expressing infinite varieties of emotion.

With how much trepidation, then, must any thinking actor who enters into the character approach it for the first time; how reluctant he must feel after his long solitary broodings to unveil his ideal.

M. Mounet Sully, the distinguished tragedian, who has now taken

unwilling Paris captive by his performance of *Hamlet*, meditated upon it for fourteen years before he determined to bring it forward. Three years before the death of M. Perrin he persuaded that clever but not poetical manager to allow him to try it, and obtained a distinct promise that he should play it as soon as possible at the Théâtre Français. Once the promise given, M. Perrin began to interest himself in the production of the piece. The planning of the costumes, which he confided to the care of Bianchini, costumier of the Opera House, remarkable for his knowledge and research, greatly interested the manager, but his death came as a grave interruption, and for a time *Hamlet* was laid aside. The theatre was not prospering; some great artists had left it, and Mounet Sully himself was ill, but presently he began again to ask for his *Hamlet*. M. Claretie, M. Perrin's successor, was little disposed towards such an attempt; the company generally protested that it would certainly not be a success, that it had been rejected for good reasons by the Comédie Française in 1846, that they could ill afford to risk a failure now, and that they would not hear of it. To this M. Mounet Sully replied that he believed in *Hamlet* and that he thought M. Perrin's promise ought to be observed. This argument finally prevailed and the tragedy was put in rehearsal. The rehearsals were trying and arduous. The version of *Hamlet* chosen for representation was the same translation by M. Paul Meurice and Alexandre Dumas which had been rejected by the Comédie Française in 1846. It is well that M. Meurice has lived to see his work brought out under the best auspices after so many doubts, perplexities, and trepidations as he went through before it ever saw the light. It is to Dumas that its actual completion is due. A long time ago—somewhere about the year '42—he was lamenting that there was no better French translation of *Hamlet* to be had than that of poor Ducis, when Paul Meurice confessed that he had attempted one himself, which he had kept as true as possible to the original text. Dumas insisted upon seeing the manuscript, was delighted when he saw it, made a few alterations, touched it in a few scenes, and was furious when the Comédie Française rejected it. But the French mind, not yet ready, went on gradually outgrowing its shackles, drinking in fresh nourishment from many newly opened sources; penny editions of great authors, foreign as well as French, began to circulate, translated works which made the writers popular and proved that in spite of pretentious critics there was something more in the spirit than in the letter. Amongst these cheap publications was a translation of Shakespeare's most popular plays by a writer of no special fame which was rather flat in expression but correct in meaning. M. François Hugo's vigorous and faithful prose translation is at present better known to students than to the public, but it is a work of great power and valuable to all foreigners who want to grasp the thought of the poet. There is nothing omitted

and above all there is nothing interpolated, but it is crude in some passages and is less happy in giving the tenderness than the force of the poet. It was probably by the frequent performance of Victor Hugo's original plays at the great national theatre that cultivated audiences acquired such a disdain of conventionalities as gradually opened the way for the success of an almost literal translation of *Hamlet*; the reluctance of the company to deal with it appears to have been due rather to their terror of it as a long monologue than to their apprehension of its extravagances. However that may be, it is certain that M. Mounet Sully's faith in the work was severely tried by the opposition, the sneers, the complete incredulity of his colleagues; on one occasion, when the tragedian was urging some scenic alterations upon M. Meurice, M. Got remonstrated, saying, 'Vous oubliez, Mounet, que vous parlez à l'auteur,' to which M. Mounet Sully replied, with that majestic simplicity of manner well known to those who have studied his acting, 'L'auteur est mort;' and on this M. Paul Meurice took up his hat and moved away. General incredulity survived even the dress rehearsal, although a few good judges who were present gave way under the fire of the tragedian and foretold a success.

When, after long delays, the formidable first night came, a highly critical audience was assembled; the opening scene, which is remarkably well given, was heard in a silence as cold as Elsinore itself, but afterwards, when the King and his Court appeared in their splendid costumes and Hamlet sat apart away from the throne in his deep mourning suit, with his eyes downcast and his hands hanging listlessly by his side, his noble presence, his complete indifference to his surroundings and absorption in his own thought made an impression on the audience, and his replies to the King and Queen, dry in tone as they were cutting in irony, were heard with a grave attention which became a deep sympathy in the well-known reply to the Queen—'Seems, madam—nay, it is,' &c.—in the French version:—

Oh ! je ne parais pas, madame, je suis :  
 Mon cœur, je vous le dis, ignore toute feinte.  
 Ce n'est pas la couleur dont cette étoffe est teinte,  
 Ce n'est point la pâleur de mon front soucieux,  
 Ce ne sont pas les pleurs débordant de mes yeux  
 Qui peuvent témoigner, croyez-le bien, madame,  
 De l'incessant chagrin où s'abîme mon âme.  
 Non, je sais à présent que deuil, larmes, pâleur  
 Peuvent n'être qu'un masque à jouer la douleur.

This speech was so delivered as to bring the hearer into close contact with the heart of the speaker, and prepare him for all the sufferings, all the perplexities revealed in the great monologue—'Oh ! that this too, too solid flesh would melt,' &c.—in the French version:—

Ah ! Dieu ! si cette chair voulait, décomposée,  
 Se fondre, se dissoudre et se perdre en rosée !

In his first interview with the Ghost, as he stayed half prostrate on the great stairs leading up to the archway where the spirit of his father stood, the tones of his voice were deepened by the sense of awe; he seemed enshrouded in a great mystery, and the presence of the supernatural almost overwhelmed him; but this phase passed into one of passionate tenderness with the revelation of suffering from the unresting soul, and rose into a towering wrath when the history of wrong, long suspected, was at last unfolded. By this time M. Mounet Sully had so completely conquered the sympathies of his audience that he carried them easily through the difficult ensuing scene with Horatio and his comrades, so long a stumbling-block even on the English stage, and omitted in representation till Macready's courage restored it, with a great stage success, but not without many animadversions from critics who held the wild scoffings and strange shiftings of Hamlet's delirious excitement to be beneath the dignity of tragedy or of what they called human nature.

There can hardly be a stronger proof of advance in the knowledge of humanity than we obtain while we listen to the French tragedian on the stage of the most fastidious theatre in Europe rushing through this scene with his grand impetuosity without a single protest from a single spectator, addressing his father's spirit underground as a 'mineur dans la sape,' and then with his wild irony exclaiming, 'Tu fais du chemin, taupe.'

In the whole of this scene Mounet Sully seemed inspired by the soul of the poet; he was carried by the exaltation of his interview with the dead to the verge of madness. The alternations of his feeling were rapid and intense, and it was impossible for any one to listen to him unmoved: a deep tenderness enriched his low and pleading tones when he answered the Ghost's adjuration to secrecy—'Calme-toi donc, pauvre âme en détresse'—and turned towards his living friends to express his belief in them. Here he made it quite evident that he now intended to simulate actual insanity as a means of silencing the suspicions of the king, and through all the changing moods of his truest deepest passion this undercurrent of something outside of the truth made itself felt. The hold taken on the audience by the actor increased as the tragedy proceeded, and his various moods, his flagrant sarcasms, his secret meditation, his wrath, and his tenderness were attended throughout with complete sympathy. The dialogue with Polonius preceding the play scene was admirably given; it was the outcome of a weary heart made bitter by anguish, and if it was cruel in the wording it was so decorous in manner that Polonius might reasonably accept his strange sayings as the promptings of a disordered mind free from any intention of personal affront.

In the directions to the players M. Mounet Sully was equally untheatrical, equally true. He spoke without any effort, without special points; he gave his advice to the first player, persuasively,

quietly, with the reticence of the best breeding and apparent unconsciousness of an audience. But he had an audience which thoroughly understood him; it was well awakened and ready to follow him in all his moods. The play scene was admirably staged; the mock stage in the centre of the real one was well in view of the whole audience. The mock King and Queen were played by distinguished artists. M. Dupont Vernon was the player King; and the whole house listened breathlessly to his every word, watching its effect upon Hamlet, whose countenance, with his eye always fixed on the King, reflected the passion and progress of the story till, after dragging himself along, with increased agitation approaching the throne, according to the usual business of the stage, he leaped to his feet upon the evidence of the King's disorder, which certified his crime, and uttered his '*Maintenant c'est clair*' as a great cry of exultation. His voice put out all its power, and his free and noble action enforced it; now the sympathy of the spectators mounted to a height which demanded utterance, and all rose to their feet to join in one great cheer. Such a demonstration is rare at the Théâtre Français. It was a real triumph, and from this moment the progress of the tragedy may be described as a triumphal march. The great scene with the Queen known in England as the closet scene was not less impressive than the preceding one. When Mounet Sully approached her his heart seemed full of a deep disdain, and if he relented for a moment it was rather as a man to a woman than as a son to a mother. Sarcastic in the opening phrases with those fine inflexions of the voice which this remarkable tragedian so well knows how to give to irony, he rose to a towering passion when, clenching the Queen's hands with irresistible force, he forbade her to move. It was no wonder, then, that she feared he would murder her and that Polonius in terror half emerged from his hiding-place. All this was well followed up with the hope that he had killed the King, and his pity for Polonius came naturally from him as from a man shaken by a great preceding emotion. He is indeed so completely steeped in his character that not one syllable of his utterance stands out as a distinct effect; every part is so bound up in the whole that I doubt whether it would be possible for him to appear in a single act. Indeed, whatever part he plays, M. Mounet Sully's inward emotions are always wrapped closely in those of his author; he is never outside of them. It is this distinguishing quality which has made his *Œdipe* so pathetic and so powerful, which has penetrated into the very soul of Ruy Blas, which has filled with the grandeur of Greek poetry Racine's version of *Orestes*, and which has brought into such full life the passion of *Hernani* that when Victor Hugo saw it he exclaimed to the friend who was with him, '*C'est mon idéal!*' M. Mounet Sully's fault as an actor proceeds, indeed, from this very power of abstraction. There are moments when he forgets his audience, as

if he were actually the personage he plays. At these times he is apt to become indistinct, to speak too low; and there have been occasions when he has made pauses so long, due to an excess of emotion which chokes his voice, that his comrades have thought he was never going to speak again.

In his scenes with Ophelia the absorption in one idea—the idea of his father's murder—is constantly felt; he is in some passages tender and gentle, but the passion of love seems killed within him, only to revive for a brief space at the hour of the unhappy girl's burial: there, indeed, it flashes out with his 'J'égalé en amour quarante mille frères,' and fills with tenderness his question to Laertes, 'Pourquoi m'en voulez-vous? je vous aimais, mon frère.' Once more it appears in the emotional accents of his address to Laertes at the opening of the fencing scene which closes the acting tragedy; but that is all. As for the fencing scene itself, which is always a subject of special interest, I am not well qualified to say more about it than that it is a brilliant assault of arms contrived by the well-known master of fencing M. Vigeant, who has studied the fencing of all ages and countries and has endeavoured to give to this scene something of chronological accuracy, or at least plausibility; whether or not he has succeeded in this attempt it is certain that M. Mounet Sully's well-proportioned figure and commanding manner appear to great advantage in the combat, and that he and his opponent, M. Duflos, are both thoroughly skilled in the use of their weapons; one or two of their passes were indeed encored by some enthusiasts in the art on the first night of representation. The fencing scene with the death of Hamlet, Laertes, and the King and Queen brings the tragedy to its conclusion on the stage in Paris as in London, but this is done not without regret. M. Meurice would prefer that Shakespeare's ending with the entrance of Fortimbras should be given, and inserts the scene in an appendix to the acting copy with the expression of a hope that before long it may be found possible to restore it to the stage by condensations elsewhere. It is difficult to see where such condensations could be effected; not in the text assuredly. There is only one short dialogue, between Ophelia and Hamlet, most injudiciously interpolated by the translator, which could well be spared, and perhaps the tragedy would move on with an easier flow if some changes of scene were suppressed. The scenery, however, is of the best; the palace of the early Renaissance period is solid and grandiose, and its interior apartments are rich and characteristic.

The awe which attends the apparitions of the Ghost is not, as usual, felt by Hamlet alone, for there is a sense of the supernatural excited in the spectators by the manner of his appearances. This result is obtained by a contrivance which the French call a *transparence métallique*, and which is probably some kind of wire gauze

behind which the Ghost moves and lives and has his being, with a strong electric light thrown upon him. The arrangement is valuable in diminishing the solidity of the apparition and the sense of familiarity with the features of the player, while it also gives something of a far-off tone to the voice. The excellent elocution and deportment of M. Maubant, who plays the Ghost, assist the illusion thus produced.

With regard to the general costuming of the tragedy, it is rich and in accordance with the Renaissance style of the palace, but though handsome in material and in colour it is stiff in outline and heavy in action. Hamlet's dress, however, does not strictly keep to the fashion; it is plain and tight-fitting and of a dead black, with only one ornament, the miniature portrait of his father, attached to a silver chain; it is becoming to the wearer. Almost all the characters are well acted. The King and Queen, M. Silvain and Madame Agar, are personages who might well occupy a throne. M. Got, one of the most distinguished comedians of France, gives an amusing eccentricity to the character of Polonius, which is, however, the eccentricity of a gentleman. Laertes is spirited without noise; Horatio is efficient and a gentleman; the falling off in the cast is the character of Ophelia. In selecting Mlle. Reichemberg to play this part her pretty golden hair, the girlish tones of her voice, and her skill as a singer probably influenced the management; but these attributes are not enough, and Mlle. Reichemberg, clever and agreeable in the pretty ways and light vivacity of an *ingénue*, has nothing to give to a character which demands poetry and pathos: she is overweighted and seems frightened throughout; her movements are constrained, and her dress, which is a departure from the fashion of the rest of the company, is unbecoming both in shape and colour. In the traditional white robes of the mad scene she is seen to more advantage, and her songs are well given.

It remains to be said that the regular stage version of a meek and timid Ophelia seems to me at variance with the poet's idea. His Ophelia is surely a girl of an enthusiastic spirit: she follows her fancy without any reference to her father's will, although the habit of the time was one of strict filial submission; she grants secret interviews to her lover the Prince, so that her brother takes alarm lest her passion should betray her and carry her too far; in taking his farewell he presses this upon her, and hoping to win her compliance by exciting her suspicion, he speaks of the trifling of Hamlet's favour, which he calls the perfume and suppliance of a minute, no more

Her reply, 'No more but so,' is given in such a tone that Laertes feels it necessary to speak at more length and with more circumspection.

'Think it no more,' he says, softening with the fear of driving

her on to excess by too hot an opposition; 'perhaps he loves you now,' and goes on to describe Hamlet's position; he may not carve for himself, he says, and if he has a fancy for her he may, seeing her passion, use it for her undoing; he adds to this an exhortation to keep

Within the rear of her affection,  
Out of the shot and danger of desire,

words which could only be suggested to a brother by the passionate temperament of his sister. •

Her reply is caustic, while it affects compliance. She says—

I will the effect of this good lesson keep,

but she adds with fine irony a sharp retort:—

But, good my brother,  
Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,  
Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven,  
Whilst, like a puffed and reckless libertine,  
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads  
And recks not his own read.

'Oh, fear me not,' answers Laertes, but adds, 'I stay too long,' not willing to hear any more such pungent remarks. And again with Polonius she is not the docile daughter who lives only to obey, but holds an avowed difference of opinion as to Hamlet's disposition, and without violence but with a good deal of resolution holds her own.

It is the intensity of her passion which, unable to bear the seeming indifference of Hamlet, leads her into the base business of playing the spy upon him—anything rather than not see him, anything rather than the endurance of his neglect—and when by the death of her father she is driven mad it is not only because she has lost Polonius but because Hamlet has killed him. The character of her insanity is not an approach to imbecility, which the stage is apt to make it, but the delirium of a thwarted passion.

The scene of Ophelia's burial is very well given at the Théâtre Français: it is not too long drawn out; the painful details are not forced; the maimed rites are carefully observed; the gravedigger is allowed to have his say and his song.

On the whole M. Meurice has shown remarkable ability as a dramatic translator, for there are few undertakings so laborious in the attempt and so disheartening in the result as that of converting the poetry of one nation into the poetry of another. The sense may be subtly rendered, but how is the sound of it to be captured? Where is the music? It refuses to be torn from its birthplace to charm another land. But if the translator of a great work expresses the thoughts of his author with real fidelity, with force and truth, then he bestows a great boon upon his countrymen. Such a gift M. Paul Meurice has afforded them in his version of *Hamlet*. It is generally



faithful (with the exception of the lamentable interpolated scene already mentioned), it is in some passages vigorous, and it is altogether dramatic: it has cast off some conventionalities of the French stage and is courageous without swagger. M. Meurice has had to wait forty years for the realisation of his desire to have the play of his predilection performed in a wholly worthy manner at the great national theatre, while the tragedian who has ensured its success has brooded for fourteen years over his ardent wish to play Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The two separately watched and wondered with something more like resignation than hope, but while they waited the trammels of French literature were gradually loosened, the pedantries of the Academy were cast aside, and so at last it happened that the right author and the right actor came together and in conjunction obtained for the Théâtre Français one of its best triumphs.

JULIET POLLOCK.

## BUYING NIAGARA.

I HAVE been asked to write the story of the movement to preserve Niagara, and I gladly comply, believing that all students of politics and the actions of public opinion on measures will find in the movement which has led to the purchase of Niagara Falls by the State of New York another instance of the power of mere *sentiment* among men. The machinery of government in the United States is rarely used to procure a result belonging so entirely to the realm of elevated sentiment; and yet it is only by appeal to a legislative body that any help can be obtained for such purposes from the State. An occasional appropriation for a statue or some other work of art is about the limit to which a Legislature will go, unless the object is distinctly of an educational character and has a very practical side to it. But away down deep in the Anglo-Saxon breast is always to be found the element of sentiment; stronger perhaps because so deeply hidden, and capable too of great results and great sacrifices when once aroused. The trouble is to arouse it, and this, in the practical, active life of the great Republic, is a matter of difficulty; certainly it requires time and patience to do it.

Nowhere in the world is private generosity for public purposes greater than in the United States, and it was not an impossibility to imagine that the preservation of Niagara might have been secured by the contributions of private individuals; yet the evident propriety of the work to be done being carried out by the State, prevented even the consideration of the former method. Besides, it was thought by those who had the matter in charge that an appeal to the sentiment, to the patriotism and pride of the people would not be in vain, and on that principle the battle was fought and the victory won. Never before had an attempt to use the machinery of government on so large a scale for such a purpose been tried; but the very magnitude and grandeur of the sentiment, so to speak, would, it was thought, have an attraction for our people, who have an inborn interest for anything great or large; and, moreover, there was from the very beginning no sordid element to degrade or modify the ideal set before the public by the labourers in the move-

ment. Time has justified our faith: the work has been accomplished, and the million and a half which the State of New York has given for this purpose is not regretted by even the small part of its citizens who originally opposed the appropriation. On the contrary, the pride of the people is universal in the fact that they themselves have made the Falls of Niagara free to all mankind for all time to come. But to secure all this it was first necessary to obtain an expression of public opinion, and that not a doubtful one: and this is the way we went about it, for we never doubted for a moment that, this expression once obtained, success would follow as a matter of course.

About eight or nine years ago attention was called to the condition of affairs at Niagara, but not until 1879 did the matter take any public form. During that year the Governor of New York, as the result of an interview had with the Governor-General of Canada, sent a message to the Legislature of the State regarding the abuses existing at the Falls. The result of this message was a resolution by the Legislature directing the Commissioners of the State Survey to inquire, consider, and report regarding the matter. Such a report was duly made, and in the following year the movement received additional stimulus by the presentation of a notable memorial to the Governor of New York and the Governor-General of Canada, asking that immediate steps be taken to preserve the scenery at the Falls. The first bill to secure these results was also at this time introduced into the Legislature of New York, but did not pass. A second bill was brought in the next year, but met with the same fate.

In 1883, however, another effort was made, and an Act was finally passed. To secure its passage an association was formed called the Niagara Falls Association, which had for its object 'to promote legislation and other measures for the restoration and preservation of the natural scenery at Niagara Falls, in accordance with the plan proposed by the Commissioners of the State Survey in their special report on the subject.' It was through this society that the expression of public opinion was obtained. The first move made was to secure the support of the press; and right willingly and steadfastly was this support given to the very end. Indeed, it was through fear of this mighty engine of a free people that more than one legislator gave his vote for the bill, and the writer recollects a fellow-member of the Legislature telling him he had voted for the measure solely because he was afraid 'the newspapers would hammer the life out of him if he voted t'other way.'

Strong opposition to the bill came from certain quarters, and in some of the agricultural counties of the State the fear of additional taxation to meet the cost of the proposed Reservation induced the members from those counties to oppose the bill. No

opposition was made to the bill *per se*, though there were members who considered the whole thing a bit of sentimental nonsense got up by a lot of rich people in the large cities. In many cases, however, these gentlemen were undeceived by their constituents, whom they found on inquiry to favour the proposition and to be very much more alive to the advantage and benefit to the State to be derived from the scheme than the aforesaid legislators dreamed of. Another difficulty to be overcome was the indifference on the part of the members, and the trouble always attendant on any effort to obtain the active support for a measure 'without any politics in it,' or which lacks the interest which attaches to legislation in the interests of corporations. Finally, however, the measure came out of committee in the Lower House, and, after a debate of some length, passed and went to the Senate. The margin, however, was a narrow one, the vote in the Assembly being barely enough. Sixty-five affirmative votes were required, and the measure received but sixty-seven in a possible hundred and twenty eight.

Altogether this first engagement was the hardest, and promised to be more difficult to win than any of the subsequent combats of the campaign. Public sentiment had not yet declared itself so emphatically as it did later on, and there were at this time honest opponents to the bill who carried many votes with them by the arguments that the State might become involved by such legislation for an unknown, and perhaps enormous amount, and that the measure was merely the entering wedge for a great and lasting extravagance. Enemies of the scheme made use of the word 'park,' commonly applied at the beginning of the movement, to show that all manner of costly public works were contemplated at Niagara. Goat Island was to be covered with statues and fountains, roads and paths laid out, bridges built, and summer-houses and other buildings erected, a mass of useless officials employed, and the Falls converted into a sort of State Cremorne. In the Senate the passage of the bill was delayed for some time by the committee having the bill in charge failing to report it, and matters began to look serious, when the assistance of a certain well-known political leader was sought, and through his influence the bill was at once reported and presently passed.

This leader was the last person whom many would have thought willing to give it any help, and yet not only at this time but afterwards no one gave us more important support or more entirely sympathised with our efforts, and this, too, purely from a great love for nature inherent in the man—from, in fact, a mere sentiment, added perhaps to the sound common sense for which he is recognised by those who know him. As was generally expected, the Governor of the State, Cleveland—now President of the United States—at once

signed the bill, and appointed the commissioners who were to carry its provisions into effect. These were, that the commissioners should select the lands at the Falls which in their opinion would carry out the plan of restoring the scenery at Niagara and renewing the charm and beauty of the spot so marred and defaced by the erection of unsightly buildings, &c. A selection was accordingly made of some 106 acres, including Goat Island and the adjacent smaller islands, what is known as Prospect Park, and a strip of land on the mainland; the result being that a Reservation complete in itself, and embracing all the American side of the Falls, was secured.

In compliance with the terms of the Act the commissioners then proceeded to have said lands condemned by due process of law, and, when this was completed, made their report to the State, and had a bill introduced into the Legislature of 1885 appropriating the sum needed to pay for the Reservation. The success so far had been in every way gratifying to the friends of the measure; but, as we all saw, the greatest difficulty lay in finally securing the money to complete the work, and with this knowledge every effort was made to impress upon the Legislature the propriety of voting the needed amount.

When this matter was first agitated, our opponents, as has been already stated, took the ground that the cost of the proposed Reservation would be very large, and that the commissioners, who were given unlimited powers in the way of the amount of property to be taken, might involve the State in a great expense, and that the scheme would cost anything from five to twenty millions. It added much to the strength of our position then, to learn that the total cost of the Reservation proposed came to something under a million and a half of dollars, or just about what we had originally given as the probable cost. As an offset, however, to this advantage, the majority of the Legislature of 1885 was Republican, and, in the face of the coming election for Governor of the State, the politicians of that party were loth to increase the amount of appropriations for the year, believing the people might hold them responsible for any resulting additional taxation.

The attempt to make Niagara free to every one, rich and poor alike, was thoroughly democratic, and consequently many of the leaders in the Democratic party had given the scheme a very cordial support from the start, a Democratic Governor having first called the attention of the Legislature to the matter, and another Democratic Governor having signed the bill appointing the commissioners. Besides, the then Governor was also a Democrat, and should he in like manner approve of the bill appropriating the money to secure the Reservation, the people might conclude that it was to the

Democratic party in the State that they were indebted for what a large majority were in favour of and eagerly wished to see consummated. Altogether the prospect for securing the money was not brilliant, and, to add to our doubts of obtaining it, the appropriations for the year were certain to be unusually large, owing to sudden imperative events in another direction—namely, for the maintenance of the State prisons. Indeed, one of our warmest friends and also one of the most prominent men in the Republican party, a man wielding great influence, wrote to the author of this article early in the session that, after a careful survey of the ground, he had little hopes of any success. Some of us, however, still believed that public sentiment, if its expression in an unmistakable way could be brought out, would force the Legislature to vote the money, and to that end the Niagara Falls Association and its friends bent all their endeavours. As before, we started with the press on our side, and with but few exceptions every newspaper in the State continued to give us its help and support. The unanimity of the press had its effect; and when, besides, members began to receive petition after petition from their constituents asking that the bill be passed, matters began to have a different look. Together with the men who, though belonging to one or the other of the great political parties, act independently on measures of general interest, the Legislature always contains many members who are merely the representatives of certain leaders in different parts of the State, and there are also other members who are generally willing to act in compliance with the wishes of some great corporation. The change to be made at Niagara promised to greatly increase the travel to that point, and so it was easy to secure the influence of the great railroad corporations of the State, and through them the votes of certain members. The political leaders who had helped in the passage of the first bill again gave us their support, and it was of the most valuable and positive sort. Finally the appropriation was duly voted in the Assembly, or Lower House, with but trifling opposition. When, however, the bill reached the Senate there were found to be powerful obstacles to its further progress, and an evident desire to smother the matter and ‘kill it’ in a quiet way, as by this time public opinion had become so entirely aroused, and had begun to express itself so emphatically, that but few politicians, however much opposed to the bill, dared to openly face it, ‘or go on the record’ against it. This attempt to smother and delay the measure was defeated by the friends of the bill exposing in the open Senate what was being done by its enemies, and so calling down upon these latter the thunders of the press and the indignation of their respective constituencies. Such a pressure was brought to bear that the bill came out of committee, and then passed the Senate with only

seven four votes recorded against it. Indeed, many senators who had in previous years disapproved all attempts to preserve Niagara, and ridiculed and opposed the scheme, now gave their votes for the appropriation to redeem and save it.

To reach, however, this result a compromise had to be accepted, so far as concerned the manner of raising the money to be used for the payment of the Reservation, an arrangement which later on placed the bill in a position of great danger. It would have been better to vote the entire sum outright but the Senate were unwilling to do this for an amount exceeding, say, a third of the total, and directed the balance to be paid from the proceeds of bonds to be issued by the State. Even under the State Constitution bonds are only to be issued for some extraordinary purpose, and such issue is limited to one million, or just the amount directed by the Niagara bill to be raised this way. The change made by the Senate was promptly agreed to by the House, the latter acting throughout with great favour to the bill.

Mention has already been made of the flood of petitions which poured into Albany. Besides the petitions there came to every member of both Houses private letters written by half a dozen of the most influential citizens of both parties residing in the different Assembly and Senatorial districts, and these letters were obtained by circulars sent out by the Niagara Falls Association asking the individuals to whom the circulars were addressed to write such letters. Thousands of such circulars were distributed; and the association had also a gentleman acting as their agent, who for two winters went through the different counties of the State and personally visited the editors of newspapers and other influential citizens residing therein, explaining the proposed legislation, and asking for their influence and help. Numbers of the clergy of all denominations worked actively for us, and great was the help and assistance which came from the women of the State: the vote of more than one member of the Legislature was secured by the influence of his wife or children. Another sort of opposition came from a few of the landowners at Niagara, who were not over-willing to have their property taken by the State, as, incident to the use of the water-power, they were enabled to carry on a lucrative manufacturing business, and they well knew that for such water-power the State would not pay anything. It is true that this did not deter them from making claims of this sort, when the lands were condemned, of millions of dollars, which, however, were all thrown out by the arbitrators, as, luckily, these water rights had never been granted or ceded by the State, the original owner of the lands, and from whom all the titles to the property came. The opposition of these property-owners in the first stages of the enterprise was very active, and led to a clause

being inserted in the original Act limiting the time in which the State was to pay for the property condemned. This limit expired on the 1st of May, 1885, and had the bill appropriating the money not been signed by the Governor by that date the whole matter would have fallen to the ground and the movement to preserve Niagara received a set-back which might perhaps have for ever prevented its success. It was with the knowledge of this fact that our enemies in the Senate tried to delay action on the bill, and they so far succeeded that the bill went to the Governor at, so to speak, the last hour.

Great indeed, then, was the anxiety of all concerned when the Governor, to whom the Legislature sent the bill only ten days before the expiration of the limit of time referred to, did not immediately sign it. Allusion has already been made to a compromise in regard to the manner of raising the money. Governor Hill, who had succeeded Governor Cleveland, had grave doubts as to the propriety of the issue of bonds spoken of, and it was only at the last moment that he concluded that for the purpose intended there was no conflict with the meaning of the Constitution, and signed the bill just as the limit of time was about expiring. Pending the Governor's decision, some of the ablest and most distinguished lawyers of the State presented opinions in favour of the bill, and personally waited on the Governor to argue the propriety of his making the measure a law.

An incident which occurred at this time will show how greatly every one was interested in the measure, and how strong the sentiment had become in its favour. One of the foremost members of the bar had been asked by the Governor what his opinion was as to the constitutionality of an issue of bonds except for public defence or such like emergency, but without making any reference to the Niagara bill. In reply, the lawyer told the Governor that he had grave doubts of the constitutionality of any such legislation; but, learning a few days later what the bill was the Governor had reference to, he went immediately to the latter and strongly urged him to sign the Act, on the ground that the money was for an extraordinary purpose, and intended for the benefit of the entire people; in fact, the propriety of such an issue of bonds as was proposed was recognised in the character of the purpose for which the proceeds of the issue were to be used.

At the last moment the bill was signed, and perhaps no executive Act was ever received in the State with more complete and unanimous approval. Its passage secured for all time, not only for its own citizens, but for the nation and the world at large, the preservation of the greatest natural object of its kind, the Falls of Niagara. It had come to pass that the enjoyment of this wonderful gift of nature had been greatly impaired by the rapid progress of disfigurements—



indeed, its speedy destruction was threatened, and the State did not step in a moment too soon in order to retain this great possession for the ever-constant pleasure and delight of its people. The petition of the people addressed to their representatives asked that Niagara be made for ever free, and that its beauties be made accessible to rich and poor alike.

In spite of many obstacles this had at last been done, and solely through the power of sentiment. The love of nature and of the beautiful, patriotism and pride in retaining unimpaired this great wonder of the universe, had prevailed over indifference and self-interest. It is true that the Constitution of the State forbids the appropriation of public money for any but public uses; but it was to be seen whether the meaning of the words 'public uses' was to be decided in a broad or a narrow sense, and whether the indulgence of a great and sublime sentiment was to be denied the people, as it were, by themselves. Under the administration of an enlightened despot, the arts may flourish, and all that belongs to the sentiment of beauty be preserved and fostered, without trouble or difficulty. But amidst a free people the success of such a movement as has resulted in the preservation of the Falls of Niagara could only be brought about by an all-prevailing sentiment, touching all classes of society, a sentiment sure to carry all before it when once aroused, and which voices to its servants orders which they never dare to disobey. But a short period was necessary for the transfer to the State of the property at the Falls previously selected by the commissioners, and on the 15th of July, 1885, the Reservation was formally opened to the public by appropriate ceremonies, and the great cataract declared free for ever to all mankind.

The commissioners immediately proceeded to the removal of the many unsightly buildings, &c., which have so long disfigured the surroundings of the Falls. Already nearly all of such eyesores have disappeared, and the change made far exceeds expectations. Those who went to Niagara but a year ago, were they to go again to-day would hardly recognise the place so far as the American side is concerned. The change has extended to the municipal affairs of Niagara village, where a most complete reform has taken place, and which will be sensibly felt by any traveller visiting there now and having occasion to have to do with one of its far-famed hackmen and cabdrivers. The freedom of the Falls and the removal of all charges have greatly increased the number of visitors, the number last season being many times greater than ever before. With all this great concourse of people arrests are hardly ever made, and, without any police deserving of such a name, the commissioners readily guard the Reservation and preserve the public peace. The success of our efforts has had its effects on our Canadian neighbours; and the time

is not distant when both sides of the Falls will have been secured from any possible injury in the future. The province of Ontario, which shares with New York the possession of the great cataract, has already through its commissioners proceeded to make a Reservation like ours. The lands have been selected and condemned, and it will not be long before both sides of the Niagara River are, as they should be, public domain, and thus the work of saving Niagara, and preserving for ever its great charm and beauty, will be realised in all its completeness.

J. HAMPDEN ROBB  
(*ex-State-Senator*).

### MASSAGE.

IN the present day, when we hear so much of the wear and tear of daily work and worry, and when the preservation and restoration of health is of supreme importance to those who take the foremost rank in the battle of life, it may not be unprofitable to cast a glance on the means employed by the nations of the Orient and of Antiquity to develop and maintain the vigour of the body.

The History of Massage, which of late years has been employed with wonderful success as a cure for many ailments, has been written by Dr. Hünerfauth, of Homburg, and, in the hope that some hints may be useful, I have translated extracts from his comprehensive work.

The expression 'massage' is derived, according to Pierry (*Dictionary of Medical Science*), from a Greek word signifying 'to rub'; according to Savary (*Letters on Egypt*) its derivation is from the Arabic word 'mass,' to press softly. In England a process of somewhat the same character is known as shampooing. It seems certain that massage was practised by the Indians and the Chinese many centuries before the birth of our Saviour. It was combined with hygienic gymnastics. The Brahmins exercised the art of healing; the priests of Buddha are known to have acquired much of their power over their people by their skill in medicine. Sir William Jones, the great Oriental linguist, discovered fragments of the third sacred book of the Brahmin period, entitled *The Knowledge of Life*, which contained many secrets of Indian medicine. An extract from Dally's work states that when Alexander the Great penetrated as far as India, in the year 337 before Christ, his soldiers suffered much from the bites of serpents, for which no cure was known by the Greeks. Alexander had gathered round him the best Indian doctors, and he proclaimed to the army that any who had been bitten must come to the royal tent to be cured. These Indian doctors were in great repute: illnesses were not of frequent occurrence in those delightful climates, but any who were sick resorted to the wise men, or Brahmins, who cured them by wonderful or, as they professed, supernatural means. It has been ascertained that massage and shampooing were among the remedies employed by them.

The 'Law of Manou' prescribed diet, washing, baths, rubbing and anointing with oil, as religious exercises.

In 1854 an account was published of a German merchant, who had been treated in Stockholm by medical gymnastics, and who made a journey to Calcutta, and went through a course of massage and exercises there, in order to become an authority on the subject. He afterwards founded an athenæum for rational gymnastics in Berlin.

The gymnastic exercises of the Indians consist of (1) wrestling, (2), of what we should call boxing, (3) stick, or sword, exercise. They also practise movements for rendering the limbs supple, and manipulations of various sorts. Before the Indians begin their exercises, they cower on the earth, and by turns rub each other with the mud from the delta of the Ganges when they can obtain it. All the muscles of their bodies are pressed and kneaded. When Indians are unwell, they frequently employ a cure called *chamboning*; the whole of the patient's body is gently kneaded, beginning with the upper extremities, descending to the feet.

Dr. Stein, of Heidelberg, who spent some years in the Dutch medical service in Java, writes that massage is practised there, as in almost all the Dutch colonies of the Indian Ocean. It is known as *Pidjet-ten*, and it is also employed in the Society, Sandwich, Fiji, and Tonga Islands. Dr. Emerson, a native of the Sandwich Islands, says it is there called *Lomi-Lomi*, and is performed either over the whole or part of the body, usually by old women. It consists in rubbing and kneading, and may vary from the gentlest stroke to the most powerful grip. It is considered as a high mark of honour for a host to perform this operation for his guest, or to receive this attention from him. No pain is inflicted. Occasionally the natives lie flat on the earth, and let their children trample on them. In an account of the Isle of Tonga, it is related that when people are suffering from great fatigue three or four little children are employed to trample on the body of the patient as he lies on the grass. Massage is frequently applied to the forehead, or the top of the head, in those islands, with excellent results.

In Forster's account of Cook's travels in Tahiti, we read that the friendly inhabitants rubbed the travellers' limbs in order to refresh them after their fatigues.

The Chinese are supposed to have learnt the use of gymnastic exercises from the Indians, and the subject was mentioned in the most ancient of their books, the *Cong-Fou* or *Science of Living*. The Chinese added the use of medicinal plants to the treatment of illness by rubbing and gymnastic exercises. The Egyptians were and are proficient in the art of manipulation, anointing with oil and friction being part of the cure employed. The Greeks employed gymnastics and massage, in order to preserve health as well as to restore it.

Pythagoras taught his disciples to practise moderation, to use vegetable diet and gymnastic exercises.

The gymnasiums and palaestriums of the Greeks were famous. Plato writes, 'The object of gymnasiums is to instruct youths and men how to preserve health, and keep their frames in good condition.'

Before the Greeks took part in the national games, they had to undergo a course of preparation—bathing, friction, anointing, and also rubbing with sand. Fine sand from the Nile was preferred, and was imported from Egypt for the purpose; there were many rules for carrying out the process properly, and it was performed in various ways.

Among the many editions of the works of Hippocrates, there is a French one by Littre, in which the following passage occurs:—

'A physician must possess experience of many subjects, among others of massage.'

Among the Romans, as indeed every child knows, the constant use of baths, followed by friction and anointing with oil, was customary. In illness, rubbing with warm oil, other kinds of friction, and 'movement cures,' were used. Asclepiades also recommended exercise and friction. Celsus, the author of eight books on the science of healing, took for his motto 'The best medicine is to take no medicine.' In inflammation of the brain, if he wished to induce sleep, he ordered rubbing for a considerable time (would this be animal magnetism?). He also advises rubbing to cure acute pains in the head, though not during an attack, and recommends friction to strengthen weak limbs.

Celsus lays much stress on passive movement for invalids. 'The gentlest is exercise in voyaging on a ship, either in harbour or on a river. If being driven in a carriage is too fatiguing, he recommends the invalid to be carried on a couch or in a chair, and advises that the patient should be rocked in bed if too feeble to rise. Galen, who lived in the second century after Christ, approved highly of massage and gymnastics, but he did not advise athletics. He ordered friction in the evening, to remove fatigue. The body was to be rubbed with a woollen cloth, afterwards with oil till the surface became red, and then with the bare hands in various directions. Rufus of Ephesus, who lived in the reign of Trajan, writes, 'Women and maidens should sing and dance, not only to do honour to the gods, but in order to preserve their health.' He adds, 'It is important that physicians should not confine their attention to the bodily health, but should do all they can to develop the mental strength and well-being of children and young people, of men, and even of old men.'

We must pass over notices of many treatises that appeared during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only remarking that Hoffman, in 1708, seems to have advocated the principles that govern the German schools of gymnastics in the nineteenth century.

Hoffman wrote, that the conditions under which health is to be maintained are simple: exercise of various kinds, in alternation with rest, cold water and strict attention to diet. One of his maxims was, 'that work and tiring exercise are universal panaceas.'

Between the years 1756 and 1786, Tronchin, a scholar of Boerhaave's, was in great repute in Paris; he was physician to the Duke of Orleans and to Voltaire, and it was owing to his advice that Voltaire went to live at Ferney. People came to consult him from distant countries; his success was extraordinary. His system consisted in ordering friction, movements of various characters, exercise, long walks, and certain precautions in diet.

Fuller wrote, about the same period, on the value of exercise in the cure of various illnesses, and especially in hypochondriacal and hysterical affections. He also laid great stress on riding; indeed, he established a riding cure, which had great success among very distinguished persons. Tissot, of Lausanne, wrote a treatise on the health of the learned, strongly impressing on the studious and sedentary the duty of exercise; he advises games of billiards, ball, shuttlecock, hunting, shooting, swimming, wrestling, dancing, leaping, riding, walking, travelling, exercising the voice, speaking, reading aloud, declaiming and singing. Here Dr. Hünerfauth remarks, that many great physicians in old times considered reading aloud, declaiming and singing highly beneficial to the general health. Plutarch mentions that daily exercise of the voice conduces greatly to health.

A system of gymnastics was established in Sweden by Peter Ling, between 1805 and 1839. He was the son of a pastor, and devoted his life to the study of exercises for the development of the human frame. Swedish exercises are much used now in England.

Massage and gymnastic exercises have more votaries in France than in England. The love of sport that seems inherent in English people is supposed to have obviated the necessity for a widely extended system of gymnastics. Now, however, gymnastic exercises and musical drill are being introduced largely, and have been much appreciated, not only by men and boys, but by women and girls.

The system of massage practised by Dr. Metzger has drawn crowds to Amsterdam, and has afforded relief to great numbers of sufferers, several reigning sovereigns—among others the Empress of Austria—being among his patients. Dr. Hünerfauth carries out the same system at Homburg with equal success, and a member of his family devotes much of her time to relieving from charity the sufferings of the peasants.

It is necessary to beware of masseurs who have no real knowledge of the art, as disastrous results follow from the violent treatment to which ignorant persons subject their patients. Dr. Hünerfauth deprecates massage by machinery, as he considers that much delicacy is necessary in treating the complicated nervous system of

the human frame. It is curious to find how much benefit many sufferers derive from a revival of the same remedies practised in by-gone ages and in distant climes. Truly, there is nothing new under the sun.

It has occurred to me that women might, after being properly instructed, find the practice of massage a useful and profitable employment. I believe the usual time employed at one sitting is from twenty minutes to half an hour. To relieve, for instance, the oppression produced by irregularity of the action of the heart, gentle continuous rubbing would be practised for ten minutes from the left to the right side in a downward direction, then from right to left. The patient should lie on a reclining board, and the masseuse stand so as to be able to rub firmly, though without inflicting the least pain. To calm nervous agitation and to induce sleep, it has been found that rubbing the spine is an almost certain remedy, and sufferers from neuralgia have often derived great benefit from massage.

Friction with pine oil is a favourite cure for rheumatic affections in Germany, and also for bronchial and throat complaints. The aromatic, astringent fragrance of the oil, which is made from resinous portions of the fir-trees, has a salutary effect in pulmonary cases.

I happened lately to read an account of an institute in London, whence 'masseurs' are sent to private houses. I know nothing of the system carried out there, but I see that four guineas a week is the charge for daily visits at the patient's own house.

Such an expense would be out of the question for most people, as a course of massage should be continued for six weeks or two months. Indeed, there are many invalids, of great position and wealth, who have a masseuse attached to their households. Doubtless there are numbers of women who would gladly practise this healing art for moderate remuneration, and find much happiness in soothing pain and relieving weariness.

JANETTA MANNERS.

## *A SUSPENDED CONFLICT.*

IF the optimist views as to the prospects of the Establishment which were expressed at the Wakefield Church Congress, and which are greedily accepted by many Church defenders, are well founded, Mr. Hubbard's article on the 'Church and Parliament' is another example of 'Love's labour lost.' Indeed, this is an imperfect statement of the case, for such work as his, if not helpful, is positively mischievous. If it be true, as the President told the Church Congress, that 'stillness has followed the storm' which raged so fiercely only twelve months ago, it seems scarcely wise to do anything which would rouse to fresh activity passions which were so disturbing at the time and which it required so much effort to bring under restraint. If the dogs are really sleeping it would surely be better to let them lie.

Mr. Hubbard has probably formed a truer estimate of the situation. He is not deceived by appearances, and understands that the conflict is only suspended, and suspended not because of the exhaustion of the assailants or a successful sortie on the part of the garrison, but simply because the attention of both parties has been diverted for the time to another struggle, which has so complicated the relations of political parties as to interfere with all schemes of reform. Nonconformists could not understand the panic of 1885; they are even more puzzled by the buoyant confidence of 1886. When a bishop in his presidential address tells a Church Congress that 'the timid sheep of the flock look wistfully down the muzzle of the monstrous culverin of disestablishment zeal—

Nor war nor battle's sound  
Is heard the world around'—

we can only suppose that he has been carried away by the fascination of his own rhetoric. The danger of twelve months ago was to a large extent conjured up by the heated imaginations of excited politicians playing upon the fears of those who have a nervous consciousness of the insecurity of their position. The real or assumed confidence by which it has been succeeded is only the natural reaction from such exaggerated alarms, and if it tend to engender a spirit of arrogance



towards opponents may easily be productive of far more injurious results. There are, it must be confessed, signs that this may be the case. Church defenders are not only over-confident, they indulge in an insolence of triumph which is hardly wise.

The Bishop of Oxford is a controversialist whom even his most determined opponent must respect, not more for his conspicuous ability than for his uncompromising assertion of principle. He is far too sagacious a man to suppose that the election of last winter has settled the future of the Establishment, or even decided the fate of that celebrated article in the 'Radical Programme' which roused the indignation of Churchmen to so extreme a point. But even he complains that 'not a single word of that Programme has ever been withdrawn, and that no apology for a very gross affront has been offered to the great religious society of which we are members.' From whom did his Lordship expect this act of humiliation? Surely not from those who have in the most emphatic terms repudiated the construction put upon the proposals which have come in for such drastic criticism. On behalf of Nonconformists I can offer no apology, because we have not been parties to any affront. We are seeking to assert our own legitimate position in the nation of which we are a part, and neither intend nor desire any injury to the 'great religious society' of which the Bishop is so distinguished a representative. We hold that the political ascendancy which it at present enjoys is unjust to us, and therefore we seek to end it, but we believe that what will be a gain to us will be no injury to the Episcopal Church as a spiritual community. If our emphatic assurances on this point are treated as insincere, it is we who have to complain of 'affront' and are entitled to demand 'apology.'

If, however, there be Radicals who really wish to dissolve the Church into atoms, and whose views were set forth in the 'Programme,' it is scarcely to be supposed that they have renounced them, still less that they will apologise for the advocacy of opinions which they hold to be right. I venture to doubt, however, whether the writer of that much-debated manifesto ever contemplated that nefarious design which has been so freely imputed to him by Church defenders. The Tory chief has admitted that there had been a mistake as to one part of the 'Programme.' Since Mr. Jesse Collings has, by a process which to outsiders seems little short of the miraculous, been transformed into a friend of the Tory Government, it has been discovered that he never intended to give every peasant 'three acres and a cow.' So the day may not be far distant when it will be confessed that a similar mistake has been committed in relation to the suggestion which has made so painful an impression upon the mind of the Bishop of Oxford, and that nobody had ever formed the insane conception of breaking up the Church of England. It is to be feared the Church defenders may not find much comfort in

his forecast, since Mr. Jesse Collings is promised much of what he did actually ask.

Is it not high time that, instead of talking about affronts and apologies, some attempt should be made to get both at the real meaning of the objectionable phrases in the 'Programme' and at the exact significance of the document as representative of Nonconformist wishes? I have never exchanged a word with the writer upon the subject, but a common friend has assured me that no one was more surprised than himself at the inferences which had been deduced from his arguments. If the course of recent discussion in relation to ecclesiastical endowments be closely followed, it is not difficult to understand how the misunderstanding has arisen. The contention of Church defenders for some time past—certainly since the publication of Dr. Freeman's able treatise on *Disestablishment and Disendowment*—has been that the Church is not a corporation, but a number of separate corporations, and that to these the endowments belong. Mr. Hubbard in the October number of this Review insists again on this point.

Whether as ancient or modern endowments the gifts in buildings, in tithes, and glebe lands were made not to the nation but to the Church in various localities and at various times. The Church, it must be remembered, is not a corporation holding lands or property: it has no funds of its own; it is a society knit together by its organisation, its laws of worship, order, and discipline; but the actual property of the Church is vested in the life interest of the various occupants of the several dioceses, chapters, and parochial benefices. Of these gifts the State or nation became the trustee; of these endowments it became the guardian.

The proposals in the 'Programme' are based upon this view. If, it is argued, these endowments belong to separate corporations, it must be with them, and not with the Church—which, as Mr. Hubbard tells us, is not a 'corporation holding lands or property'—that the State will have to deal, in case it should determine on the appropriation of these funds to purposes in which all the people will be alike interested.

Following the lead of the Church defenders, the 'Radical Programme' suggests a plan which would obviate the necessity for a Church body such as was constituted by the Act which disestablished the Irish Church. It may be that the proposal was not wise; that it pressed a principle to so unfair an extreme as to become an illustration of the old maxim, 'Summum jus, summa injuria;' or, at all events, that its action would press so severely upon the disendowed Church that it would never be entertained unless the defeat of the defenders of the Church had been so complete as to leave them utterly powerless. All these are fair points to be taken in opposition; and I must confess that to my own mind they have great weight. If these objections can be reinforced by the further and still stronger contention that the scheme would practically 'dissolve

the Church into its atoms,' it is not only difficult to see how it could be proposed with any hope of success, but positively incredible that it could ever be suggested except by aggressive enemies of all Churches and all forms of religion. There is no other party which wishes to destroy or to injure the Episcopal Church; and if it could be shown that, however undesigned, this would be the practical effect of a particular mode of disendowment it would probably be conclusive. Church defenders have weakened their own defences when, instead of dealing with these suggestions as matters of argument, they have imputed to their opponents designs which they have not only emphatically repudiated but which they could not have entertained without proving themselves fit candidates for Bedlam.

We shall certainly never approach a rational discussion of the points in debate if we are detained by a profitless controversy about false issues. Mr. Hubbard tells us that 'the Church is a society knit together by its organisation, its laws of worship, orders, and discipline.' With these neither the Liberation Society nor any Nonconformist Church desires to interfere. The question has relation solely to political ascendancy and State endowments. As regards the latter, if Churchmen can maintain their own contention that the property they hold is as much the private property of their Church as the endowments of any Dissenting community, that point would be removed out of the arena—*lis finita est*. We have no intention of confiscating private property; all that is sought is to assert the right of the nation to control and enjoy a national inheritance. We are sufficiently answered if it can be shown that the idea of such an inheritance is a mere dream; and, for my own part, I have never hesitated to say that I should not be disquieted if this could be proved. In face of evidence which seems to prove the very opposite I should of course object to receive the dictum of those who are in possession of the disputed property as conclusive on the question of right. If an impartial tribunal should, after careful investigation, pronounce that the endowments created in mediæval times were settled 'to perpetuate the worship and service of God upon definite creeds, formularies, organisation, and discipline,' and that these 'creeds, formularies, organisation, and discipline' were those of the Church at present by law established, I should be greatly surprised, but not concerned. I do not share the dread which many have of the political influence of a free Church richly endowed. Take what precautions you will, the power of the Episcopal Church must be great so long as it carries on that ministry of truth and benevolence by means of which it has raised itself from the state of weakness into which it had fallen at the commencement of the present reign. That power may be increased by the enjoyment of a vast ancestral estate, but that is not always the case with communities any more than with individuals. In the rivalry of Churches in this

country Congregationalists or Wesleyans have always to calculate on having to contend against the influence of wealth as well as of fashion. But in this kind of competition I am not profoundly interested. Different Churches satisfy the varying needs of different classes and temperaments, and they should be content to work side by side without troubling themselves as to the statistical comparisons in which some appear to delight. So long as in the metropolis there are millions who have no apparent connection with any Church it is the height of folly or something worse for one to envy the prosperity of another, or seek to recruit its own ranks by proselytes from a different form of Christianity rather than by converts rescued from the depths of degradation and sin.

I am not anxious, therefore, about any sectarian advantage which the Episcopal Church might derive from the retention of its endowments, and the political danger seems to me to be to a large extent visionary. This is really what I meant in my brief speech at the conference in the City Temple, on which Mr. Hubbard comments. My desire was as far as possible to separate the question of Disestablishment from that of Disendowment, not because I doubt as to the justice of a certain measure of disendowment, or suppose that any statesman would allow a Church which had lost its national status and was exempt from national control to retain a national property, but simply because I was desirous to free the question of religious equality from the tangled discussions about property with which it is continually mixed up, greatly to the confusion of public opinion on the subject. It is surely possible to do this.

Mr. Hubbard says—

It may save trouble to agree at once with extreme Liberationists that there is no distinction in principle between Church property of the earlier and the later date. History records some two millions as State grants in later times to the construction of churches. With that exception all Church property, of whatever kind or period, stands precisely on the same footing (*Church Defence Leaflet*, No. 61, sects. 5 & 7).

This is a very bold, sweeping assertion, and it needs to be sustained by some much higher authority than a leaflet of the Church Defence Association. That leaflet stands on precisely the same level as a corresponding paper from the Liberation Society. Neither the one nor the other is in itself more than a statement of claim which has to be sifted by impartial judges. Can Mr. Hubbard believe that any such authority would pronounce in favour of his view, or, indeed, that it would be accepted by any intelligent man outside the circle of those who share in his own ecclesiastical proclivities?

Here, for example, is an endowment which was created in the mediæval period, and which bears in almost every clause of the deed by which it was erected traces of the religious ideas which at that time were held by the entire nation. Among other requirements it

specially provides for the saying of masses for the soul either of the donor or of some one of his kindred or friends in memory of whom the bequest is made. How is it that this fund has passed into the possession of a Church which, to say the least, has departed far from the doctrines and practices of the system for the support of which this revenue was appropriated, and which in particular pronounces these masses, for the saying of which provision is made, to be 'blasphemous fables'? In all such cases at all events the conditions of the title are systematically violated. By what authority? High ecclesiastics and ecclesiastically disposed laymen may persuade themselves that the change was made by the Church itself. But waiving all question as to the right of the Church to alter the terms of a trust created, as we are continually told, not for the Church as a corporation, but for the occupants of the various benefices, will it be deliberately maintained that a decree of the Church would have had authority apart from the sanction of Parliament? How far the Church proposed or sanctioned the changes is too wide a question to be opened here. I content myself simply with saying that the changes at the Reformation could not have been effected without the action of Parliament. Successive Acts of Uniformity have prescribed the conditions on which these ancient endowments shall be held—conditions often in direct violation of the expressed intentions of the founders. But for these Acts—that is, but for the direct interference of the State—the masses must still have been celebrated, and the property have remained in the hands of a Church to which our National Church is only an incarnation of heresy and schism. All sorts of ingenious pleas have been urged to break the force of this reasoning, but we may fairly decline to deal with them until we are informed how an Act of Uniformity could have authority except as derived from Parliament, or how such contempt could have been put on the terms of trust except by the sanction of these Acts of Uniformity.

It is surely an unwise policy for Church defenders to represent the modern endowments of the Anglican Church as held on the same tenure or as 'standing on precisely the same footing.' Mr. Hubbard speaks of the 'definite creeds, formularies, organisation, and discipline' for the perpetuation of which the endowments were given. So far as regards those which have been created since the Act of Uniformity this is perfectly true. Is it possible to assert that it is equally true in relation to those of the ante-Reformation period? The continuity of the Church has always been a favourite point with High Churchmen, and there are now not a few Evangelicals who, in their zeal for the Establishment, are prepared to contend for it, regardless of the bearing of their arguments upon the cause for which they have always contended. But theories cannot alter facts—and when Mr. Hubbard commits himself to categorical state-

ments such as those before us, every man can test them. To plain people, indeed, there seems something absurd in the suggestion that the great statesmen and divines of the sixteenth century were all mistaken, that the differences which they supposed to separate them, and for the sake of which they fought even to the death, were mere illusions, and that the Church of Elizabeth was the same as that of Henry the Seventh. But if it be necessary to enter into a refutation of a contention which seems to be contradicted by so many indisputable facts, Mr. Hubbard supplies us with the materials of our answer. Do the Thirty-Nine Articles make no change in the Creed, or the abolition of the mass and the introduction of prayers in the language 'understood by the common people' no difference in the formularies? Has the complete severance from Rome had no effect on the organisation, or has the abolition of an enforced celibacy on the clergy left the discipline unchanged?

But there is another difference between these two classes of endowments which Mr. Hubbard does not appear to understand. He says, 'Mr. Rogers here contends that there was a time when the Church was the nation, and when, therefore, what was given to the Church was given to the nation, and may, therefore, be dealt with by the nation at its discretion.' He misses the point of my argument and makes me responsible for a conclusion which I did not deduce. I did not assert that the property was given to the nation, but to the Church when it was conterminous with the nation. I was not speaking of the right of the nation, but of the difference between endowments given at a time when the Church and the nation were one—that is, when there was only one form of religious faith and worship, and all the people would share in the benefits of any funds appropriated to its maintenance, and those of later times, when the donors, with a full knowledge of the diversities of religious opinion which exist and are represented by the several Churches, gave their money for the support of the episcopal system. Mr. Hubbard will take no heed of this difference in the religious circumstances of these two periods. The Church is the National Church, has always been so, and is so still. 'I ask,' he writes, apparently with some indignation, 'when and by what statute did the religious society known as the Church of England lose its legal designation as the National Church?' His fervid sentiment is wasted. No one ever made so ridiculous an assertion as that which he flouts with such scorn, and there is a danger lest his anger should make him incautious just where there is need for special care. He is wielding a two-edged sword, and it may be turned with fatal effect upon himself. The 'extreme Liberationist,' as he describes him, will rejoice to see him urging so dangerous an argument. For this is precisely his own contention, and it must be said that it is not easy to meet it on legal or logical grounds. Like Mr. Hubbard he repudiates any attempt

to discriminate between ancient and modern endowments, maintaining that all have been given to a national institution, and should the nation decide that it is inexpedient to perpetuate the institution it remains for it to determine also how the funds it enjoys shall be appropriated. Such a conclusion will appear very monstrous to Mr. Hubbard and all Church defenders, but they will not find it easy to refute the reasoning when they accept the premisses. The difficulty of his position is all the greater since the distinction between ancient and modern endowments is of a moral, not of a legal character. As has been shown again and again the law recognises no religious society within the nation as the Church of England. Mr. Hubbard calls for the statute which deprives the Church of its national character. The very suggestion indicates a confusion of thought upon the subject. It implies that the adherents of the Episcopal Church constitute the Church of England. There could not be a greater fallacy, as has been sufficiently proved by the difficulty of finding any definition for the term 'Churchman.' It follows that what has been given to the Church of England has been given to the nation—given to it in its ecclesiastical character and for a special purpose, but not the less certainly made a part of the national estate and placed under the national control. This is no doubt a drastic theory, but it is that which Mr. Hubbard countenances when he insists that the entire property of the Church stands on the same level. I cannot so regard it. Where the line should be drawn is a legitimate subject for discussion, but I feel that in equity we are bound to admit a distinction between the endowments created at a time when there was but one Church in the country, and that a Church differing on many vital points from that which now exists, and those which have been bestowed on the Church as at present constituted and in full view of the changed conditions due to the existence of Dissenting communities. There are grave objections to this more liberal view, and the probabilities are that the longer the settlement is delayed the more consideration will these objections receive. The growing sentiment in relation to endowments does not favour such a distinction, and, however it may be demanded by the equity of the case, it will be difficult to maintain in face of Mr. Hubbard's contention, should it be accepted by Church defenders.

Mr. Hubbard insists on the practical difficulty of discriminating between ancient and modern endowments, especially in the case of the buildings. The present occupants of the cathedrals and parish churches have spent large sums of money on the restoration of the fabrics, some of which had fallen into decay. He asks, 'Will Mr. Rogers respect the church and the parsonage of the parish in which I live?' adding—

The church dated back some three centuries, and the parsonage, of very ancient construction, I found in ruins. I rebuilt them both. Are they to be confiscated

in virtue of their ancient foundation, or are they to be respected in virtue of their modern reconstruction? If the latter, then I must warn Mr. Rogers that the abatements from the structural value of the cathedrals, churches, and parsonages, which constitute so attractive a figure in the Liberationist budget, will be so serious as to leave a surplus value worth impounding peaceably but not worth fighting for.

It would not be easy to find a warning which would impress me less. I have never paraded any 'attractive figures of the Liberationist budget.' I know very little of them, and in candour I must add I care still less. I am desirous that justice should be done and that in every doubtful point the advantage should be given to the Church now in possession. At the same time I believe that these old ecclesiastical buildings are the property of the nation, and that no expenditure of money upon them by those who enjoy the use of them can affect the question of right. Suppose a tenant of Mr. Hubbard's to be so interested in his homestead, which had once been a manor house, but had fallen into decay and neglect, that he undertook a work of restoration, and executed it with the usual result in such cases—a heavy cost to himself and a fierce controversy among all antiquarian experts as to the real merit of his work. Would Mr. Hubbard say that this expenditure of the tenant affected the rights of the owner? There is need for caution before an answer is given, for Irish tenants and their lynx-eyed champions will not be slow to take advantage of any principle that may be laid down for the benefit of English Churchmen, and claim that it be applied to the case of the farmers of Kerry or Galway.

It is not difficult to invent any number of problems of this kind which may seem to defy solution, but they do not touch the merits of the controversy, nor will they be found so difficult in practice as they appear in theory. Nonconformists would be very unwise were they tempted into any definite proposals for their settlement. That is the business of practical statesmen. The utmost which can be required of us is that we clearly state the principles to which we desire to give effect. Those principles are all summed up in the phrase 'religious equality,' which is intelligible enough to all who are anxious to understand it. But no sooner is our claim presented than we are met at once with a multitude of these curious questions as to the disposal of the property at present held by the Established Church. These are, no doubt, extremely interesting and important, but they are no answer to the demand we make. We who do not conform to the standard of the Church of England are nevertheless as much citizens of this great empire as those who do. We are not Churchmen, but we are Englishmen and English Christians. The bishop is not a more loyal subject of the Queen than the Nonconformist minister. Mr. Hubbard is not a more earnest champion of the rights and liberties of the people than the Dissenting member for Bradford. In the sphere of what is described as religious work



Nonconformists are working for the same ends as Churchmen, and without entering into invidious comparison as to numbers we may say, without fear of contradiction, that we make a large contribution to the forces which are at work on behalf of religion and morality in the nation. Yet we are treated as though we had neither part nor lot in the national Christianity, and are thus relegated to a position of political inferiority solely because of our religious opinions. We are tolerated, that is all, and in the idea of toleration there is injustice, there is insult. It is not only, as some arguments apparently imply, that a public provision is made for the teaching of one favoured form of religion, but, what is a more serious grievance to us, that the State recognises only one Church as a Church at all. Such inequality, we contend, is unjust. It breaks up the unity of the nation, it brands us as schismatics, it creates endless heart-burnings and controversies, and so it tells most injuriously on the work of religion in the nation. We ask for reform. Surely it is no reply to parade before us a number of difficulties, particularly those of a financial character, which are certain to arise when we have to deal with an injustice which has existed so long and has so many ramifications. Wrong is not to enjoy immortality because there may be some difficulties in doing right. There is not a reform which has not been met by similar objections, and which would not have been postponed indefinitely had they been allowed to prevail.

It may be urged, of course, that our grievances are unreal or at most purely sentimental. That, again, is a familiar plea, with which reformers have often had to deal before. Even were we to grant that it were true we should not admit that it affected the justice of our case. It is only the sentimental grievances of others to which any of us are indifferent; we are, for the most part, sufficiently keen about our own. But are these grievances merely sentimental? Take an example from the last number of this Review. The Bishop of Oxford, writing on the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, says—

I believe that *the Church of Christ* has done more than any power on earth to uphold the sacredness of family life in its pure affections and unity of interests. The *members of other religious denominations* have not been wanting in zeal for morality as they understand it; but in respect of marriage they avowedly take a liberal view. They would make prohibitions of it as few as possible; they approve of facilities for the dissolution of it which the Church has always refused to allow.

The italics are mine, and are introduced to mark the contrast, which his Lordship's language is clearly intended to accentuate, between the Church of Christ of which he is a bishop and the 'other religious denominations' of whose views in relation to marriage he gives so extraordinary an account. I say nothing of the counts of his indictment. I am not aware that 'other religious denominations' have any distinctive theory about divorce, and I content myself with a protest

against the assumption that they take a 'more liberal view of marriage' because they do not accept the sacerdotal theory that relationship by blood and relationship by marriage are on the same level. What I do note is the arrogant tone in which the Bishop separates his Church from other religious denominations. Even this affects me only because the writer is a prelate of the Established Church, and speaks with the authority of the State, of which the 'other religious denominations' are a constituent part as well as his own Church. If in the opinion of Dr. Mackarness I am not of the Church of Christ because I do not believe in the Divine right of bishops, that does not concern me. Cardinal Manning would, I suppose, pass the same verdict upon him, and to neither of us need it be a matter of supreme moment that he should be thus judged of man's judgment. To his own Master each of us must stand or fall, and we need not fear that with Him ecclesiastical differences will count for everything, humble faith and loving loyalty to Him for nothing.

It is the action of the State, not the opinion of a bishop or the theory of a Church, which concerns us. If bishop and Church so interpret the mind of Christ they must follow out their own conscientious convictions. But we resent the assumption of authority by the State in such matters. Were Dr. Mackarness a bishop in a Disestablished Church he would probably assume precisely the same attitude to all who did not belong to his community. He would not consent to lower the exclusive pretensions of his Church and might still speak with a lofty condescension of all other communities, however abundant their signs of spiritual life and power, as 'other religious denominations.' He might still treat the law of his Church as the infallible standard of morality and brand all who do not conform to it as guilty of moral laxity. But we, thus treated as schismatics and 'aliens from the commonwealth of Israel,' might sit very easily under this ban so long as it was that of private ecclesiastics only. The whole situation is changed when the Bishop speaks as a representative of the State. In the one case the offence would be his own; in the other a wrong is done by the State to all who are not of the National Church. The State has placed Dr. Mackarness in the position of authority he occupies, and it is not to be denied that he is only speaking in harmony with the entire action of the State when he treats us as outside the Church of Christ. In effect the State regards us as excommunicate. It knows one Church in the nation and one only, and if the prelates, clergy, and members of that Church treat us as schismatics or heretics they are only translating into words and acts the principle on which the Establishment is founded. We have our own opinion as to the conception of Christianity which allows a bishop so to regard large bodies of his fellow Christians, but here it is the State, not the bishop, who is the real offender.

So with the recent action of the Bishop of London in preventing

Mr. Haweis from preaching in the City Temple. The offensive idea underlying the action is precisely the same as that which the Bishop of Oxford expresses in his invidious distinction between the Church and the sects. I can speak on this matter with the more freedom and impartiality since I have never shared that desire for an interchange of pulpits which some liberal-minded men on both sides have sought to bring about. Indeed, apart from a change of the law its expediency seems to me extremely doubtful. So long as bishops refuse to concede to Nonconformist Churches and ministers full recognition I fail to see the advantage which would accrue from the more Christian action of individual clergymen rising above the spirit of their own system, incurring the displeasure of a large body of their brethren, and possibly defying the law. I am not fairly open, therefore, to the taunts of the illustrious obscure among the clergy who, whenever this question arises, are so eager to protest against the innovation. They may be quite satisfied that there is no consuming desire on the part of Nonconformist ministers to occupy their pulpits or to secure their services in Dissenting chapels. Everyone who exercises his common sense must know that such exchanges must necessarily be occasional, and that they must depend on the independent action of individuals. There is nothing to prevent Congregationalists and Wesleyans from interchange of pulpits, but it only takes place as a spontaneous act of Christian fraternity. A Congregationalist has not the right to occupy any Wesleyan pulpit he might covet, or to insist on the services of any Wesleyan minister he might select. The exchange is only one of the amenities of Christian intercourse possible to those who, though they belong to different sects, feel they are alike members of the universal Church. This is all that is desired in the case of the Established clergy. We can assure our friends that we have no desire to force ourselves upon unwilling congregations or to put any pressure upon reluctant clergymen to give us the benefit of their ministrations. We should be false to our own principle of liberty did we not recognise the right of every man to determine the limits of his action in this matter. Even though his ideas of Christian fellowship may appear to us extremely narrow we are bound to respect his conscience, however we may regret its decisions. Intolerance is hateful everywhere, but never more so than when exhibited in the interests of breadth and liberty. It is not for us, therefore, to condemn even those who feel bound by their theories to refuse ecclesiastical hospitality to men who, though shown by their works to be ministers of Christ, have not received episcopal ordination. But we are entitled to condemn and oppose *à outrance* the law which not only sanctions this theory but enforces it upon all ministers of the State Church.

Let any fair and liberal-minded clergyman, however earnest in his defence both of the Catholic theory and of the Establishment (and there are numbers of such men), realise what this means. Mr.

Hubbard pleasantly reminds us that 'the clergy have no legal power to exclude Dissenting ministers from their parish if within it there should be a congregation prepared to welcome them,' and apparently he seems to regard that as all we have a right to ask. It is open to doubt whether he would take precisely the same view were the positions reversed. The clergyman, indeed, has no *legal* power to keep a Dissenting minister out of his parish, but he has the legal right to regard him as an intruder, and if, despite the personal and social influence which is continually employed to exclude him, he should succeed in effecting an entrance, the rector would be fully justified by the law in ignoring his existence as a religious teacher. These two men, the rector and the Dissenting minister, may be preaching the same Gospel; they may alike be enforcing by exhortation and example the characteristic precept of that Gospel, 'Let everyone that nameth the name of Christ depart from all iniquity;' they may have to contend against the same forces of evil, and, so far as the practical results are concerned, there may be as full evidence that He for whom they are labouring accepts the service of the one as of the other. But the State makes a distinction which neither nature nor grace has made between them. To use Mr. Matthew Arnold's words, 'the clergyman—poor soul!—cannot help being the parson of the parish; he is there like the magistrate; he is a national officer with an appointed function.' The Dissenting minister in his view (and it is the view of the law) is as much an interloper as would be 'voluntary performers' who established private courts in which they professed to give magisterial decisions. The only flaw in the ingenious parallel is that law is the business of the State; religion is a thing for the individual conscience, with which the State has no right of interference. Happily this is not an idea peculiar to Nonconformists. The most earnest Churchmen are just as strong in asserting this indefeasible right of conscience, and were they the Dissenting minority they would be as sensitive to the wrong they had to suffer and as resolute in seeking its redress as we have ever shown ourselves.

The question, then, which, as a Nonconformist, I urge is, are we to suffer for 'conscience sake'? That suffering may seem very light to those who do not share it, and I do not pretend that it is so heavy that we could not endure it if it could be shown that it was for the good of the nation or for the interests of religion that we should submit in patient silence. To the dwellers in town it is not a matter of supreme importance that there is a gentleman in each urban parish to whom the State has committed the care of all the souls within its borders. For all practical purposes that right is as obsolete as the dodo, except when a few obsequious toadies think it necessary to parade the claims of 'the rector.' In agricultural districts it is very different, and there the poor Dissenting minister

is continually made to feel that he is indeed an interloper. Even in towns it may be felt as a humiliation that a Dissenting pulpit is the one rostrum from which the clergyman is forbidden to speak. But even that might be and ought to be borne if it could be proved that it was necessary to the great work of Christianity in the country. Our belief, however, is that the very opposite is true, and that in seeking the equality of all creeds and Churches in the eye of the law we are promoting the cause of true religion as well as of liberty and righteousness.

We have been frequently told that the inequality which exists is due not to the Establishment, but to other and deeper causes. Sometimes we are reminded of our social inferiority, at others of the division we have created by our own separation from the Holy Catholic Church. Such inferiority as is thus created we are quite content to endure; what we ask is that the State shall not make the inequality still greater and the distinction still more odious. We have been told in reply that in the United States the separation is quite as complete, but facts do not bear out this assertion. Even as I write there has come into my hand a copy of a resolution proposed in the Lower House of the recent Episcopal Convention at Chicago.

*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring, That the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church sends cordial greetings to the assembly of the Congregational Brethren, now met in this city, and expresses its devout hope that their deliberations, though separately conducted, may minister together for the glory of God and the advancement of our common Christianity.

The mover was Dr. Phillips Brooks. He did not succeed, but he secured a large number of votes, and the amendment which was passed, though less pronounced, breathed a spirit of fraternity to Congregational Churches unknown in our ecclesiastical Parliament. When such a resolution can be passed by the Lower House of an English Convocation, a new and brighter day will have dawned for the religion of our country. The State Church is the great hindrance to a consummation so devoutly to be desired, and for this, perhaps beyond any other reason, I work for disestablishment. The Bishop of Manchester in his first address to the clergy speaks of some who cry, 'We want to get rid of endowments that we may secure religious equality.' I never heard such a cry. I know no party among Nonconformists which is at all likely to raise it. 'This cry of the French Socialist,' as the Bishop describes it, would be abjured by me and by all Nonconformists as heartily as by himself. His Lordship will find, when the question of the Church's right to the vast endowments of past times comes to be discussed, that he will have to deal with very different arguments from those with which he dealt in such light and airy fashion at Manchester. In the meantime the Bishop will do much to promote a better understanding if he will continue to

insist on treating the question of Disestablishment apart from that of Disendowment. Questions of property are entirely apart from the claim of Nonconformist Churches to equality. If there are any arguments which can justify the assumption of the State to pronounce on the merits of different Church systems, and to grant political ascendancy to those who recognise the Divine right of bishops to subscribe the three Creeds and Thirty-nine Articles, let them be adduced, and they shall have our consideration. But it is sheer mockery to tell us that we must submit to this injustice because the Church holds a large property, which, as certain Dissenters tell us, cannot safely be left under its own control, and which, as Church defenders, cannot justly be taken away because it is private property. The former plea is the more hollow and contemptible of the two, and it is matter of surprise how the Church can be content to accept the service of the allies who advance it. But neither the one nor the other can avail against the justice of our demand. The property belongs to the Church or the State. If to the State, the Church has no right to complain of a new application of it; if to the Church, the State has no right to control it. In either case there is no reason why Nonconformists should suffer because of their religious opinions.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

## RURAL ENCLOSURES AND ALLOTMENTS.

WHETHER, according to the views of one school of historians, English economic history began with the freedom of the masses of the people, which gradually degenerated into the serfdom of the Middle Ages, or whether, according to the views of another school, the change was in an exactly opposite direction, and it began with the serfdom of the masses of the rural population under Saxon rule, with only a change of masters at the time of the Norman Conquest,<sup>1</sup>—in either case there is a tolerable certainty that by the time of James the First servile tenures were become a matter of historical interest only, and that rural England was occupied at that date partly by tenants in fee-simple and partly by a large body of free customary tenants of various kinds holding under the lords of different manors.<sup>2</sup> It is also clear that at that time a very large portion of the country was still cultivated on what is known as the common-field system; and a still larger portion was covered by the wastes of the manor, the soil of which was technically the property of the lord, the tenants exercising rights of common over it.

From an early period the waste of the manor had been regarded from different points of view by the parties interested in it. The tenants of the common fields holding otherwise than by servile tenure, whether in the earliest times a numerous class or not—and their number and condition would appear to have varied in different parts of the country—probably represented in the historical order of succession the free or privileged classes of the old village communities of the earliest German settlers. The constant tendency was for the servile tenures to harden into the superior or customary tenure, and thereby to increase the number and power of the class belonging to the latter. But the customary tenant, whatever the laws might say to the contrary, never accepted the doctrine of the feudal jurisprudence that the waste was, in anything except a technical sense, the property of the lord of the manor; and the early statutes relating to enclosure are the monuments of the long struggle on this question, which runs through whole centuries

<sup>1</sup> Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, Preface, ix.

<sup>2</sup> Gneist, *History of the English Constitution*, vol. ii. p. 329.

of English history, varying in its result from place to place and from period to period. The almost inevitable result of this condition of affairs was that a constant struggle continued between the two sets of ideas out of which the land tenure of the country had grown up; the customary tenants regarding the wastes as in reality their own beneficial property, and the lord of the manor desiring to amplify his own legal ownership into an absolute possession, qualified by the easements of the customary tenants, which with time he hoped to extinguish.

The Statute of Merton gave the lord of the manor the right of enclosing for common of pasture against the tenants of his own manor under certain conditions, and the Statute of Westminster the Second made the same right clear against the tenants of neighbouring manors. The great changes in the economic position of the country which followed the Black Death increased the temptation to enclose, in order to feed large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. A further movement consequently arose, having for its object not merely the enclosure of the wastes, but also the absorption of the common arable fields under which so much of the country was cultivated upon a system which, it must be acknowledged, was wasteful and unprogressive in the extreme. As in later times, two schools arose—one which asserted that enclosure everywhere meant improvement and an increase in the total amount of the wealth produced; the other which claimed that in many cases it meant nothing of the kind, and pointed to the displacement of the population and the misery which often ensued, and frequently led to civil commotion—nay, even to actual rebellion.

The vigorous though hard generation of reformers which had no pity on nuns and monks, and having satisfied itself that Malmesbury Abbey would be more productive of wealth if turned into a cloth factory than if devoted to ecclesiastical uses, proceeded at once to appropriate the revenues in accordance with that order of ideas, naturally viewed with disapproval the wasteful processes and careless ways of the old husbandry, and would have made short work of it, regardless on the whole of what suffering might be entailed during the transition period. There was, however, this difference between the two cases. Against the monasteries the whole reforming party was unanimous; against the old system of land tenure they were not. The yeomanry had no idea of being driven out like their cowed and hooded neighbours. The voice of Latimer was heard protesting in the famous 'Sermon on the Plough' against the greed of those who, in the words of Scripture, were for ever adding field to field; and the dramatist, coming to the assistance of the preacher, held up 'Sir Giles Overreach,' the encloser, to the hatred and ridicule of his own and succeeding generations.

The contest between the lord of the manor and the customary  
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tenants is to be seen in full swing in the struggle relating to the common lands of Wootton Bassett known as 'Vastern,' in Wiltshire, which, complicated as it was by the religious and political feelings of the time—the lord of the manor having been a Roman Catholic and a cavalier, and the copyholders adherents of the Parliament—presents several features of exceptional interest. After much litigation, and some personal encounters, a petition to Parliament was drawn up by the mayor of the town and the free tenants of the manor to express their grievances.

It sets forth that the mayor and free tenants of this borough had enjoyed from time immemorial free common of pasture for the feeding of all manner of ruther beasts—as cowes, &c.—in Vasterne Great Park, which contained, by estimation, 2,000 acres of ground or upwards, and

that soon after the manor came into the possession of Sir Francis Englefield, Knight, that gentleman did inclose the park, leaving out to the said free tenants of the borough that part of it which was called Wootton-Lawnd, and contained only 100 acres.

The petition then proceeds to state

that notwithstanding this infringement of their ancient rights, the inhabitants submitted to it without resistance, and established new regulations of common in conformity to the contracted extent of their lands, giving to the mayor of the town for the time being two cowes feeding, and to the constable one cowes feeding, and to every inhabitant of the said borough one cowes feeding, and no more, as well the poor as the rich, and every one to make and maintaine a certain parallel of bound, set forth to every person; and ever after that enclosure, for the space of fifty-six years, or neere thereabouts, any messuage, burgage, or tenant, that was bought or sold within the said borough, did always buy and sell the said cowes leaze, together with the said messuage or burgage, as part and member of the same, as doth and may appeare by divers deeds, which are yet to be seen; and about which time, as we have been informed, and do verily believe, that Sir Francis Englefield, heire of the aforesaid Sir Francis Englefield, did, by some means, gain the charter of our towne into his hands, and as lately we have heard that his successors now keepeth it; and do believe that at the same time he did likewise gaine the deed of the said common; and he thereby knowing that the towne had nothing to shew for the right of common, but by perescription, did begin suits in law with the said free tenants for their common, and did vex them with so many suits in law, for the space of seven or eight years at the least, and never suffered anyone to come to tryal in all that space; but did divers times attempt to gain the possession thereof, by putting in of divers sorts of cattell, insomuch that at length when his servants did put in cowes by force into the said common, *many times and present, upon putting of them in, the Lord, in his mercy, did send thunder and lightning from heaven, which did make the outtle of the said Sir Francis Englefield to run so violent out of the said ground, that at one time one of the beasts were killed therewith, and it was so often, that people who were not there in preece to see it, when it did thunder, would say that Sir Francis Englefield's men were putting in their cattell into the Lawnd, and so it was; and as soone as those cattle were gone forth, it would presently be very calme and faire, and the cattell of the towne would never stir, but follow their feeding as at other times, and never offer to move out of the way, but follow their feeding; and this did continue so*

long, he being too powerfull for them, that the said free tenants were not able to wage law any longer; for one John Rosier, one of the free tenants, was thereby enforced to sell all his land (to the value of 500*l.*) with following the suits in law, and many others were thereby impoverished, and were thereby enforced to yield up their right, and take a lease of the said common of the said Sir Francis Englefield for terme of his life; and the said mayor and free tenants hath now lost their right of common in the Lawnd neare about twenty years, which this, now Sir Francis Englefield, his heirs and his trustees, now detaineth from them.

Likewise the said Sir Francis Englefield hath taken away their shops or shambles standing in the middle of the street, in the market-place, from the towne, and hath given them to a stranger that lived not in the towne, and he detaineth them from the town; and likewise he hath taken certaine garden grounds, which are taken out by a bye street, and detaineth them from the town; and he hath altered, and doth seek wayes and meanes to take the election of the mayor of our town to himselfe; for whereas the mayor is chosen at the Law-day, and the Jury did ever make choice of two men of the town; and the lord of the Manor was to appoint one of them to serve, which the lord of the manor have refused, and caused one to stay two years together divers times, which is a breach of our custome.

And as for our common, we do verily believe that no corporation in England is so much wronged as we are: for we are put out of all common that ever we had, and hath not so much as one foot of common left unto us, nor never shall have any; we are thereby grown so in poverty, unless it please God to move the hearts of this Honourable House to commiserate our cause, and to enact something for us, that we may enjoy our right again.

And we your Orators shall be ever bound to pray for your healths and prosperity in the Lord.<sup>3</sup>

Following this instance of apparently successful encroachment on the part of the lord of the manor on the rights of the commoners, an instance of an opposite order of events and the destruction of a petty manor may be given from the records of the parish of Shrewton, situated on Salisbury Plain. In that place it would appear that in consequence of the dismembering of the manor in 1596 and the discontinuance of the courts baron wherein orders were taken in former times 'for the better government and quiet estate of the parish,' great disorder arose, which persisted till 1599, when on the earnest persuasion of Nicholas Barlowe, the vicar, a written set of 'orders' were drawn up and subscribed by all the parties interested. These orders embodied in the shape of a voluntary agreement what had been the customs of the manor from time immemorial, and the lord having abolished himself three years previously, the primitive and self-governing village community was thereby practically restored.<sup>4</sup>

Aubrey, the Wiltshire historian, speaking of the period of the Reformation, gives a curious account of what the face of the country was like in those days:

This county (he says) was then a lovely campania, as that about Sherston and Coteswold. Very few enclosures, unlesse near howses. My Grandfather Lyte did

<sup>3</sup> Britton, *History of Wiltshire*, Edin., 1814, pp. 642-44.

<sup>4</sup> *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xxiii. No. lxvii., article by the Rev. Canon Bennett.

remember when all between Cromhall's (Eston) and Castle Combe was so, when Eston, Yatton, and Combe did intercommon together. In my remembrance much hath been enclosed, and every year more and more is taken in. Anciently the Leghs (now corruptly called Slaights), i.e. pastures, were noble large grounds as yet the Demesne lands at Castle Combe are. So likewise in his remembrance was all between Kington St. Michael and Dracot Carne common field. Then were a world of labouring people maintayned by the plough as yet in Northamptonshire, &c. There were no rates for the poore even in my gr. father's daies; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the Church Ale at Whitsuntide did their business. In every parish is, or was, a church house, to which belonged spitta, crocks, &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the howsekeepers met, and were merry and gave their charitie; the young people came there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at buttes, &c., the ancient sitting gravely by, looking on. All things were civil and without scandall. This Church Ale is doubtless derived from the Agapee or Love Feasts mentioned in the N.T. Mr. A. Wood assures me that scarcely any almshouses before the Reformation. That over against Christchurch, Oxon, one of the ancientest. In every Church was a poore man's boxe; but I never remembered the use of it. Nay, there was one at Great Innes. I remember it before the warres. Before the Reformation, at their Vigills or Revelle they sate up all night fasting and praying the night before the Dedication of the Church: certain officers were choosen for gathering the money for charitable uses. Old John Westfield of Langley near Chippenham was Peterman at St. Peter's Chappell there; at which time is yet one of the greatest Revells in these parts, but the chappell converted into a dwelling house. Such joy and merriment was every holiday, which dayes were kept with great solemnity and reverence. These were the dayes when England was famous for the gray goose quill. The Clarke's Ale was in the Easter Holidays, for his benefitt, and the solace of the neighbourhood.

Since the Reformation and Inclosures aforesaid these parts have swarmed with poore people. The Parish of Calne pays to the poore (1663) 500*l.* per annum, and the Parish of Chippenham little lesse, as appears by the Poor's bookes there. Inclosures are for the private, not for the public good. For a shepherd and his dogge, or a milk mayd, can manage that land, that upon arable employed the hands of severall scores of labourers.<sup>2</sup>

If the disappearance of old manors and the enclosure of common fields was even in the seventeenth century going a great deal too fast for the taste of the historian of the county, 'wherein were so many observable antiquities,' what would his feelings have been had he lived on into the era of general Enclosure Acts and agricultural improvements? The changes which Aubrey lamented were after all only a part, and a very small part, of that process which has gradually given to the soil of England its present character and appearance; for, besides the incompatibility of the relative positions of the lord of the manor and the customary tenants, there were other and equally important circumstances which after the civil war did not fail to revive the movement for enclosure at the close of the seventeenth century. It was still the fact, notwithstanding the alterations which Aubrey denounced, that a great part of the cultivated soil of England was still held in common field tenure under manors. There was the village, with its cottages, shops,

<sup>2</sup> *The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey, F.R.S., 1659-70, edited by Canon Jackson, Preface, pp. 9-11.*

farmhouses, and farm buildings, all huddled together; there was the open arable field with its multitude of driftways leading to the various allotments, and there was hard by the poor, ill-drained, scanty waste, the common property of the community. No person who has lived at a distance and has never had any experience of common field farming, can have an idea of the inconvenience, wretchedness, and miseries of the system, which are almost beyond description. It was not uncommon for areas of upwards of two thousand acres to be cut up into strips of from two to three roods in extent, and as a consequence a large part of the land was taken up by roads, leading through the fields, by which these strips of land might be reached. The latter were scattered about quite irrespective of ownership, so that the proprietor of a small farm had all his land in small detached pieces, often very far apart, and the trouble occasioned to the farmer in overlooking his land and the loss of time sustained by trotting from one piece to another was very considerable. The parish had to be cropped in one course, and meadow land which belonged to one individual from the 1st of May to the 1st of August had to be thrown open and become commonable to the whole parish. Then there was the certainty of distemper and disease amongst cattle and sheep being disseminated all over the parish if once introduced; the impossibility of draining the small detached pieces; and the constant quarrels and bickerings arising from trespass and other evils of the same character.

It is no wonder that, under these circumstances, endeavours were made on economic grounds alone, and even apart from other considerations, to get the open fields enclosed. And a further incentive was added when it was found that the value of land became much increased by enclosure, and that those who got their land consolidated into one allotment were possessed of a much more valuable estate than they had had in the scattered and ill-managed parcels of their former holdings. The various methods by which the now ancient rights of common might be extinguished and the lands enclosed began accordingly to be considered and examined. There were originally the following legal methods of enclosure:

1. By unity of possession, where the wastes and the privileges of common belonged to the same owner.
2. By severance of the right from the land or tenement to which it was attached.
3. By release by the commoner.
4. By non-user through a long period.
5. By destruction of the commoner's estate.
6. By alteration of the commoner's tenement.
7. By destruction of the product subject to common.
8. By enclosure under special custom.
9. By enclosure through agreement.

The majority, however, of these means of extinguishing rights of common did not much facilitate enclosure. They naturally occurred in only a few cases, and were attended with many difficulties and exceptions; so much so that as the demand for enclosure became greater, the necessity of applying to Parliament was recognised. Recourse was consequently had to private Acts, and it is by their instrumentality that the majority of enclosures have been effected. There have been almost four thousand Acts, passed at various periods from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the present day; almost one-half of which have been passed in this century. The earlier Acts were generally for the reclamation of marshes over which the surrounding inhabitants had rights of common. Some of these had more especial reference to the regulation of commons or the supervision of common rights, so as to allow for the growth of wood, &c. The first Act, however, of real enclosure ever passed was the 8 Anne, cap. 20. Like many other Acts relating to the social condition of the people, it passed through Parliament comparatively unobserved; but considering the precedent it set, and the enormous changes it inaugurated, this little bill would not have been unworthy of the attention of even the statesmen of a reign which saw the union with Scotland and the trial of Dr. Sacheverell.

But even private Acts were found too cumbrous to suit the necessities of the time; and a demand in consequence arose at the commencement of the present century for a General Enclosure Act, and the introduction of the machinery of Commissioners and Provisional Orders in order to facilitate the settlement of the different questions which arose on each enclosure. Several general Acts were accordingly passed, one of the best known being the General Enclosure Act of 1836, known as Lord Worsley's Act (6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 115), under which some enclosures have been carried out even in quite recent times.<sup>6</sup> But a more decisive step was taken nine years after. In the session of 1845, Sir Robert Peel's Government passed the present General Enclosure Act, and established an Enclosure Commission for England and Wales, now called, under more recent legislation, 'the Land Commission for England.' This Act subjected every variety of common to be enclosed by the Commissioners. Exceptions were made of all lands in the New Forest, the Forest of Dean, and village or town greens; and it was also decided that no lands within fifteen miles of London, and certain specified distances of other large towns, could be enclosed.

One of the great features of the Act of 1845 was the permission given to the Commissioners to set out portions of the lands for recreation and allotment grounds, or field gardens, for the poor. It was also enacted that the majority in number and value of the parties interested should have power to appropriate parts of the land proposed

<sup>6</sup> Seagry Common, Wilts, 1883.

to be enclosed for public purposes, such as the formation of roads and footways and for the supply of stone and gravel; also for the formation of public drains, embankments, watercourses, public ponds, wells, or watering-places, or land for enlarging or making a burying-ground or any other purpose of public convenience or utility, or for the general accommodation or convenience of the persons interested.

In the evidence taken before the Select Committee of 1844, the amount of land stated to be unenclosed and subject to common rights in England and Wales was estimated at about eight millions of acres;<sup>7</sup> and by the Commissioners' return of 1874, the total amount of land subject to common rights was stated to be 2,632,772 acres, out of a total of 37,157,173 acres; so that, according to these figures, there would have been something considerably over five millions of acres enclosed since the passing of these Acts.

The estimate of unenclosed lands given to the Select Committee was, however, very vague, and subsequent returns go to show that it was very much over the mark. According to a return made by the Land Commissioners up to 1876, the total amount of land dealt with by them was 600,000 acres, which was divided amongst 26,000 separate owners, the estimated value of the wastes being 6,140,000*l.* The total extent of land set out for public purposes amounted to 14,107 acres, as follows:

	Acres
For exercise and recreation . . . . .	1,758
„ field-gardens . . . . .	2,105
„ public quarries and gravel-pits . . . . .	823
„ fuel . . . . .	1,168
„ schools and churches . . . . .	622
„ burial-grounds . . . . .	106
„ other miscellaneous purposes . . . . .	85
„ public roads (2,000 miles in extent, independent of occupation roads) covering . . . . .	7,370
	<u>14,107</u>

The value of this at 20 <i>l.</i> per acre, being out of the best of the land . . . . .	£ 282,140
Cash expended on the construction of public roads and other public works connected with enclosures . . . . .	473,500
	<u>755,640</u>

The average portion of land allotted to the lords of manors was 44½ acres, to common-right owners 24 acres, and to purchasers of lands sold to defray expenses 10 acres, there being 35,450 acres sold to 3,500 purchasers.

The smallness of the lots may be accounted for by the fact that, even when the expenses were defrayed by rate, it has always been

<sup>7</sup> Evidence of the Rev. Richard Jones and William Blamire, Esq.

optional for each person to have the alternative of selling a small portion of his allotment.

The 26,000 persons amongst whom these lands have been divided consist of the following classes:—

Farmers . . . . .	4,736
Shopkeepers and tradesmen . . . . .	3,456
Labourers . . . . .	3,168
Esquires . . . . .	2,624
Widows . . . . .	2,016
Gentlemen . . . . .	1,884
Clergymen . . . . .	1,280
Artisans . . . . .	1,067
Spinsters . . . . .	800
Charity trustees . . . . .	704
Peers, baronets, and sons of peers . . . . .	576
Professional men . . . . .	512
Miscellaneous . . . . .	3,000

The operation of the Act of 1845 led to much discussion, which increased as its ultimate effects began to be understood.

A great deal was said in the first place, and much written, as to the rights of the public, as such, which had not been recognised by the Act. It was put forward on one side that the soil of the waste was absolutely the property of the lord of the manor, and that, so far from the public having any right over manorial wastes, the commoners even had, strictly speaking, no right to go upon them unless for the purpose of taking their common or doing some necessary act in connection with its use; that subject to these rights the common belonged to the lord of the manor as much as his private garden; and that, if the lord and the commoners agreed to do so, they could keep everyone else off, even if there were no enclosure at all. It was replied that, as a mere matter of dry law, this might be sound; but that the public had had from time immemorial the enjoyment of common lands for exercise and recreation, and that such enjoyment had been entirely free from interruption by the lords of the manor. It can easily be imagined that anybody who has been accustomed for years to walk or ride over a common, and who finds suddenly that by an enclosure he has been deprived of a privilege which from long use he had learnt to regard as a right, would feel aggrieved. There would, however, be no legal remedy, as rights of recreation and exercise must be claimed by custom or grant, but cannot be claimed by prescription. It is like the view that is enjoyed from a house, and which one day is blocked out. The individual affected may feel much aggrieved, and may even have his property seriously deteriorated in value; but in the absence of an express grant or covenant there is no legal remedy. Apart, however, from the question of injury to the public, as such, in respect of rights of recreation and enjoyment over

commons, enclosures, it was declared, affected another and distinct class of interests of a more tangible description. It was indeed generally admitted that enclosures, especially enclosures of open fields, by increasing the produce and the value of the land, by carrying out works for the benefit of the neighbourhood, by the saving of time and labour, and by furnishing the country with better and more direct roads and footpaths, had in the first instance been attended with an undoubted advantage to the community at large, and had made two blades of grass grow where one grew before. But it was asked whether they were not in some instances the means of inflicting considerable hardships on the poorer classes who had been deprived of their rights, such as turning out a horse, a cow, or a donkey, or cutting brushwood on the wastes. It is true that, in cases where they could substantiate a claim, compensation was given either in money or in a small allotment. But the money was soon spent, and the allotment almost invariably sold to the neighbouring landowners. A man who by the expenditure of 4,000*l.* can increase the value of 1,000 acres of land from 1,000*l.* to 2,000*l.* per annum has, of course, enormously benefited himself and the community also, but the man who has exchanged his rights of keeping a cow by which he could supply himself and his family with milk and butter, or of having a horse or donkey, with which he could carry on a small business, or his right of taking wood or turves, for a small sum of money or an allotment of land that he is probably soon obliged or is tempted to sell, cannot be said to have made a very profitable exchange. It was alleged that in some parts of the country the poorer people had physically deteriorated since the commons and waste lands of the neighbourhood had been enclosed, owing to the difficulty and, in many cases, the impossibility of obtaining a proper supply of milk. In many districts, even in dairy districts, it was said to be next to impossible to buy milk: the farmers made cheese and fed their pigs with the whey, and would not retail the milk; and where no small pieces of land were to be got by the cottagers they were absolutely obliged to go without what, in the case of children, is one of the most necessary requirements of life. The poorer individual, too, who had an interest or rights in a common was without the knowledge how to claim his rights, and had recourse to a lawyer, the result being that his compensation was often swallowed up in costs. Again, in some cases there were rights which had long been exercised without question, but did not admit of strict legal proof.

The following notes, collected at the beginning of this century, of the effects of enclosures on the poor, by Sir John Sinclair, in a report the general object of which, it may be mentioned, was to advocate, not to oppose, a general enclosure Act,<sup>s</sup> were in existence to show what might be the results of taking in commons.

<sup>s</sup> General Report of Enclosures drawn up by the Board of Agriculture, 1808.



*Effect on the Poor of the Enclosures which took place during the first Forty Years of His Majesty King George the Third.*

County	Parish	Effect
BEDFORD.	Potton . . .	I presume the poor are sufferers.
	Tutvy . . .	To my knowledge, before the enclosure, the poor inhabitants found no difficulty in procuring milk for their children; since, it is with the utmost difficulty that they can procure any milk at all. Cows lessened from 110 to 40.
	Maulden . . .	Previous to the enclosure a general system of trespass existed.
	Souldrop . . .	The condition of the labouring poor much worse now than before the enclosure, owing to the impossibility of procuring any milk for their young families.
BERKS . . .	Letcomb . . .	The poor seem the greatest sufferers; they can no longer keep a cow, which before many of them did, and they are therefore now maintained by the parish.
BUCKS. . .	Waddesdon . . .	Poverty has very sensibly increased; the husbandmen come to the parish for want of employment; the land laid to grass.
	Tingewick . . .	Milk to be had at 1d. per quart before; not to be had now at any rate.
	Bradwell . . .	Fewer hands employed; rates increased.
CAMBRIDGE	Caskethorp . . .	Less work for the people.
	March . . .	The poor much benefited; rent of common right 8l., raised to 20l.
CHESTER . . .	Crannage . . .	Poor men's cows and sheep have no place or any being.
DORSET . . .	Tolpudle . . .	Poverty increased.
DURHAM . . .	Lanchester . . .	Many cottagers have been deprived of the convenience of keeping a cow, without any recompense in any other respect. The proprietors do not consult the welfare of the labourer so much as they might, without any injury to themselves and with very little more trouble to their agents.
GLOUCESTER	Todenham . . .	Nothing increased but the poor; eight farman-houses filled with them.
HANTS . . .	Upton Gray . . .	The poor injured.
HEREFORD	Willington . . .	Live-stock of the poor gone.
HERTS . . .	Offley . . .	The poor have not the same means of keeping cows as before.
	Norton . . .	Cottagers deprived of cows, without compensation.
LEICESTER	Ruteliffe . . .	A great defalcation in cheese and pigs, occasioned principally by taking away the land from the cottager.
LINCOLN . . .	Donington . . .	Cottagers' cows (140) lost by the enclosure.
	Uffington . . .	Town herd of cows reduced one-third, to the great injury of the poor.
NORFOLK, . . .	Totterhill . . .	The poor injured.
	Shottesham . . .	Cottagers' cows much decreased.
	Ludham . . .	Obliged to sell their cows.
NORTHAMPTON	Passenham . . .	Deprived of their cows, and great sufferers by loss of their hogs.
STAFFORD . . .	Ashford . . .	All their cows gone, and much wretchedness.
WILTS . . .	Barnbury . . .	Their cows reduced.
YORK . . .	Ackworth . . .	The parish belonged to near 100 owners, nearly the whole of whom have come to the parish since the enclosure, or changed the quantity of their lands.

County	Parish	Effect
YORK (cont.)	Kirkburn .	The enclosure has proved of singular advantage to great landowners and their tenants; but the labourer who, previous to the enclosure, had his cow-gate, and from thence derived considerable nourishment to his small family, was deprived of this aid by his inability to enclose, therefore was under the necessity of selling his tenement to his richer neighbour, and deprived his family of a comfortable refuge.
	Ebberston .	Have lost their cows.
	Tibthorpe .	Lost their cows, and sold their tenements.

Milk has diminished, owing to the farmers finding the profits of grazing larger, and the unwillingness of too many agents and proprietors to accommodate industrious cottagers with small parcels of land to keep a cow.

J. WALKER,  
Minister of Lanchester, Durham.

The abolition of dairies is of late become the prevailing practice; and I am credibly informed that above 500 cows have been sold off by different farmers in the course of a few years, within a small compass round this town.

The Minister of Tottenhill, with West Briggs, Norfolk.

William Barnes, the Dorsetshire poet, whose verses will probably obtain a permanent place in English literature, put his forebodings on the subject on record in his Eclogue 'The common a-took in,' where John and Thomas, two agricultural labourers, are introduced discussing the whole matter. 'Tis the common,' says the former,

tat da do I good,  
The run var my vew geese, or var my cow.

Thomas tries to console him with the prospect of getting an allotment:

I wer tuold back t'other day  
That they be got into a way  
O' letten bits o' ground to the poor.

To which John replies:

Well, I da hope 'tis true, I'm zure,  
An' I da hope tat they wull do it here  
Ar I must goo to workhouse, I da fear.

Nevertheless John continues to mourn the loss of his common rights.<sup>9</sup>

Such had been the opinions of some of those who, without being blind to the absolute necessity of getting rid of the common field system and to the advantages which the enclosure and cultivation of waste land conferred on the community, were able to see the other

<sup>9</sup> Barnes's *Poems of Rural Life*, 1844. 'The Allotments,' 'The Common a-took in.'

side of the shield as well, and the passing of the Act of 1845 only tended to increase the force of these objections. A conviction gradually grew up that enclosures were having the effect, whatever these general advantages might be, of divorcing the poorer classes, and especially the agricultural labourer, from the soil to an extent that had not been foreseen.

As a compensation for the rights which the poorer classes had lost, those who were owners of estates which had benefited, and in many instances benefited very largely, by the enclosure of large districts, from an early period allowed in many cases the agricultural population to hold at a fair rent an allotment of ground which they could cultivate in the time they had to spare from their daily labour. From the recent return of the number of allotments in Great Britain, which has been published during the present year, it will be seen that in no county is the system so much in vogue as in Wiltshire, the county from which we have already quoted several interesting local precedents to illustrate the general history of the present subject. The return shows that there are 22,071 allotments not exceeding four acres in extent, and detached from cottages, in the county. This is the highest number in the list, the next being Northamptonshire with 20,627, and the third Leicestershire with 19,064.

There are also in Wiltshire 9,444 gardens exceeding one-eighth of an acre in extent, attached to cottages held by labouring men, which, considering the size of the county and the quantity of land represented by Salisbury Plain and Marlborough Down, much of which is virtually uninhabited, compares very favourably with other counties, the highest in this class being Norfolk with 15,294. The average rent of these gardens in Wiltshire, including the cottage, is amongst the lowest in England, it being 3*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, which is only slightly higher than Cornwall, Berkshire and Dorsetshire and Huntingdon, these being respectively 3*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*, 3*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*, 3*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, and 3*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, which are the lowest.<sup>10</sup>

It is a curious fact that although Wiltshire stands prominent in the number of allotments it possesses, it is also far ahead of any other county in Great Britain in respect of agricultural holdings of above one thousand acres, there being 106 of these, containing 137,705 acres, Norfolk coming second with sixty-four holdings containing 81,916 acres. This to some extent arises from the nature of the land, the larger farms having extensive sheep walks on the downs and lighter lands of Salisbury Plain. It also to some extent arises from the different way in which some of the largest estates in the county have been dealt with. One of the most extensive of these was some years ago specially laid out for large farms.

<sup>10</sup> This average rental of the allotments, as distinct from the gardens and cottages, does not appear to be given in the Report.

The estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne in this county, which comprises, including woodlands, about 11,000 acres, represents one of the largest and most striking examples of the allotment system in the United Kingdom. There are at the present time upon this estate about eight hundred separate allotments, varying in size from three acres to ten perches, all being arable. The area occupied is about six hundred acres. The villagers and others who have had the opportunity of thus securing a portion of the soil have flourished in a remarkable manner. During the severe agricultural depression which this country has experienced for the last seven or eight years, they have paid rents which the farm tenants found themselves unable to meet. The holders of these allotments will tell you that the pig which they keep from the refuse produce of the ground, and which is finally made ready for the butcher with the help of a sack or two of barley-meal, more than suffices to pay the rent of the land, and in some cases of the cottage as well, while their spare labour is amply repaid by the regular crop which they retain for themselves. As John is made to observe to Richard in one of the Poems we have already quoted—

When your pig's a-fatted pirty well,  
Wi' tiaties, ar wi' barley an some bran,  
Why you've a-got zome vitches var to zell,  
Or hang in chimley carner if you can.

To which Richard approvingly replies—

Ees: that's the thing; an when the pig da die,  
We got a lot of offal var to fry,  
An inwards var to buoil, or put the blood in,  
An miake a meal or two o' good black puddin'.<sup>11</sup>

The land is well cultivated, well manured, and kept in admirable heart and condition, except in some few cases, where the occupier neglects his land for the greater attractions of the public-house. These instances are, however, rare; and in most cases nothing can exceed the care and diligence with which these holders cultivate their land, or the excellence and magnitude of the crop which is raised by their labour. Did space permit, we could give instances of crops having been raised by a single agricultural labourer on half an acre of comparatively poor soil, which would astonish the scientific farmer. Potatoes and vegetables of all kinds are grown in large quantities, and are of excellent quality. At one time a considerable trade was done in the large neighbouring towns of Bath and Bristol, but this has been somewhat interfered with by the early market-gardeners of Cornwall and Devon being able to send up their goods with low railway rates and thus anticipate the market. The growth of the neighbouring town of Swindon has, on the other hand,

<sup>11</sup> 'The Allotments,' in *Poems of Rural Life*, Edin. 1814, p. 73

afforded some compensation. Wheat, barley, oats, and the various root crops are extensively grown; also vetches and artificial grasses. In some cases, where the labourers have been able to obtain several allotments, they are almost independent of wages, and support themselves entirely by their land. The enterprise shown by many of them in erecting small buildings, the landlord finding materials, in draining land on being found pipes, and in executing various other improvements, would not discredit many large farmers, even those who count themselves active and energetic men.

It must not, however, be supposed that landlords find letting allotments such an altogether unqualified advantage to themselves, as it has been sometimes suggested they do. The large business naturally entailed by the great number of tenancies, especially where each tenant has a separate agreement, as is the case on the Marquis of Lansdowne's estate, the number of audits for collection of rent and the number of receipts to be given, all greatly tend to increase the expenses of management. It must also be recollected in making any comparison of the rent per acre of allotment and ordinary farm lands that the landlord in the case of the former has in every case to pay the rates, taxes, and tithes, which in the case of the latter are usually paid by the farmer, and that an acre of allotment land means a full acre of land capable of being cultivated, and excludes the roads and fences which are usually included in the acreage of a holding of greater magnitude.

It may not be without interest to see how this system came into existence in this neighbourhood. The Wiltshire estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne is situate close around, and in fact comprises a considerable portion of the town of Calne, which at one time carried on a large business in the manufacture of cloth, great quantities of broad white woollen cloth of a particular description being made for the East India Company.<sup>12</sup> Towards the beginning of the present century the cloth trade of the West of England began to be seriously affected by the introduction of machinery, and the consequent springing up of extensive manufactories in the Northern and Midland counties of England, where coal could be obtained and machinery more easily constructed and worked. Consequently a large number of the population of the town of Calne and its neighbourhood were thrown out of employment, and the rates rose to an enormous extent. The idea occurred to the then Lord Lansdowne that if small portions of land were let out at a moderate rent, the distress might to some degree be alleviated. He therefore in the year 1812 laid out two fields in the neighbourhood of Calne as field-garden allotments, which proved such a success that two years after, in 1814, two more fields were laid out; in 1816 three more were laid out; and in 1817 again three more. The cloth trade, though it had

<sup>12</sup> *Statistical Description of Wiltshire*, by G. A. Cooke.

received a severe blow, lingered on until about the year 1830, when, owing to some additional stimulus to the Northern trade, it was finally stamped out. In the meantime the enclosure of the parish of Calne and the adjoining parishes of Blackland and Cherhill had taken place under special Acts of Parliament; and Lord Lansdowne resolved, with a view to meeting the wants of the population, who were suffering from the departure of their trade, from the ill effects of the old Poor Law, from the Law of Settlement, and also perhaps to some extent from the enclosure of the neighbouring commons, to continue the allotment system on a much larger scale than he had hitherto attempted. Consequently in the year 1831 he laid out no fewer than thirteen different fields, in the following year four fields, in the next year seven fields, and in the year 1835 two fields. Such were the causes and means of the Bowood allotment system coming into existence. But this was not all. Other landowners also, having seen the good effected by the system, determined to adopt it, and a very considerable quantity of land was laid out in a similar manner on the estate of Lord Crewe, which is adjacent and intermingled with Lord Lansdowne's property. Other freeholders round the town began in like manner to adopt the system, and there are now in the neighbourhood of Calne nearly 100 acres of allotment land in addition to those of Lord Lansdowne, making altogether a very considerable tract of land cultivated almost entirely by spade husbandry and by the labour of individuals employed in other ways through a large portion of the day. Although there has been a disposition, in consequence of the decreasing population in some of the purely agricultural villages, to give up some of the allotment grounds, there seems to be as active a demand as ever in the neighbourhood of towns; and wherever the population is increasing and the nature of their employment is such as to give the labourers some degree of spare time during the hours of daylight, we believe that the system will always be found to be one attended with many advantages both to landlord and tenant, and well worthy of a more extended scope than at present is given to it.<sup>13</sup>

On Lord Lansdowne's estate, as a stimulus to industry and an incentive to neatness, annual prizes are offered for the best crops grown upon the allotments and for the best cottage gardens. The allotments are judged by a committee of allotment-holders chosen amongst themselves, and the cottage gardens by the owner or his agent. There is also a pig club or mutual pig assurance, though not confined to the holders on the estate alone. The owner of the pig subscribes a certain sum weekly while the animal is in his

<sup>13</sup> The vegetable cultivation on the sand loam near Calne is specially noted, in connection with the characteristic crops which prevail in different parts of the country, by Mr. John Algernon Clarke, in vol. xiv. of the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, p. 593.

possession, and if it dies of disease or accident he receives the full value, after deducting anything that the carcass may be worth, or any sum received from the Government or the county if the animal is slaughtered under the Contagious Diseases Acts. This little club has been attended with marked success, and the available reserve fund is very considerable.

The following account, on an average for six years, was made to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834, in regard to the profit of allotment-holding, by Captain Chapman, one of the Assistant-Commissioners for the West of England, and appears in their Report:—<sup>14</sup>

	£	s.	d.
Rent for a quarter of an acre . . . . .	0	12	6
Digging . . . . .	0	8	0
Manure . . . . .	0	10	0
Seed . . . . .	0	3	0
Planting . . . . .	0	4	0
Hoeing, &c. . . . .	0	8	0
Digging and hauling . . . . .	0	10	0
Total, supposing the man to hire and pay for everything . . . . .	2	15	6
Produce:			
Twenty sacks of potatoes . . . . .	4	10	0
Other vegetables . . . . .	1	0	0
	5	10	0
Less labour, &c., as above . . . . .	2	15	6
Clear profits, supposing the man to hire and pay for everything . . . . .	2	14	0
If all done by the man . . . . .	4	4	6

An opinion expressed by a practical man is also mentioned in the Report to the effect that a man who works for a farmer for twelve hours, from six to six, with the help of his wife and family, can manage half an acre, supposing it half potatoes, keep a pig, and support his family; and that no mechanic can do more.

The above account is a very fair sample of an allotment account in the present day, for although the expenses would no doubt be more, the value of the produce would certainly during the last twenty years have ranged higher.

The Report goes on to say, speaking of allotments, 'There is a general improvement in the character of the occupiers, who are represented as becoming more industrious and diligent, and as never frequenting those pests the beer houses. Not a single instance has occurred in which anyone thus holding land has been taken before a magistrate for any complaint.'

In order to avoid the evils of an enclosure, efforts have also occasionally been made by lords of the manor to ascertain and recognise the rights of the commoners, thereby putting them outside the region

<sup>14</sup> Report, p. 187.

of possible dispute and litigation. This was done at Broughton Gifford in the county of Wilts, as appears from the record of the proceedings of a Court Baron held no longer ago than the year 1879, with a view of finally ascertaining and recording the rights of all the parties interested, the freeholders and copyholders being present and appending their signatures to the agreement arrived at.

Thus far the action of private individuals has been traced. In some few instances the property of ancient corporations has been used with similar objects. Malmesbury Common is perhaps as near an approach to the system of three acres and a cow as yet has been reached in this imperfect world. 'King Athelstan,' says Aubrey, 'was a great benefactor to this borough. For the good service this town did him against the Danes he gave them a vast and rich common called King's Heat and other privileges to the burghers, and also certain meadows near the town.'<sup>15</sup>

This large tract, covering about 800 acres, continued from the remote period at which the original charter was granted to be the property of the corporation of Malmesbury. For a long time it was chiefly famous as affording some of the best shooting ground in the county for snipe, but not as conferring an advantage on the commoners commensurate with its great extent and agricultural capabilities.

This state of things led to an Enclosure Act in 1821, but instead of being set out in severalty amongst the different parties interested, the common, under the provisions of the settlement then arrived at, was farmed out on a sort of shifting life tenure amongst the commoners in the following proportions, the soil remaining the property of the corporation:—

420 acres amongst 280 commoners			
40	"	"	55 landholders
24	"	"	24 assistant burgesses
141	"	"	12 capital burgesses
5 acres to			1 alderman

—making in all 680 acres. Fifty acres were reserved to be let in order to secure a sufficient sum to cover rates and other charges on the property, and about seventy acres were set out in roads, footpaths, and roadside strips. In order to become a 'commoner' it was necessary to be the son of one of the 'free' burgesses of the borough or to have married a burgess's daughter. All the sons of a family of a commoner could become commoners. Under the Act of 1821 each commoner has to take up his right, and the commoners' portion of the common being divided into hundreds, the new commoner enters himself on the lists of the different hundreds,

<sup>15</sup> Aubrey, p. 252. The account which follows of the tenure of Malmesbury Common is extracted from the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Unreformed Corporations, 1880.



and as a vacancy occurs in each the senior commoner upon that hundred takes the land by rotation, receiving in the interval a payment of 8s. a year till the moment arrives for him to enter into possession of his allotment. The mode of succession from the body of commoners to the higher orders is regulated by an intricate but well-defined custom.

This peculiar arrangement subsists to the present day, although the old corporation has under recent legislation been deprived of the administrative and judicial functions once exercised by it. These have now been handed over to a Town Council board and to the county magistracy. The commoners of Malmesbury have long had the reputation of having become, under the magic influence of property, Conservatives in politics, and the recent inquiry into the judicial functions of the old corporation was an obvious opportunity for the confirmation of this tendency through the industrious propagation of the report that it had been devised by the local leaders of the Liberal party in order to deprive the commoners of their rights.

Such were some of the *temperamenta juris* introduced to mitigate the evils which were arising from the legislation of the first half of the century. The conviction nevertheless ripened in the public mind, and in Parliament, between 1870 and 1875, chiefly owing to the pertinacious efforts of the late Mr. Fawcett, that the whole subject of enclosure required reconsideration. It was pointed out that the Enclosure Commissioners were acting on the view that all the wastes in the country ought to be enclosed as rapidly as possible; that this view might have been sound before the repeal of the Corn Laws, but was now subject to important limitations, owing to the altered circumstances of the time; that the Commissioners were taking an extreme view of the rights of the lords of the manor, and in practice set at naught the requirements of the Act of 1845 in regard to allotments and recreation grounds; and that their procedure was unsatisfactory and in many respects calculated to cause injustice. Finally, after a succession of severe struggles in the House of Commons, Mr. Fawcett obtained a Committee to inquire into the General Enclosure Act of 1845, and the Committee recommended various amendments in the law. In 1876 another Enclosure Act in consequence was passed, its object being to place restrictions on enclosure. The preamble states that enclosures in severalty, as opposed to regulation of commons, should not be hereafter made unless it could be proved that an enclosure would be of benefit to the neighbourhood as well as to private interests and those legally interested. More effectual provisions were also inserted for the grant of allotments and field gardens to the labouring poor upon an enclosure taking place. The present Lord Cross brought in the bill, and pointed out the reasons which had induced Parliament in the earlier

part of the century to facilitate enclosures, the principal one being the scarcity of food and the dislike entertained to obtain supplies from abroad. Circumstances had, however, greatly changed, and the amount of food produced by all the commons now unenclosed would be but as a drop in the ocean as compared with the supplies that now come from abroad. The increase of population was so large that Parliament had to consider not merely how to increase the food supply, but what was really best calculated to promote the health and material prosperity of the people of this country. Subsequently, in answer to a deputation of agricultural labourers on the subject of the bill, he is reported to have said 'that he believed the practical effect of the bill would be to put an end to enclosures; in fact, it was drawn with that object.'

The return made by the Commissioners in 1874 showed that in England there were 32,456,742 acres, out of which the area of commons apparently capable of cultivation was 732,518 acres; the area of commons, mountain or otherwise, unsuitable for cultivation 967,531 acres; and the area of open field lands 250,868 acres. In Wales the total area was 4,700,431 acres, of which the area of commons apparently suitable for cultivation was 151,471 acres; the area of commons, mountain or otherwise, unsuitable for cultivation 516,945 acres; and the area of common fields 13,439 acres. Therefore, out of 37,157,173 acres there existed 883,989 acres of common land apparently capable of cultivation, 1,484,476 acres, mountain or otherwise, unsuitable for cultivation, and 264,307 acres open field land.

Subsequently to the above return, which the Commissioners issued after a careful examination of the Tithe Commutation Awards, another return was made the following year by the Local Government Board from the parish rate-books, in which the whole area of common lands thus ascertained was shown to consist of no more than 1,524,648 acres, of which 326,972 were said to be situate in Wales.

Which is right of these two estimates is a matter of conjecture, but we incline to the belief that the estimate of the Local Government Board, being compiled direct from the parish rate-books, is more likely to be correct than an estimate compiled from maps made many years ago, some of which are of at least doubtful accuracy.

The question now is whether the intention of the authors of the bill as explained by Lord Cross has been fulfilled. It is perfectly true that under the stricter practice of the Act of 1876 the number of schemes for the enclosure of commons has greatly diminished, only twenty-two further schemes having been both approved by the Commissioners and also passed by Parliament, and that the proportion of land set out in recreation grounds and allotments has been greatly increased, as will appear from an examination of the following table, which may be compared with the table given at page 851.

*Commons the subject of Provisional Orders for Enclosure under the Commons Act, 1876.<sup>10</sup>*

Year in which Act passed	Name of Common	County	Acreage	Allotments for Recreation			Allotments for Field Gardens		
				A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
1878	Orford . . .	Suffolk . .	46	6	0	0	—	—	—
	Riccall . . .	York . . .	1,297	6	0	0	20	0	0
	Barrowden . .	Rutland . .	1,925	9	0	0	20	0	0
	North Luffenham	" . . .	1,636	7	1	8	20	0	0
	South " . . .	" . . .	1,074	6	0	0	15	0	0
1879	Matterdale . .	Cumberland .	2,794	14	0	0	10	0	0
	(part of) East Stainmore	Westmoreland	4,075	40	0	0	10	0	0
	(part of) South Hill . .	Cornwall . .	402	10	0	0	10	0	0
	Whittington . .	Stafford . .	53	8	0	0	10	0	0
1880	Lizard Common	Cornwall . .	280	—	—	—	20	0	0
	(part of) Steventon . .	Berks . . .	1,373	14	0	0	20	0	0
	Hendy Bank . .	Radnor . . .	131	Privilege of recreation over parts uncultivated or unplanted			—		
	Llandegley Rhos .	" . . .	322						
	Llanfair Hills . .	Salop . . .	1,634	10	0	0	15	0	0
				and Offa's Dyke					
1881	Wibsey Slack and Low Moor	York . . .	400	67	2	9	—	—	—
	Scotton and Ferry	Lincoln . .	1,605	10	0	0	48	0	0
	Thurstaston . .	Chester . .	210	45	0	0	5	0	0
1882	Arkleside . . .	York . . .	450	Privilege of walking on all unplanted or uncultivated parts			20	0	0
	Bettws Disserth .	Radnor . . .	656	Do.			—		
	Cefn Drawen . .	" . . .	893	Do.			—		
1883	Hildersham . . .	Cambridge .	1,175	8	0	0	15	0	0
1885	Llanybyther . .	Cardarvon .	1,891	Privilege of walking on all unplanted or uncultivated parts			—		
			24,322	260	0	0	258	0	0

Satisfactory, however, as the above figures are, it is nevertheless certain that just in proportion as greater impediments are opposed to the enclosure of commons through the channel of the Enclosure Commissioners and Parliament, the inducement to lords of the manor, as was repeatedly pointed out by Mr. Fawcett, to effect enclosure by other means is increased: whether by having recourse to the older methods of enclosure, which had been falling into desuetude, or simply by taking the law into their own hands and trusting to time to give a title through undisputed possession.

<sup>10</sup> See page 26 of the *Report of the Commons Preservation Society, 1885.*

The amendments moved in the House of Commons in 1876 in order to obviate this danger were defeated. It was urged by Mr. Fawcett that it was an essential condition of the successful working of the bill if it became law, and especially of that part of it which was designed to encourage regulation, that dealing with the wastes of manors by any other process than that contemplated by Parliament should be prohibited, and that, above all, the arbitrary action of individuals should be summarily checked; and it was urged that the reports of Sir John Sinclair's Committees of 1795, 1797, and 1800 pointed clearly to the fact that no enclosure without an Act of Parliament was then believed to be practically possible.

These views, however, did not prevail, though certain concessions were made to them.

The first, which was in the bill as introduced, provides that any encroachment on a village green shall be deemed a public nuisance. This is a direct recognition of the interest of the public in such open spaces. But there is no distinction between village greens or commons with respect to enclosure, and the members of the Commons Preservation Society therefore tried to extend the provision in question to all enclosures of commons otherwise than by parliamentary authority. A variety of clauses having this end in view were proposed by Mr. Lefevre, Mr. Fawcett, and others, but the Government persistently opposed them, and was able to command a majority of the House of Commons. The ventilation of the question and the successive divisions produced, however, some impression. The Government introduced the 30th clause, enabling County Courts to grant an injunction against illegal enclosures, subject to an appeal to the High Court of Justice, and they accepted from Lord Henry Scott the 31st clause, providing that persons intending to enclose or approve a common otherwise than under the provisions of the Act, shall publish a statement of their intention in two or more local newspapers at least three months previously.

The new Act had not been in operation more than two years before the justice of the views of Mr. Fawcett was abundantly proved. In the case of Maltby Common it was threatened by the promoters of the scheme that if parliamentary sanction were refused to the arrangements which had been inserted in the provisional order and were being considered by a Committee of the House of Commons, they might be able amongst themselves to effect the desired object of enclosure without the consent either of the Commissioners or of Parliament, and that in such case the parties might lose the benefit of the twenty-nine acres proposed to be allotted for a recreation ground and allotments. Possibly under the influence of this threat the Committee passed the scheme, adding however—on the motion of one of the authors of the present observations—the following recommendation in a special report to the House:

It was pointed out to the Committee by Mr. Leach, one of the Assistant-Commissioners, that if the provisional order for enclosing Maltby Common were not accepted by Parliament there was a possibility of the parties interested coming to terms and enclosing the whole common, and that if that were done the intentions of Parliament for the protection of the rights of the poorer inhabitants and the health, comfort, and convenience of the neighbourhood would be thereby frustrated, and that persons might arbitrarily enclose common land on the chance of nobody interfering. It is evident that this condition of the law might materially impair the free action of the Commissioners and interfere with the intentions of Parliament, if the Commissioners were informed that, should they not accept the exact terms proposed by the majority of the parties interested, the enclosure would be carried out in another way, without any reference to the Acts of Parliament bearing on the subject.

It can hardly be doubted that Parliament will ere long endorse the views which were unsuccessfully urged on its acceptance in 1876. The best method for accomplishing the end in view would probably be to make a general statutory prohibition of enclosure except through the regular machinery which has been expressly provided to insure even justice to all parties ; and to provide a cheap procedure and a tribunal easy of access for the settlement of disputed cases in the first instance, subject to whatever appeal might be necessary, in order to deal with such questions as from time to time might arise where the point would require settlement whether a particular piece of land did or did not constitute part of a common. The object of these observations, however, is not so much to discuss the details of future legislation as to indicate that a grievance exists for which Parliament will have to find a remedy.

EDMOND FITZMAURICE.

H. HERBERT SMITH.

## *A THOUGHT-READER'S EXPERIENCES.*

WHILST a mere child my perceptive faculties were remarkably keen ; and the power to arrive at other people's thoughts was, I presume, with me at an early age. But it was only about six years ago that I began to practically test the matter. My first important experiment was performed about this time with the Very Rev. Dr. Bickersteth, the Dean of Lichfield. I was on a visit to the Dean, and one morning after breakfast, the subject of conversation having turned upon 'willing' and 'mesmerism,' he asked me if I thought it possible for one person to read the thoughts of another. I replied that I believed such a thing, under certain conditions, would be possible ; in fact that I was almost certain I could do so myself.

This reply naturally called for a test ; and the Dean undertook to think of some object in the Deanery of which I could know absolutely nothing. My attempts to arrive at his thoughts were, as compared with my after-efforts, somewhat crude, but I was perfectly successful in what I undertook. I remember that I took my host by the hand—I was from the first impressed with the necessity of establishing a physical communication between the subject and the operator—and led him from the breakfast-room ; not quickly as I do now, but slowly and lingeringly. We entered the study, and I immediately felt that I was in the correct locality. A moment more and I placed my hand upon an object, which, according to the impressions I then received, I believed to be my subject's selection. I was quite right.

The object was a bust of Lady Augusta Stanley.

This experiment, I need hardly say, emboldened me to make further attempts ; and I speedily arrived at a much higher pitch of perfection.

But let it be clearly understood that I cannot to-day find an object thought of with any greater certainty than I did on my, as it were, opening occasion. The execution is, of course, speedier, but my improvement lies in going beyond simple tests of this character. It is astonishing how, when the faculty is once with one, the power to thought-read develops by practice, until the most intricate experiments can be encompassed.

At first I don't think I quite understood the nature of my

exhibitions, and I puzzled myself not a little to account for them. When young, one is so apt to imagine oneself supernaturally endowed; and experiments such as I performed were enough to develop a tendency of this kind. But, whilst carrying out the demonstrations, I set myself the task of arriving at a practical explanation of them. Eventually I convinced myself that, instead of there being anything of an occult character about my experiments, they were one and all accountable on a purely natural basis.

Further on in this article I shall explain my theories; but I must first give instances of the practice of thought-reading and the curious features they, in some cases, exhibit.

I shall never forget how the idle many and, not infrequently, the learned few imbued with abnormal fancies sought to invest what I did with an aspect of supernaturalism. Some even went so far as to say that I did not myself understand how the various feats were accomplished. Others, thorough-going spiritualists, waxed wroth with me because I would not acknowledge the influence of 'spirit power' in connection with my work.

By running counter to the former my number of friends in this world has been considerably lessened; whilst, if I am to believe the latter, anything but a cordial reception awaits me when I am transferred to another sphere.

The following is a striking instance of how people with an undercurrent of supernaturalism running through them may act in antagonism to me.

At a *séance* held in the Marlborough Rooms, London, close upon five years ago, under the presidency of Dr. (now Sir) J. Crichton Browne, at which Professor Ray Lankester, Professor Croom-Robertson, and other eminent scientists were present, when I was explaining the *modus operandi* of thought-reading, Monsignor Capel took part in one of the practical illustrations I introduced. It was a very simple test, consisting only of finding a hidden toy; yet I found it impossible of accomplishment. My 'subject,' instead of aiding me with his concentration of thought in the direction of the hidden object, was all the time (unconsciously I believe) resisting my progress. I complained of this, and said that I never professed to read a man's thoughts against his will; and that under such circumstances success was not possible.

'Exactly so,' replied the monsignor with charming frankness; 'let us, therefore, reverse the process.'

As he said this I felt him breathe on my forehead, above my blindfold. We then resumed connection with the hands, and in another moment I found myself flying across the room. In my experiments I always take the lead; but in this case my 'subject' took it.

I found the object almost immediately; and as I withdrew it

from its hiding-place the monsignor said, in quiet triumph, 'I thought my process was better than yours.'

'How so ?

'Why, I believe in the process known as willing; and I have no belief in your theory that thoughts are conveyed through the action of the physical system. So when you had failed in your attempt upon your own plan, I bethought myself of willing you to go to the object; and' (this with a gentle reproving smile) 'you see you went there direct.' .

'Well, what does that prove ?'

'It proves that my will is greater than yours.'

'Possibly, but in the first place you exercise your will against the experiment in such a manner that *that* became the dominant idea in your mind, and not the object thought of. It is only when the mind is so concentrated upon a given object, or action, as to leave no room for the consideration of any other idea that I can have any chance of success. Under such intensity of concentration the physical system acts with the mind and so gives me the impressions sought after. But if you deliberately set yourself to will one to stand still, I naturally stand still; or if you wish me to go to a part of the room opposite to where the hidden object is, there I go, because those wishes are at the time dominant in your mind and they form your actual thoughts; and I am quite as successful a thought-reader in taking such a course as if I had found the object, provided you had elected to have allowed *that* to have been your dominant thought. No man, you must admit, can have two dominant ideas in his mind at one time. With regard to the second instance, I felt that you were so intent upon "willing" me to go to the spot that, in the very intensity of desire, you unconsciously dragged me the whole of the way. I did nothing but remain quite passive, until I came to the table where the toy was, and common sense told me to lift up the tambourine and take it out.

'No, Monsignor,' I added in conclusion, 'willing is neither more nor less than either "dragging" or "pushing," the position of the "willer" so called determining which of the two it shall be.'

At one time it was thought to be impossible to find an object outside of the room in which the experiment might be performed. It was not long, however, before I demonstrated the falsity of this contention. The first occasion was at Government House, Ottawa, where I had been dining with the Marquis of Lorne (then Governor-General of Canada). The test originated with his Excellency, who took a very keen interest in the subject of thought-reading, and it consisted of finding an object outside of the drawing-room in which we were when the experiment was proposed. I was only blindfolded, and taking my subject by the hand I made a sudden dash out of the room. Some doors had to be unbolted to allow of my passage: this



I did, and eventually I found myself in the yard. Unbolting one more door I entered an out-building—it was a stable I discovered afterwards—and reaching out my hand in the perfect darkness which prevailed I encountered something alive.

‘This is the thing!’ I said in some consternation. ‘Quite correct,’ was the reply; and, on pulling off the handkerchief which bound my eyes, I found that I had been laying hold of a young moose-deer, a pet of H.R.H. the Princess Louise’s.

I afterwards performed a somewhat similar experiment with the Crown Prince of Austria at the Hofburg in Vienna. Only this time the animal thought of was an immense black dog. It was a strange sight to see the Crown Princess and the ladies of the court tucking up their trains and following His Imperial Highness and myself in our mad chase along the highways and byeways of the castle; for, in the first place, H.I.H. did not know where the dog was; in the second place he, in the search for it, lost his bearings, and he certainly went to parts of the castle where neither he nor any Hapsburg had ever been before. Wherever his thoughts went there did I at once proceed, and when he mentally paused in his perplexity I did nothing but stand still. But immediately the Prince got on the right track of the dog I did not hesitate a moment in my course, but proceeded to where he lay panting in his wealth of long shaggy hair, after evidently having partaken of a late and heavy dinner.

Since then I have frequently demonstrated my ability to find objects—even the smallest pins—hid in the open streets. Two years ago last summer I gave an open-air test of this kind in the heart of London itself. A pin was hid by that classical scholar, the Rev. Dr. Holden in Trafalgar Square; and the Spanish Minister, Sir Charles Tupper, and Professor Romanes, F.R.S., were amongst those who acted on the committee. I speedily found the pin, although I experienced some difficulty in getting through the crowd which had assembled outside. The starting-place was an upstairs room in the Charing Cross Hotel.

Perhaps, however, one of the most interesting of these out-door experiments I ever performed took place in Berlin twelve months ago last Easter. Having purchased an Easter-egg and put into it a quantity of gold, the egg was given to Mr. Casson, the American Minister, to hide anywhere within a radius of a kilometre of the Hôtel de Rome, which was the starting-point. Accompanied by Count Moltke, His Excellency Dr. Lucius, and Prince Ratibon, as a committee of inspection, Mr. Casson took away the egg and hid it, whilst I remained with the balance of the committee in the hotel. Instead of taking Mr. Casson by the hand, as I had done in other cases, I caused him to be connected with me by a piece of thin wire. One end of the wire was twisted round my right wrist and the other

end round his left; the coil itself remained slack. Thus connected we started on our errand of search. From time to time the wire was drawn taut and it cut into our wrists with the force I exercised in pulling my subject along; but, as far as possible, I avoided actually touching his hand with my own. After leaving the Unter den Linden we turned into a narrow street, and then into the Emperor Wilhelm's stables. I went up to a corn-box, and found it locked. For a moment I took Mr. Casson's hand in mine in order to increase the impression. This done, I moved towards Prince Ratibon, and putting my hand in his pocket I fetched out the key of the box, which I at once opened, and inside, among the corn, I discovered the hidden egg. The egg and its contents were afterwards presented to the Crown Princess of Germany as an Easter gift for the Kindergarten, in which Her Imperial Highness takes so deep an interest.

It is not, of course, always such straight sailing as this. Sometimes the subject unconsciously, and at other times purposely, deceives you. There are many people in the world who, whilst ethically honest almost to an extreme, are physiologically dishonest without scruple. With these people but very little can be done in the matter of thought-reading, the success of which depends as much upon their honesty of purpose as it does upon their concentration. Such people will think it a smart thing to 'do' a thought-reader; and, whilst outwardly promising to obey all the conditions, will not hesitate to do their best to inwardly exert themselves to thwart the 'operator,' counting such action as perfectly legitimate and proper.

A notable instance of this kind occurred with the renowned General Ignatieff, whom I had the honour of meeting one night at supper at the palace of Count Paul Schouvaloff, in St. Petersburg. The author of the San Stefano treaty and a well-known officer of the court had elected, for the purposes of the experiment, to imagine themselves a pair of bandits. The former was to enact the rôle of the robber, whilst the latter was to do the murdering. Whilst I was out of the room it was agreed that these gentlemen should select from out of the company some person who should do duty for a Queen's messenger, whom they in imagination wished to waylay and rob of his despatches. This having been duly carried out, I returned to the room, and taking the officer by the hand I at once indicated the person who had been selected as the victim, and without any difficulty I re-enacted the mock tragedy in every detail, even to wiping the imaginary blood-stains from off the knife used upon the carpet, as had been done in the first instance.

Then came the turn of General Ignatieff, who had taken some papers from the victim and had hidden them.

With him I experienced a difficulty at the outset: he is very stout and has a natural disinclination to move fast, it was therefore

quite an effort to get him along at all. At last I mounted a chair, for the purpose of exploring a vase on the mantel-shelf to which his thoughts had been going. Finding it empty, I dismounted, and turning to the gallant general I begged of him to concentrate his whole thoughts upon the place where the hidden despatches really were. He actually did so; and, before he had time to alter his mind, I had opened the door of a closet at the end of the room and there in a corner lay the papers.

I was much exhausted at the close of my search, and I think I was vexed; for I felt that my subject had almost purposely led me astray.

I therefore asked him why he had thought of the vase when the papers were not in it.

'I think of it?' he replied, with that look of bland astonishment which he knows so well how to assume. 'It was never for a moment in my thoughts.'

'*C'est impossible.*'

'*Impossible? C'est juste, monsieur!*' and he bowed his grandest.

'Really, how can you say so?' broke in a young lady on our right. 'You know very well that you did at first think of putting the papers in the vase, but that, as you said at the time, you thought they would be too easily found, and so you put them over there' (indicating the closet).

General Ignatieff is a marvellous man; for he was not in the least abashed at this. He simply smiled his blandest.

'What a memory you have, *ma chère comtesse!* *Ma vie!* what a memory!' and he let fall a little laugh as he said this, shaking his forefinger the while in playful reproof.

In my experiment with Mr. Gladstone, in the smoking-room in the House of Commons, on the 16th of June, 1884, a very remarkable thing occurred.

It will be remembered that the then Premier undertook to think of three figures, and that I successfully interpreted his thoughts. Before, however, this result was arrived at the following hitch took place. I had without difficulty told the first two figures, viz. 3 and 6, when I found that Mr. Gladstone's mind was wavering with regard to the remaining figure; and I had to beg of him to more firmly concentrate his whole thoughts upon it. This he promised to do, and I therefore, without hesitation, declared the third figure to be 6—making a total of 366—which Mr. Gladstone declared was the correct number.

I then asked him why he had hesitated about the third figure, and why he had at first thought of 5, and had afterwards altered his mind to 6.

The premier seemed much surprised at the question, and he wound up by asking me how I knew he had done so.

I reminded him that he overlooked the fact of my being a thought-

reader, whose duty it was to interpret such changes of thought, whereupon he said:—

‘It is perfectly true that I did at first think of 365, the number of days in the year; but when you had got the first two figures I thought that you, being such a sharp sort of man—you will pardon the expression’—(this with that sweet apologetic smile which his friends so dearly love and his opponents envy) ‘might by sequence guess the remaining figure. So at that moment, remembering it was leap-year, I took the liberty of altering my number to 366. I am afraid thereby I gave you much unnecessary trouble.’

At which I hastened to assure him that it had made the experiment doubly interesting.

With the Emperor of Germany another remarkable thing occurred in connection with figure-divining. The Kaiser, when I was in Berlin, was graciously pleased to express the desire of having ‘the pleasure of making Mr. Cumberland’s acquaintance,’ and I had the honour of being presented to him soon after my arrival in the city. Before experimenting with his Majesty I performed preliminary experiments with Prince Henry of Battenberg and Count Hatzfeldt, now German Ambassador in London; and it was, I believe, chiefly my success with the latter subject in telling the number of a bank-note that determined the Kaiser in his choice of what to think.

Taking the Emperor by the hand I led him up to a blackboard, and almost immediately I wrote thereon 61, whilst underneath this date, after a moment’s pause, I made the figure 4.

‘Wonderful, wonderful!’ exclaimed his Majesty; ‘it is my coronation year.’ He was crowned King of Prussia on the 18th of October, 1861.

The appearance of the figure 4 was accounted for by the fact that the number of the bank-note I had previously read with Count Hatzfeldt was mostly made up of fours, and that the Emperor, quite unconsciously as it were, let the numeral run through his mind after I had written down the date upon which his mind had been so firmly concentrated.

The Emperor of Germany, in his firmness and quickness of thought, ranks amongst my very best ‘subjects.’

When the ‘subject’ is a good one, the operator is enabled not only to give a greater precision but often a much higher finish to his experiments, leaving out in his execution of them not a single detail which has had place in the ‘subject’s’ thoughts. This was notably the case in my drawing illustration with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which took place about two and a half years ago when I was on a visit to Baron Ferdinand Rothschild at Waddesdon.

After dinner one night, his Royal Highness was pleased to offer himself as a subject for experiment; and he chose a test altogether different from anything I had attempted before. It consisted of my

having to draw upon a piece of paper the outline of an animal which his Royal Highness had at the time in his mind. A sheet of paper was placed upon a music-stand on the piano; and, having blindfolded myself, I took the Prince by the left hand, holding a lead-pencil in my right. In a few moments I had drawn the outline of the animal desired—viz. an elephant. The drawing was very rough, but, as neither his Royal Highness nor myself is an artist, the irregular contour of the animal depicted was readily accounted for. There was, however, one striking peculiarity about the sketch which was not allowed to pass notice. The animal I had drawn was tailless. It was afterwards explained that the Prince had in mind the first elephant he had shot in Ceylon, and whose tail he had himself docked at the time of shooting.

One's powers at arriving at the thoughts of others in the higher phase of experiment are not limited to divining numbers and sketching animals, for I found at the first attempt that I could write down sentences in languages of which I knew absolutely nothing.

My first attempt of this kind was with the Khedive when I was in Cairo last year.

It appears that His Highness had long taken an interest in my work, and the very day I arrived in the Egyptian capital he sent a message through a friend in common asking me to pay him a visit at the Abdin Palace on the following morning.

When I presented myself he greeted me most cordially, and thus flatteringly addressed me:

'It has long been my wish to see you, for all your doings have been known to me. I never thought that I should have the pleasure of seeing you here, but that I should have to go to England to see you. But, strange to say, I have dreamt of you two nights running, and we believe, according to our religion, that he whom we dream of we shall see.'

Having thus expressed himself, coffee and cigarettes (His Highness, unlike any other Mohammedan potentate I have met, is himself a non-smoker) were brought in, and we conversed for half an hour or so on general topics, His Highness seeming pleased to hear that I had come to Egypt for the purpose of making myself acquainted with Egyptian affairs. As I was taking my leave, the friend referred to above suggested that I should give the Khedive an exhibition of my skill, which I consented to do. His Highness clapped his hands, and an attendant obeyed the summons. Paper and pencils were brought and a sheet of the former was gummed upon one of the gilded doors.

The Khedive thereupon thought of a word, and, without any sort of hesitation, I wrote on the paper the word *Abbas* (the name of his son) in *Arabic characters*. I did not know at the time a single letter of the Arabic alphabet; and, as I have already pointed out, the experiment was entirely impromptu.

The Oriental mind is much impressed by experiments of this kind; and, when I left Egypt for India, the Khedive did me the honour of making me the bearer of a congratulatory message to Lord Dufferin.

Some four months later I performed a somewhat similar test with Arabi Pasha. I had been breakfasting with the exile at his house in Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo; and, as we adjourned to the verandah to smoke and sip coffee, he took me playfully by the hand and said, 'Come, read my thoughts.' I proceeded to gratify his wish; and, taking out of my pocket a pencil, I asked him to think of a word which I would try and write upon the wall.

He replied 'Good! I think of one English word.' I suppose he did try his hardest to think of that one English word, but I found it impossible to trace it out; the letters I did make being perfectly unintelligible. I then begged of him to think of the word in Arabic and not in Latin characters. He demurred to this, as he is very proud of the progress he is making in English; but he at last consented to do so. In an instant I had scrawled over the yellow plaster in front of me a word in Arabic. I knew I was right by the tremendous start of surprise my 'subject' gave, and a moment later he told me, in an excited tone, that it was correct. The word was *Jesus*.

On Arabi being asked to write this word down in Latin characters, he, as I anticipated, found himself utterly unable to do so.

With the Maharajah of Cashmere I had some extraordinary results. I even succeeded in writing out a word with him which could not be read by perhaps half a dozen people in Calcutta, it being written in *Dogra*, a Cashmerian hill *patois*—a language, I need hardly say, I had never heard of before. The Maharajah was so impressed by my demonstrations that he strongly urged me to come to Srinuggur, there to act as a sort of supplementary *devan*, with the object, I understood, of reading the thoughts of his ministers, in whom he appeared to have but little confidence. I was, of course, unable to accept his offers of hospitality.

The Indian princes, whilst making much of me whenever I visited their dominions, were in some instances inclined to look upon me with something akin to awe. I am sure several of them were frightened by my experiments, and thought me supernaturally endowed, whilst many a peccant minister would shut up his thoughts as it were whenever he met me, or avoid me whenever he saw me coming.

In time of trouble I really think I could turn my influence in some of these Native States to good account.

But in western countries one is met on all sides by the question, 'What is the use of this thought-reading? What is there in it beyond a striking and peculiar form of amusement?'

Well, if in this very *blasé* age one has produced something calculated to amuse the world, one, I take it, will have done not a little towards earning recognition; and no one will, I think, deny that thought-reading, so called, has afforded endless amusement (to say the very least) to hundreds of thousands of both sexes.

But, beyond this, thought-reading has its uses; and I see no reason why something practical should not, at some time or other, come out of it. For instance, I fail to see why it could not, in certain instances, be applied to the detection of crime.

We will say, *par exemple*, that a murder has been committed, a dagger having been used for the purpose, and that this dagger has been found, suspicion resting upon a man who is assumed to be its owner.

He is, we will say, arrested, but nothing definite can be proved against him. Justice halts. Then might be the time for calling in a thought-reader. Such a person would naturally be better able to tell whether the 'suspect' had used the knife than an ordinary observer; for very few men if confronted with the evidence of their crime could help in some measure betraying themselves. This would not refer to habitual criminals, who are better able to control their emotions. Most murderers, are, however, emotional beings, who momentarily allow their passions to get the better of them. The fear of detection, although they may remain undiscovered, is seldom absent from them; and what their tongue has not the courage to say their beating pulses unconsciously confess, whenever the remembrance of the crime they have committed becomes the dominant idea in their minds. No thought-reader operating, as I do, through the action of other people's nervous systems, could divine what a man did not wish to tell; but under the combined influence of fear and expectancy very few men would be able to physically retain their secret.

On one or two occasions I have put these views to a practical proof, for, in addition to having operated with imaginary criminals, I have successfully tried my hand with genuine ones.

In Warsaw, for instance, two labourers were confined in the prison on the charge of having dug up on the estate of a M. Bartholdi, and hid away for their own uses, a quantity of gold, buried by a relative of the said M. Bartholdi during the last Polish rebellion. The men were examined by the *juge d'instruction*; but they obstinately remained silent, and no information of a practical character was arrived at during the examination. I happened to be in Warsaw at the time; and one evening, at General Gourko's, the facts were related to me, and I was asked if I could not assist justice in the matter.

The outcome was, that a *séance* with the prisoners was arranged in the prison, in the presence of the governor of the gaol, the British pro-consul, the *juge d'instruction*, M. Bartholdi, and another.

The two men were quite different from each other in appearance:

One was a stolid, brutal-looking *moujik*, whilst the other seemed to have been cast in an altogether different mould. I somehow at once made up my mind that the former was the actual thief, and that the latter was at the most but an accessory to the fact; and the experiment which I presented amply proved this contention.

I took some pieces of money from my pocket, which the men were told represented some of the coins which they, in their haste to remove the treasure, had dropped on the ground, and that, no matter where they should hide them in the prison, I could find them; and that, just as easily as I could find money so hidden, so could I discover the stolen box of gold.

The coins, having been placed in a piece of paper, were given to the first-mentioned prisoner to hide within the knowledge of his companion, I being out of the room the while. On my return I took the former as a 'subject,' but, as I had anticipated, I could make nothing out of him. He was not content with stolidly declining to think of the place, but he refused to accompany me in my peregrinations around the room. With the other prisoner it was quite different. Directly I came in contact with him, I felt him thrill with excitement and with perfect ease I took him to an ancient Russian stove let into the wall, and having unscrewed the door, I scraped from out of the ashes the hidden coins. The man seemed terrified, and he straightway made the following confession: That he and his companion were digging in the woods, when his companion's spade struck something hard which proved to be an iron chest full of gold pieces. They took a few (in order to purchase groceries and other necessaries), the passing of which ultimately led to their arrest. It was their intention, he said, to share the money and get away from Russia; but that, when he went to the place with his companion the next morning for the purpose of removing the chest, he found that it was gone, and his friend then told him that he had got up in the night and had removed it to a safe spot on his own account. He explained that he had been forced to keep the secret because his companion avowed he should never have a single coin if he said anything of the original discovery of the money. 'But,' he added shudderingly, 'if I only knew where this money now was, this "devil-man," pointing towards me, would be sure to find it out.' And he vigorously crossed himself. How this case ended I don't know, as I have not been to or heard from Warsaw since.

Whilst I am now with the reader at Warsaw, it will not, I venture to think, be out of place to relate an experience I had with General Gourko (the hero of the Shipka Pass incident), Governor-General of Poland.

His Excellency was pleased to give a reception in my honour at the old palace of the Polish kings; and, during the evening, he asked me if I thought it would be possible to trace out, by my



process of thought-reading, the plan of an imaginary military action. I replied that I had never tried such an experiment, but that I did not despair of its possibility. He thereupon offered himself as a 'subject.' In the experiment proposed he was to imagine that he was on a battle-field, and that he wished to lead a *corps d'armée* in a certain direction in order to capture a redoubt. To accomplish this he warned me he should make some very intricate manœuvres. The whole thing being firmly fixed in his mind we left the big 'yellow drawing-room' in which the guests were assembled, and at a jog-trot entered the 'red drawing-room' at its foot. For a moment we paused whilst we passed through a doorway into a passage. Here we went slowly and cautiously, the passage representing, in the General's mind, a rocky defile. At the end of the passage, however, I wheeled sharp round to the right and found myself in the 'blue room.' After going across to one of the corners of this chamber, which heads the centre 'yellow room,' I made a sudden dash with all my speed into that room, upsetting one or two people in my haste, and finally paused at a huge settee surmounted by flowers, upon which I planted a handkerchief which did duty for the Russian flag.

I was, the Governor-General afterwards said, exact in every movement.

This experiment caused considerable excitement in Warsaw, and when an account of it was sent to the local papers, the censor forbade its being printed. That functionary afterwards voluntarily assured a friend of mine that it would have been highly injudicious to have made such an affair public, as the Russians, in their superstition, would, in the first place, have imagined I was a greater man than his Excellency, and that, in the second place, I might, in time of war, use my skill towards interpreting the Governor-General's plans to the enemy.

I think a lawyer might make some practical use of this process of 'thought-reading.' For my contention is that so closely allied is the body with the mind that, under the influence of emotion or concentrated attention, the body not only acts in unison with the mind, but the physical system expresses the thought almost as distinctly as the tongue could. By carefully noting and weighing facial and bodily indications a skilful lawyer, gifted with a sense of perception sufficiently acute to enable him to successfully perform so-called 'thought-reading experiments,' would be all the better able to arrive at the true value of a witness's evidence than by merely acting upon the replies elicited under cross-examination. It is true, habitual liars manage to assume an almost perfect control over their facial organs; but, for all that, if you watch them closely you will discover that what does not express itself in the face is bound to physically betray itself in some other way. It may be a mannerism so slight as to be almost undetectable, or it may be a movement so strongly

marked as to be at once distinguishable ; but in either case you will find that the expression is habitual with him, and that he will wear it on one and every occasion when he lies.

What is bred in the mind will come out in the body.

I once knew a man, whom Mark Twain would perhaps have designated as the 'prettiest liar in creation.' He altogether falsified the adage about a liar not being able to look you straight in the face, for he would, whilst grossly lying, look at you in the most direct manner; in fact so straight was his gaze that you invariably would lower your eyes before his, as if you in reality were the sinner and not he.

He tried his hand with me, and momentarily took me in ; for I could not conceive it possible that a man could lie so glibly and yet maintain such an air of perfect, unblushing innocence.

The next time I fell in with him was on an occasion when it was to his advantage to lie, and that he was equal to the occasion goes without saying. Yet all the while his expression was ingenuousness itself. I, however, noticed, that whilst a smile wreathed his lips, and his light blue eyes danced in playful innocence, there was a suspicious nervous action of the fingers of the left hand as he grasped his watch-chain. To give the man credit, he never lied purposelessly, and only upon matters affecting his own interests ; but when the purpose was there, there was no limit to where he thought himself justified in throwing the hatchet. On another occasion I had some business to discuss with him very much to his advantage ; and I noticed him involuntarily stretch out his thumb to hook in his watch-chain preparatory to launching forth. Suddenly he paused, blushed and stammered, and in his confusion he actually told the truth.

On looking down where his hand had gone, I saw that he had come out without his watch-chain.

Naturally truthful men experience much greater difficulty than do habitual liars in controlling their feelings. That is to say, they much more readily give themselves away by some physical indication or other, in many instances the indications being so transparent that a child could run and read them.

It may or may not be an advantage for a man to be able to judge of another man's sincerity offhand ; but I believe that I can, immediately I shake a man by the hand, tell what his true feelings are with regard to me. A man may wreath his face with smiles when he receives me, but if they do not correctly express his thoughts there will be almost sure to be a bodily something about him that will betray him. A man may retain an idea to himself against all the thought-readers and clairvoyantes in the world, but he cannot retain a feeling. Some people do not of course attempt to hide their feelings, and their expressions of annoyance or dislike are so clearly marked as to be intelligible to the very dullest : others do try to hide their feelings under a mask, but their emotions are the more natural and

powerful of the two, and either a corner of the mask is constantly turning up, showing what is beneath, or it, to a highly sensitive person, is so transparent as to be readily looked through.

Mr. Gladstone is, of all notable men I have met, about the least able to mask his emotions, skilful as he is in cloaking his thoughts. He is a highly emotional man, and there is about him, moreover, something distinctly mesmeric. His natural charm of manner, the softness of his voice, and the soothing nervous action of his hands, give him an immense power over men. It is almost impossible to be in his presence without feeling this mesmeric influence, and I can well understand people doing things at his dictation which may be against their better judgment.

I have often been asked whom I consider to be the best and who the worst 'subject' for thought-reading. With all the good 'subjects' I have at different times fallen in with it is somewhat difficult for me to particularise any one of them as being in advance of the rest, yet I think I might be justified in saying that for downright concentration of thought, mathematical precision, and earnestness of purpose, Field-Marshal Von Moltke would take the palm.

As to the worst 'subject,' I think of all the distinguished personages with whom I have operated M. Alexandre Dumas gave me the greatest trouble. Some people will be surprised, whilst others will be disappointed, at hearing this; for I have been so repeatedly asked if I did not think Mr. Henry Labouchere to be a difficult—in fact an impossible—'subject' that there will no doubt be those who will be expecting and desiring to see his name in the place of M. Dumas.

Contrary to general expectation, I found Mr. Labouchere, in the experiments I tried with him, to be an excellent 'subject.' His way of thinking was sharp and decisive; and, what was more, he was perfectly honest with me. I found in him a sceptic willing to be convinced, but one keenly on the alert to detect imposition and to discountenance pretence. With me he was from beginning to end both earnest and sincere; and, whilst he may to the British mind be counted as somewhat too versatile, there is no man in this world who can on occasion be more 'thorough' than the senior member for Northampton.

M. Alexandre Dumas is a man of quite another stamp. He is as absolutely unemotional as it is possible for anyone to be. Then, in addition to his cold and passive temperament, he is extremely bigoted and self-willed. He has, I believe, a warm heart, from which good resolves and kindly actions repeatedly spring; but he has schooled himself to look upon such things as weaknesses, and he would deem it little short of a crime for him to betray his emotions. He is always seeking to have supreme control over himself, and he fully expects every one who is brought in contact with him to be equally so. This naturally makes him a bad 'subject'

for a thought-reading experiment. Difficult, however, as he was, I eventually—as I took much time and great pains—succeeded with him. The test consisted of finding an article which he had hid somewhere in his daughter's house. When the object was found it turned out to be an early copy of *La Dame aux Camellias*, in which M. Dumas had written 'À M. Cumberland, hommage de l'auteur, Alexandre Dumas.' It will thus be seen that, whilst his natural thoughtfulness and kindness of heart originally prompted this agreeable phase of experiment, his innate pride of self and domineering will put obstacles in the way of its fulfilment.

Naturally some persons are more suitable than others for such experiments; but I have found that with intelligent, thoughtful people, who act up to the conditions, I seldom fail. In fact the higher I have been the more certain has been the success. Small-minded people do not hesitate to trick and lie in their desire to be considered smarter than the 'operator;' but the truly great in thought and in position never, in such cases, stoop to such pettiness—hence with them all is from first to last fair sailing.

Much, I should add, depends upon the condition of health of both the 'subject' and the 'operator.' If either be unwell the chances of success are in a measure diminished; as the 'subject' finds it difficult, whilst suffering from a severe headache or other acute bodily ailment, to concentrate his whole thoughts upon a given object or action. He is only too apt to allow the knowledge of his ailment to distract his attention. The same with the 'operator,' who instead of placing himself in a receptive condition ready to receive the physical indications conveyed to him by the 'subject,' is forced by pain or exhaustion to turn his attention to the seat of his disorder, thus invariably entailing failure.

Taking all in all I have found the best 'subjects' amongst statesmen, diplomatists, mathematicians, literary men, and all those engaged in active brain-work. In diplomacy Count Julius Andrassy was perhaps the most striking exception, as in him I found a somewhat hard nut to crack.

Military men—especially in Germany, where the officers have such an excellent mathematical training—provide some very good 'subjects,' especially when the experiments have, as in the case with General Gourko, a bearing upon their profession.

Lawyers are often not bad; but they are, as a rule, too much inclined to stop in the middle of an experiment for the purpose of arguing the question. Then they are sometimes very dodgy, and one invariably feels in their hands like a witness undergoing a cross-examination, whom the 'subject' feels it his professional duty to trip up at every opportunity.

Musicians—that is when they are eminent and one asks them to think of everyday commonplace things—are practically hopeless. Get them at a piano, and the thought-reader who doesn't know a single

note can invariably vamp out a tune thought of by them. But ask them to think of a pin, a man, any such object, and their thoughts are up in the skies immediately, the object selected having no place in their minds. M. Gounod afforded me an excellent example of how a first-class composer thinks.

Artists are better. They possess, as a rule, not only greater concentration, but they do not object to ordinary things having a place in their thoughts. Munkacsy, it is true, I found somewhat erratic, but Angeli, Camphausen, Begas, and Frank Tenbach proved admirable 'subjects.'

Clergymen, for experiments in the drawing-room, are absolutely perfect; but in public, especially where the tests are of an intricate character, they are apt to become nervous and forgetful. This of course militates against the success of the test, and, knowing this, they, in their natural conscientiousness, commence to reproach themselves for their own shortcomings, thus rendering the experiment all the more difficult of accomplishment.

Medicine provides some sterling 'subjects.' But the ordinary practitioner, whilst professing to obey the conditions laid down, is much too apt, during the progress of an experiment, to test his theories; and there is scarcely a doctor born who has not theories upon some subject or other. This would not matter so much in private, but where a public audience is concerned such interference, which will be sure to delay and maybe spoil an experiment, is altogether unfair. I am of course referring to cases where the 'operator' says, 'I cannot clairvoyantly read your thoughts, neither can I succeed with you unless you desire it. The success of the experiment as much depends upon your powers of concentration as it does upon my powers of perception. All I want you to do is to firmly and honestly fix your whole thoughts upon the object you have selected, and not in any way to endeavour to lead me astray. Remain throughout but passive: do not purposely exercise any contraction of the muscles or endeavour to prevent my going to any place or in any direction I choose. If you do so I cannot possibly succeed, for the thought which would dictate such action to you would become the dominant one and not the object you have selected. You can, if you choose, easily lead me astray, but for the time being I want you to place yourself entirely in my hands.'

In locating pains, imaginary or real, either in his own body or that of another, medical men are much better to operate with than any other class of persons.

I am somewhat inclined to think that this sleight of touch called thought-reading is not altogether without the sphere of practical medicine, and that a doctor who was an expert 'thought-reader' might find his attainments in this direction of no little use in diagnosing complaints, being thereby, as it were, able to feel with his patient instead of having, as in ordinary cases, to be content with the statement of his or her symptoms.

With regard to races, I have found good 'subjects' amongst them all; but some of my greatest successes have been achieved with Englishmen and Germans. The more civilised the nation, the greater number of 'subjects' suitable for thought-reading experiments will it provide.

A Chinaman, under the rank of an ambassador with a touch of Western civilisation about him, is a hopeless case. There is no possibility of getting him to think squarely. North American Indians occasionally provide some interesting subjects, but it generally takes them about twenty-four hours to make up their minds what to think of, and they insist upon smoking whilst going about the experiment. It is difficult to make savage tribes understand what you are about, but when they do 'catch on' they are invariably frantic with delight. Experimenting with savages—especially if they happen to have cannibalistic tendencies—is not unfraught with danger. Once, when I was experimenting with a Maori chief, I felt convinced that the dominant idea in the old rascal's mind was how a thought-reader would taste in a pie. Luckily I had white friends with me at the time, and he did not seek to let this idea have practical effect.

Contrary to general expectation I do not look upon women as good subjects. They are, as a general thing, much too nervous and highly strung to concentrate their thoughts—I principally refer to public tests—for any length of time. It is all very well if the experiment is an easy one and does not take long to fulfil; but if it be an intricate one, taking some time in its execution, you may depend upon it that she will have got heartily weary of it before she is half through with it. Moreover, with the natural perversity of her sex, she will commence to think of everything or everybody in the room, or perplex herself with the thought what Mrs. A. thinks of her, or what Miss B. would do in her place, or whether Mr. C. is of opinion she is making an exhibition of herself. With such thoughts running like wild-fire through her mind there is no room for that dominant idea which the operator is in search of.

Ladies, in their pliability, make, in most cases, very excellent 'subjects' for what is termed 'willing,' in which phase of experiment they are what is called 'willed' to do certain things desired by the ladies or gentlemen who have hold of them.

The method is for a lady to stand in the middle of the room, and for two so-called 'willers'—generally ladies—to place their hands upon her body, one hand in front and the other behind. Almost immediately the lady who is to find the object thought of moves off in the direction desired by the 'operators,' and, as a matter of fact, she is nearly always successful. Of course the ladies who hold her unconsciously assist her in the finding of the object, by the muscular pressure they exercise upon her. This method is very clumsy, and it is in no way adapted for the working out of experiments of a

complex character, or even for the finding in very small localities. The manipulation it entails is also much too apparent, and it provides no safeguard against guesswork. On the whole, however, it affords a very fair illustration of the general principle of mind acting on body producing muscular tensions in the direction of the locality on which the thoughts are concentrated.

In the method I adopt I invariably take the initiative, whether it be in the matter of searching for a pin or of writing down the number of a bank-note.

In my experiments I am always blindfolded, so that my attention shall not be distracted by light or movement. I generally take the left hand and place it on my forehead, and in such manner I can quite readily find the smallest objects. In working out actions such as imaginary murder tableaux, I prefer taking the patient's hand in my own, so that all the nerves and muscles may have full play.

Let it be clearly understood that I at no time get any so-called 'mental picture' of what is in the mind of my subject; but that I am in every instance dependent upon the impressions conveyed to me through the action of his physical system (during contact with him) whilst under the influence of concentrated attention.

Some mystically inclined people claim to be able to read thoughts without contact. For my part I have never yet seen experiments of this kind successfully performed unless there had been opportunities for observing some phase of physical indication expressed by the subject, or unless the operator was enabled to gather information from suggestions unconsciously let fall by somebody around. I have on several occasions managed to accomplish tests without actual contact, but I have always been sufficiently near to my 'subject' to receive from him—and to act upon accordingly—any impressions that he physically might convey.

In my case, 'thought-reading' is an exalted perception of touch. Given contact with an honest, thoughtful man, I can ascertain the locality he is thinking of, the object he has decided upon, the course he wishes to pursue, or the number he desires me to decipher almost as confidently as though I had received verbal communication from him.

I, of course, am not alone in this matter, there being without doubt thousands of people in the world who possess in a greater or lesser degree similar qualifications. Nine-tenths of them do not and, maybe, never will, know it, and a very great proportion of the remaining tenth would not take the trouble to develop the faculty. A continuous practice of these feats is not good for one. Whilst operating one is in a constant state of excitement, and the nerves are apt to become unhinged. Some amateur operators—especially the young and mystically emotional—who have not the remotest idea as to how they perform their experiments, or that they are capable of a physiological explanation, get so imbued with the mag-

netic theory that they are always imagining they see 'auras' or feel 'strange magnetic currents' running through them. This is highly calculated to do their nervous systems some permanent injury, and the parents and guardians of such people would do well to put their veto upon the demonstrations.

The process known as 'thought-reading' is quite a modern thing, and, so far as I can ascertain, it was altogether unknown to the ancients. When I was in India I made active inquiries on all sides as to whether there was any trace in the priestly and historical writings of similar experiments having been performed in the past. I was invariably answered in the negative; but one day an old Brahman at Bhavnagar told me that there was a tradition amongst the Brahmans that ages ago—so far back that he could not fix the date—there were holy people who possessed the power of reading the thoughts of man. These wise men were in consequence set up as being only next to the gods, which made the divinities so wroth that they devoured them, or did away with them in some such effective manner—hence the dearth of thought-readers in Western India.

Later on this same old priest did me the extreme honour, in a poem read before the Prince in durbar, of placing me in point of glory very near some of the most reputable of their gods, all because I had successfully performed some experiments with his Highness the Thakore. Whether the Brahman flattered me in the hopes of obtaining *backsheesh*, or whether he was anxious for me to incur the displeasure of the deities referred to, I cannot say. In the first place, as a Christian I was bound not to hold the gods in question in very high respect, so I refused to be flattered and scattered no *backsheesh*; and in the second, after enjoying the Prince's splendid hospitality for a week, I left the state without any kind of mishap.

A noted Egyptologist told me, however, that he was of opinion that the Egyptian priests were adepts in the art of thought-reading, and that they were quite conversant with the methods adopted by myself. In fact, I believe I understood him to say that there was indirect evidence of such things having been in some of the recently discovered magic papyri. It is possible that if, as has been anticipated, these Egyptian priests and Persian magi were expert 'thought-readers,' they developed the process further than I have been able to do.

For some time past I have not only ceased to further pursue my investigations in the matter of 'thought-reading,' but have virtually given up the practice thereof, other matters occupying my thoughts—and my time. Although I shall no longer be actively identified with the subject, I cannot but hope that the impressions I have here let fall will be productive of good fruit.

STUART C. CUMBERLAND.



## LOYALTY OF THE INDIAN MOHAMMEDANS.

THE facility for travelling in comfort through India owing to the spread of railways has induced a swarm of tourists to visit that country, too many of whom consider it necessary to put into print useless descriptions of places and structures of which it would be difficult to write anything novel or amusing. The Taj at Agra, and Futtehpoore Sikri, and the Ghauts of Benares, are as well known as Westminster Abbey, Windsor Castle, and the landing steps at Greenwich; and we talk of the shop of Manik Chund at Delhi as readily as of that of Liberty in Regent Street.

For a book to be of value something more than denunciations of the abominable hotels at Bombay and Calcutta, or stories of 'bowling over tigers,' or details of railway journeys and misdemeanours of Hindoo servants, is required. An account of one week's intimate intercourse with the Ryots of a district would be far more valuable. But it may be truly said a traveller cannot enter into any intimate intercourse with the Ryots; it is hard enough for the oldest resident to do so. Yet one does meet with men who have had constant, familiar, and friendly intercourse with the cultivators, having gained their confidence by kindly words and kindly acts, and by a thorough knowledge of the dialect of the district. Such men I have met, more of them outside the Civil Service proper than within its pale; men engaged in commerce, in the purchase of agricultural produce, others in engineering works and in forestry, and in those many occupations which give them opportunities of sitting under a tree and of hearing that which the Indian peasant desires or complains of. The exalted position of the civil servant and the awe he inspires are obstacles in the way of unrestrained intercourse, and the higher he rises and the greater his experience, the greater is the awe and the wider the gulf between him and those he governs.

Although the traveller cannot penetrate below the surface of Indian life, still from conversation with English officials, and with natives official and unofficial, specially in the independent states, and from the articles in the native press, one who has been a previous visitor to India can see how rapid and how high has been the advance of the tide of public opinion within a comparatively short

period. It was my good fortune to have been at Calcutta in 1875 during the visit of the Prince of Wales, and to have become acquainted with almost all the natives of high position who were present on that occasion. Many of them spoke to me, apparently with great frankness, on the social and political questions of the day. I should rather say on the political, for as to the social questions they had generally no strongly defined opinions, nor had they thought much on the subject. Even as regards political questions there seemed to be much timidity and no definite aims. During the last ten years, however, the progress of thought has been enormous; social questions are eagerly and profitably discussed, and what were formerly but floating ideas of political objects have now assumed definite shape, and have become, if I may use a vulgarism, the planks of an Indian platform. This is to be ascribed to the general increase of education, and to the diffusion of intercourse between men of all parts of the Indian continent, owing to the facilities for travelling by the construction of railways, and their remarkably low scale of fares.

The opinion of the English governing class on this progress of thought in India varies. Some denounce it, looking back with regret to the stagnation of old times; some regard it as inevitable, and accept it as such; and others, I must say the minority, welcome it as tending to raise our Indian fellow-subjects to higher and nobler ideas, to the practice of self-government, and thus to the level of European civilisation. Accepting this as a sound object of policy, they disregard the scurrilous and malignant outpourings of many of the Indian newspapers, and laugh at the inflated ridiculous harangues of young Bengal, knowing that in the background there are natives of moderation, good sense, and forethought, and that the conservative and somewhat timid nature of the Indian mind forbids the application of wild speculative theories to the political questions which affect the course of daily life. It has been my good fortune to meet such natives, and I am not without belief that every day their number is being increased, and that by degrees, with caution and discrimination, many of the demands now advanced may with safety be conceded. Among the most prominent of these demands are self-government, reform of the constitution of the Indian Council, and the raising of the age for admission to the Civil Service. This is not the occasion to discuss at any length these demands. Suffice it to say, that the raising of the age of candidates has hardly an opponent in India. It finds favour, I believe, with the natives and the ruling powers alike, and would undoubtedly improve the class of English officials by enabling men who had taken degrees at the universities of the United Kingdom to compete, and who would come out matured in judgment and experience by the attrition of English life. As to reform in the Indian Council, no one can contend that, with the changes material and intellectual extending throughout India

at the present rate, it is not necessary to have the advisers of the India Office in touch with the progress of the country, and for that reason I am quite ready to admit that members of the Indian Council should hold their seats for a limited period, not exceeding five years, and that they should be appointed within a defined short time after retirement from service in India. As to the demand for self-government, that too can be maintained as a proper and righteous aspiration, but it cannot spring up like a mushroom in a night. It must be conceded tentatively and by degrees, as individuals fit themselves for it, and there must be great reservations. But this does not suit the ardent spirits of young Bengal. Everything must be done at once; no delay can be admitted between the admission of a principle and its being pushed to its extreme limits. Expediency must be blotted out of the political dictionary, and logical conclusions alone recognised. The Indian Council must be swept away because it is supposed that certain of its members are averse to change, and it is gravely contested that the Secretary of State for India will be better able to come to right conclusions about intricate questions with the aid of the permanent officials of his department, and without being hampered by the interference of men of the highest character and position who have passed much of their lives in India, and who have acquired knowledge of every department in every province of that country. So also as regards self-government—there must be no halting, no limitation. I asked the question of one of the delegates who attended the meeting of Indian reformers at Bombay last December, as to what was meant by self-government. ‘Does it mean gradual admission to many offices now practically closed against natives, or that elected members without any *ex-officio* leavening should constitute the municipal councils, or that local boards should be established composed of natives, who should have the supervision of districts?’ ‘It would undoubtedly mean all this, with perhaps the exception of local boards, about which we have come to no conclusions,’ was the reply; ‘but it means a great deal more. It means that the administration of the country is to be in the hands of the people of the country, in other words India is to be for the Indians.’ ‘That, I presume, implies the retirement of the English,’ I said, ‘as unquestionably we could not remain and be responsible for whatever misgovernment might ensue under your administration; and how long do you suppose that the timid unwarlike Bengalis and sleek Brahmins of Poona would hold their own against the fighting races of the north, or even against the Mohammedans of Hyderabad?’ ‘Not at all,’ answered my friend; ‘of course we do not contemplate the retirement of the English. You have conquered our country, and overthrown and broken up the ancient dynasties. It is now your duty to stand by and to maintain order, but India must be governed according to Indian ideas and by natives of India.’ ‘I

am afraid,' said I in conclusion, 'that if your views are carried out, our views as to our duty by you will be very different from yours.'

This gentleman no doubt pushed his theories to their extreme limit; but that many agree with him, though not in so many words, we have the testimony of reported speeches at recent meetings and of articles in the native press. It is said that these windy wordy speeches do not penetrate the masses of the people, but only reach a very small educated minority. This is so far true that newspaper reading is certainly not rife among the Ryots, but I have heard that these speeches do reach the villages, and are read out to an astonished audience of an evening—astonished because the native cannot understand how any one can presume to censure or withstand the Government unless he be stronger than the Government. The worst of it all is that this violence and clatter is encouraged by many Europeans who proclaim themselves to be the native's special friends. No one can blame our countrymen for asserting the rights, and for endeavouring to elevate the condition, of their Indian fellow-subjects, and to bring them into more general social intercourse with us; but we can and do blame those who travel over India, proclaiming aloud by words and by writings that everything which is, is wrong—that we are governing India solely for our selfish purposes, that the welfare of the governed is but as dust in the balance compared with the gratification of our own greed and pride, and that nothing less than the complete overthrow of the present system and the transfer of the balance of power into Indian hands can or ought to satisfy Indian aspirations. There are plenty of such persons, far too many, and their action and their incautious words, which would be harmless at home, are far from harmless in India, and likely to promote very mischievous results. There is one matter for congratulation, and that is the signal defeat of those natives of India whose ambition fired them with the desire of entering the English Parliament. The time may come when India and our colonies may send representatives to England with mutual advantage, but how that is to be effected is still in the uncertain future. We do not require Indians to throw themselves into our political struggles, and to pronounce their opinion either on home questions or our foreign policy, neither is it advisable that Indian affairs should be made the football as it were of party conflict. When recently at Hyderabad I was spoken to by a Mohammedan gentleman on this subject, who said he and his friends were much surprised at the public meetings held in India to discuss various questions, and at the language employed by the speakers, European and native, and he wished to know if it were true that there was any disposition at home to hand over the administration of the country to Baboos and Brahmins. He supposed we should retire were that the case. I replied I saw no signs of any such tendency, and that probably such a determination

would be the preliminary step to our final retirement from India. 'Well,' said he, in a low emphatic tone, 'when that happens we shall have some old scores to settle with the Brahmins of Poona and the young gentlemen of Bengal, and one day, mind, one day, when we get in among them, will do our business.' I was not careful to inquire what was the business, or what were the old scores to which he referred, but it is as well that those ardent young native spirits whose ambition prompts them to attain objects which if attained would have the effect of leaving them to protect themselves, should remember that there are still warlike Sikhs in the Punjaub, and still warlike Mohammedans in the Deccan.

I do not myself attach any importance to these speeches and meetings, and should certainly not think of suppressing them. We may hear a good deal that is practicable and useful; and even if a little seditious nonsense is now and then delivered, it will not do much mischief.

Amid all this speechifying and strong writing in a portion of the native press, there is one remarkable feature which must strike every one whose attention is directed to what is going on in India, namely the abstention of the Mohammedans from these meetings, and the general tone of their press, which is very friendly to the English Raj. This is strange enough. Few years have elapsed since the attention of Indian authorities was mainly directed to Mohammedan movements, which were watched with ceaseless vigilance, and deservedly, for no doubt before the mutiny intentions to revolt were rife among them, and aspirations aroused for a return of the good old times. Although the principal figures at the time of the mutiny, Koer Singh, Tantia Topee, the Ranee of Jhansi and the Gwalior contingent, and the majority of the mutineers were Hindoos, yet the backbone of the insurrection was Mohammedan. The native army had come to the conclusion it was irresistible, and visions of governments and high military commands filled the imaginations of the more ambitious portion of the soldiery. These were the Mohammedans. I believe the cartridges had the effect of precipitating both them and the Hindoos into mutiny, but the ground had been well prepared, and mutiny there would have been whether cartridges were greased or not. The Mohammedans remembered their former great position as courtiers, generals, governors of provinces; and though the Nana aspired to be Peishwa, they would soon have made short work of him and of the Poona Mahrattas, who had lost all martial ardour and had settled down into sleek but still seething discontent. Had the mutineers repulsed us and held Delhi, some puppet emperor would have been set up, and the Mohammedans of Hyderabad would soon have held out the hand to their co-religionists. Scindia and Holkar would have been formidable opponents had they been united; still the proud, warlike

Mohammedans thought the game was in their hands, at all events they were prepared to play it.

The utter destruction of the mutineers and the terrible retribution which followed completely crushed these aspirations, for I take no account of the petty conspiracies of a few knots of fanatics at Patnah and elsewhere. From that period they have been rapidly falling in the social scale. I am bound to say they have taken the overthrow of their hopes like men; they feel and acknowledge that their future entirely depends on English goodwill, and that goodwill they are doing their best to secure. This is one of the reasons why they take no part in the gatherings I have referred to, although probably a stronger one may be cited, namely, their preference of English to Hindoo administration; and that they have good reason for this opinion will presently be shown. This is the reason why the Mohammedan newspapers (it is true they are not numerous) take a different tone from that of the Hindoo press, and undoubtedly as a general rule a feeling of loyalty to us manifests itself in their columns. The same feeling is evident in Hyderabad. In that city, formerly so dangerous for a European to traverse, you are received wherever you go with more than civility, with kind looks and kind words, and an Englishman may walk through the streets at all hours in perfect safety. The same goodwill prevails at Aurungabad; and the Mussulman nobles and officials associate with our officers, hunt, shoot, race, dine, and gossip with them like comrades. I was so astonished at this state of things that I asked a Mohammedan official how it all came about. The answer was, 'Here we are your equals, and you treat us as such.' But there is also an impression at Hyderabad that there is a desire manifesting itself among our people to treat the Mohammedans with confidence and favour. Formerly, there was a dislike on the part of Indian civilians to them. They are a sturdy, proud class, and their pride prevented them from adopting the cringing pliancy and submissiveness of the low caste Hindoo. He had no objection to creep and crawl, and he crept and crawled into all the good berths. But things have since changed. Our officials have discovered that crawling things can sting and wound. 'Qui peut lécher peut mordre.' The Hindoo papers are reeking with constant gross and violent attacks on private persons as well as officials. Many of these attacks notoriously emanate from domestic correspondents and informers, and Englishmen begin to think that the Mohammedan, if he be less pliant, less accommodating, less clever, is at all events far more staunch and safe than the Hindoo, and so, undoubtedly, the current of goodwill is flowing in his favour. Now the feeling of the Mohammedan in regard to the Hindoo, that is to say to the Bengali Hindoo, is that of contempt, dislike, and fear. He despises him as timorous, he fears him because he sees him gradually advancing to high position while he himself is gradually falling into penury and

want of consideration, and he foresees the time coming when the once Hindoo Helot will have his foot on the neck of the Mussulman Spartan.

It would be the height of unwisdom on our part not to recognise what is going on, not to take advantage of this favourable disposition of the leaders of Mohammedan opinion, and not to adapt our policy to meet it. There are no doubt great difficulties in the matter. The Hindoo is carrying all before him by his quickness, assiduity, and superior education. There seems to be among the Hindoos a kind of instinctive power of acquiring knowledge. The young men live among well-educated persons; the necessity of education and the practical result of it in the shape of lucrative appointments is constantly before them, and they easily outstrip the Mohammedans, whose instinct is certainly not to clutch the pen but the sword. Undoubtedly there is but little tradition of the successful results of education in his family, and he has very slight tendency towards that class of book-learning which makes men head clerks and Tehsildars. But besides these disadvantages, other obstacles await him. He starts heavily handicapped in the race of life with his Hindoo competitor. The latter begins with the study of the vernacular language and then of English, the former with the study of Arabic and Persian, the language of religion and the language of the court. No wonder the Hindoo youth runs away from him. I have spoken on this subject to many Mohammedans; they acknowledge that Arabic is taught too much parrotwise, but the Koran must be learned in the inspired language, and Persian is the language indispensable to a gentleman, and must be learned also. Such is the contention. It is difficult to argue adversely to the study of Arabic, on account of the profound veneration for the sacred book which affects every transaction of their life, and the reply when I hinted that Persian was unnecessary was, 'You would not consider the learning of French by your children unnecessary.' Of course in the days when every young Mohammedan might look forward to high and courtly positions this courtly language was indispensable, and it is now difficult to shake the belief of any respectable Mohammedan as to the necessity of the acquisition of Persian by his sons. What, then, can be done to give the Mohammedans a chance? It is clear they are not getting their share of State education, but it is their own fault, and herein lies the difficulty of the Government of India, which recognises as fully as I do the expediency of maintaining the social position of the Mohammedans. Lord Mayo, I know, strongly entertained the policy of advancing Mohammedan education by even special advantages; but the Home Government, though they did not overrule him, did not give him the encouragement which he ought to have received.

I was presented with a paper by a Mohammedan gentleman of

high position, from which I transcribe a few extracts. He wrote it at Roi Bareilly in 1882. He says:—

With a few exceptions I concur in the opinion of the memorial of the National Mohammedan Association of Calcutta, that the Mohammedans of India are daily decaying and becoming impoverished. There is a proof of it here in this very town, where the Mohammedan population amounts to 15,524 persons. Few are in government employ, and those only drawing a very moderate salary. Poverty and mendicity are yearly increasing among them. I have found here some descendants of the great Nawab Jehan Khan, now merged into bearers and khansamas. The chief cause of this decay is the dislike this people have to innovation, to English, and to learning the Western sciences. The justice and generosity of the Government is beyond all question, and it is undoubtedly the false pride and prejudice of the Mohammedans which has deprived them of the education so liberally offered by the Government. Now it is too late for this to be rectified, as all the posts, or most of them, in which a knowledge of English is necessary, are closed to them. The following statistics will prove this. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where there is a population of 9,430,285 Mohammedans, there are, besides Christians, sixty-nine Hindoos gazetted officers in the Medical Department, but no Mohammedan. In the Public Works Department there are seven Hindoo engineers and no Mohammedan. In the higher circle of the Irrigation Department there are four Hindoos and no Mohammedan. In the Upper Subordinate there are seven Hindoos and only two Mohammedans. Among the officers of the Educational Department there are seven Hindoos and only one Mohammedan. In the Postal Department of the North-Western Provinces there are thirty-two Hindoos and only two Mohammedans, and in that of Oudh fifteen Hindoos and one Mohammedan. The only employments open to them are some low posts where a knowledge of English is not required. It must be borne in mind (continues the writer) that 50 per cent. of the Mohammedans in India earn their livelihood by service, while 90 per cent. of the Hindoos are agriculturists.

One would naturally suppose under these circumstances that the bulk of official appointments would be in Mohammedan hands, and yet they are only an insignificant minority. Government appointments are vigorously sought in this country, but in the East they are everything—means of livelihood, position, consideration. We may therefore estimate how bitter must be the feeling of exclusion to the descendants of those who revelled in the enjoyment of high emolument and rank. It should also be mentioned that a large number of openings were lost to the Mohammedans by the introduction of the Penal Code throughout India and the establishment of text books dealing with questions of Mohammedan law. This reform did away with the necessity of having many officials of that religion connected with our courts, and caused the abolition of a number of highly considered appointments requiring an advanced standard of Mussulman education.

Of course the reply will be, your Mohammedan friend himself fully accounts for this state of things, and does not hesitate to attribute it to the prejudice and pride of his own co-religionists. No doubt that is so, but statesmen must ever be ready to make allowances for prejudices, especially when these prejudices are chiefly noxious to those who indulge in them. We want the goodwill of



Mohammedans. Their ill-will was, in our memory, dangerous to our supremacy. It rests with ourselves that it shall not be so again. In ruling so vast a country as India, the old maxim of 'Divide et impera' should not be lost sight of. It should not be applied in the odious sense of exciting sectional animosities, but as inculcating the expediency of not placing the keys of every branch of the public service in the pockets of one particular portion of the community, although it may be the most numerous, the most versatile, quick-witted, and highly educated. Mr. Bright 'during the American war pleaded for something more than neutrality between the contending parties; he asked for 'benevolent neutrality.' For some time to come I plead for the same disposition towards the Mohammedans. It will be strange should our able Indian officials, if urged from headquarters, not be able to lessen this disproportion of appointments between Hindoos and Mohammedans. The same benevolent influence may be exerted to encourage and arouse the Mohammedans now sunk in despondency. The Central Government has shown its goodwill in this direction. In July 1885 resolutions were drawn up at Simla of a very friendly description to the Mussulmans, offering them the most sympathetic treatment. How far these have become generally known I am not aware, but I have heard them spoken of with approbation and gratitude, and that they were likely not to become a dead letter is evident from the storm of abuse they encountered in the Hindoo papers. No man, while anxious to encourage Hindoo talent and good conduct, can be more on the alert to win the confidence and regard of the Mohammedans than Lord Dufferin. He cannot of course change the whole system of education, but he has done much to encourage them. In Madras university special recognition has been given to Arabic and Persian, and the latter language is taught in any High School when there is a demand for it. In the Medical Department there is actually reserved for this portion of the community a certain number of stipendiary appointments. In Bombay university, Persian is placed on the list of languages which may be taken up for a degree, and in Bengal, where the Mohammedans are specially depressed, liberal provisions of a similar kind have been made to help them on.

Important as is the re-introduction, if I may so call it, of Mohammedans into the Civil Service, and the prevention of their being virtually expelled from it by Hindoos, no less important would be the elevation of their position in the army. Such a policy would go right home to the hearts of their young and ardent spirits. It would open to them the career of arms, high pay, high position, and honours. I firmly believe we can implicitly rely on their fidelity; as to their bravery and power of command there is no doubt. I spoke to several military men of high position and of great experience in India, and they were all disposed to repose trust in Mohammedan

officers and to advance them. One general in command recommends that they should rise to the rank of Brevet Colonel, stopping short of the command of the regiment. Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-chief, is anxious to bring young Mohammedans of family, with their adherents, into our native regiments, especially cavalry, offering them an increase in present rank. I did not meet one officer who was not favourable to this course, and I have reason to believe that overtures have been already made from India to the authorities at home in this direction. Let us hope they may not be put aside by those who know not the changed circumstances of that country, and who are still influenced by the fear which prevailed a quarter of a century ago of Mohammedan ambition.

Another step has recently been taken by the Government of India which will not only be most gratifying to the Mohammedans of that continent, but which will convey to the very heart of Islam the conviction that we, who rule a far greater number of Mohammedans than any other country in the world, are earnestly desirous of doing what we can to meet their wishes and provide for their safety and comfort in the performance of that pilgrimage to Mecca which is the duty and pride of every member of that religion. From 8,000 to 10,000 pilgrims pass through Indian ports every year, a large proportion being from Central Asia and Afghanistan, and of the poorest classes, for next to undertaking the pilgrimage himself, one of the most religious works a Mohammedan can perform is to assist his brethren whose means are small in securing their salvation by the accomplishment of the same pious act. I have heard that the Nizam annually defrays the expenses of 800 pilgrims. It would be difficult to give an adequate description of the hardships, misery, disease, extortion, which used to beset these unfortunate travellers. Things are certainly much better of late years, but are still so unsatisfactory that communications have been passing since 1881 between the Government of India and the well-known firm of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son upon this subject. Nothing was finally settled till 1885, when Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Dufferin, in conjunction with Sir H. Drummond Wolf, took up the matter in good earnest. Mr. John Cook, the representative of the firm, a gentleman of remarkable ability and power of organisation, came over himself to hold personal communication with the Indian authorities. One cannot commend too highly the readiness and despatch with which his proposals were met. I quote one extract from the proceedings of the Government of India, under date June 4, 1886.

The Governor-General in Council, after careful consideration, and personal communication with Mr. Cook, is of opinion that the conditions (proposed by Mr. Cook) are such as may be accepted. The conditions contemplate the appointment of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son to be pilgrim agents for the whole of India, local officers and officers in charge of Treasuries being instructed to assist that firm in

making known the terms of conveyance to Jeddah and back, and in disposing of through tickets. The Bombay Government will be requested to make over to the representatives of the firm the issue of passports in Bombay, and to instruct the Protector of Pilgrims (an officer appointed in 1882) to work in harmony with the firm and to render it every possible assistance.

The year 1887 will witness the introduction of this great boon. Mr. Cook's agencies will be distributed through India. Tickets to Jeddah and back will be issued. Agents at Jeddah will endeavour to put a stop to the irregularities and extortions practised at that port, as has already been effected by Mr. Cook at Jaffa and the other Turkish ports. Mr. Cook thus concludes his account of this humane and politic transaction.

In due course I was favoured with an assurance that the steps I was taking met with the hearty approval of the Government of India; but before leaving Bombay I had a considerable number of interviews, including one with Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, several wealthy Mohammedans, and a considerable number of shippers, who had at various times conveyed the pilgrims between Bombay and Jeddah. Lord Reay and the members of the Bombay Government assured me that they would render every possible assistance. The Commissioner of Police placed his staff and their books at my disposal, the shippers all expressed their gratification that at last the arrangements for the pilgrimages were to be controlled by some responsible firm, and a number of the agents of wealthy and well-known Companies assured me that they would be prepared to advise their directors to place certain steamers in the pilgrimage business to supersede the unsatisfactory vessels that have been constantly employed in it. Mohammedan gentlemen authorised me to express their thanks to the Government of India for the arrangement made, and assured me that they would undertake to make the arrangement known to all the Mohammedan societies through the various Mohammedan publications in the different languages necessary, and, as stated in my report to the Government, one of the wealthy Mohammedans authorised me to inform the Government that he would at his own expense build a rest house to accommodate 2,000 pilgrims, and so do away with the necessity of their having to resort to lodging-houses in objectionable quarters of the city.

I propose sending my eldest son, Mr. F. H. Cook, to India in October next, armed with all the necessary instructions from myself, and he will be accompanied by a well-known ex-Anglo-Indian official and a well-known Mohammedan. Their first work will be to travel to the Afghan frontier and to all the important centres of Mohammedanism, to explain to the chief Mohammedans and sheiks of the Mosques that the object of the Government in appointing Thomas Cook and Son to this business is to ensure the safety, comfort, and economy of the pilgrimage, and that the Government are paying all the expenses incurred, and that the arrangement is not for the profit of any firm or private individuals. After they have visited all these gentlemen and the Government officials in every district, they will then be preparing and putting into operation the details ready for the booking of the passengers for the pilgrimage of 1887. This will necessitate a journey of at least 20,000 miles, and negotiations and arrangements not only with railway administrations, steamship companies, and others actually in the business, but also explanations to a large number of Government officials, who are authorised by the resolution of the Government of India to do everything they possibly can to assist us in ensuring the success of the arrangements.

I have dwelt strongly on the necessity from a political point of view of straining a point to restore the Mohammedan element in the

native portion of Indian administration. I have shown that the Mohammedans deeply feel the loss and degradation of falling back in the race of life, and encouragement will do much to give them a fresh start. We have a terrible example of the fate of their co-religionists in Kashmir, where they have been forcibly placed under the domination of Brahmins, whose execrable tyranny has been maintained by our strong hand. It should be remembered that in 1846, after the overthrow of the Sikhs at Ferozeshahar and Sobraon, the Sikh Government being unable to pay the amount at which they were amerced, handed over to the English Kashmir as an equivalent, and we sold it to Gholab Singh for a million sterling; a transaction described by Cunningham as 'scarcely worthy of the British name and greatness,' while Colonel Malleson writes of it deservedly as

a blunder politically and morally: politically, because England thus gave away the opportunity of strengthening her frontier, and of gaining a position which in the event of an invasion would be of incalculable value; morally, because the Governor-General had no right to sell a hardworking and industrious people to a man alien in race and religion, and harsh and oppressive in nature. But Gholab Singh could not have made himself master of the new province without the co-operation of the English. His army was disastrously beaten by the Kashmiris under Imamuddin, who declined to yield up the valley until warned that he would in the event of further resistance be treated as an enemy of the British Government. Thus it came to pass that a country chiefly inhabited by Mohammedans was handed over to a foreign and Hindoo prince.

These words are written by the officer sent on special duty to Kashmir, and who reported to the Government of India on the frightful condition of that unhappy country during the famine which prevailed in 1877-78-79-80. It is a terrible document, written by a civil servant of high reputation, of sober judgment, and at present occupying a responsible position. He says:

The population of Kashmir was reckoned before the famine at about half a million, of whom all but 75,000 Pandits were of the Mohammedan creed. Some idea of the depopulation of the country may be formed from the following authoritative description.

'No European who carefully examined the city this summer (1879), with a view to guessing its population, ever put the people at over 60,000 souls, but nothing can be exactly known. A number of the chief valleys to the north were completely deserted, whole villages lay in ruins; some suburbs of the city were tenantless; the graveyards were filled to overflowing, the river had been full of corpses thrown into it. It is not likely that more than two-fifths of the people of the valley now survive.'

Monsieur Bigex, a French shawl merchant, has informed the writer of this note that whereas in former times there were from 30,000 to 40,000 weavers in Srinagar, now only 4,000 remain, and that orders from France for shawls cannot be executed for want of hands. The Pandits are all of the Brahmin caste. They are a cunning and avaricious tribe. They fill almost every civil office of state, from the Governor of Srinagar down to the clerks in attendance on the collectors of revenue. Their pride and cowardice unfit them for military employ. Pampered by the Hindoo ruler, they play a tyrannical part in the administration of the valley, and they reap the fruits of their religious superiority in freedom from the pangs of

famine, for it is a noteworthy fact that while thousands of Mohammedans have died and are still dying of hunger, no Pandit is to be met with who shows signs of starvation or even of pressing want. If attempts be made to control the Pandits, check their peculations and introduce some equality between them and the Mohammedans, they repair to the Governor, and with threats of cutting their throats before him, or abandoning the country with their gods, they bring him to their feet with submission, for they are holy Brahmins, and he is a devout Hindoo.

The writer speaks of the remains of prosperity which attest the time when the Kashmir nation had a name and fame.

But (says he) now within the valley the eye meets with tracts of unreclaimed swamps, fields thrown out of cultivation, and wretched hamlets in which half the houses are empty, and many more roofless and ruined. The appearance of the peasants is pitiable in the extreme. In the fields are women and children digging for edible weeds and roots. In Srinagar, the capital, there are vestiges of populousness, but the bazaars are sadly thinned, the suburbs are like cities of the dead, trade is either decaying or gone, and large numbers of the lower classes of people are so impoverished that they have no money to buy food, even when food is procurable. During the height of distress, if the inquirer asked for relief works he was shown a few labourers collected on roads near the English quarter, but these would loudly complain to him that they got no wages. If he asked for Government poorhouses he was conducted to enclosures where handfuls of boiled rice, insufficient to keep a dog alive, were given out to hundreds of people in the most awful state that can be imagined from hunger and disease. Sometimes the supply of rice was not sufficient to go round the throng, and then an indescribable scene of confusion ensued, in which men, women, and children were beheld fighting and tearing one another for the scrapings of the pans of rice, while soldiers armed with sticks laid about them on every side; but in vain, and the sleek Pandits, not one of whom had felt the pangs of hunger, sat enveloped in their cosy blankets, unconcerned witnesses of the agony of their Mohammedan fellow-subjects. These are not the inventions of a disordered fancy, but statements of facts as noted by an eye-witness whose painful duty it has been to observe them without power or opportunity to interfere.

It may, however, be alleged that the mortality during the last famine in Madras was greater than that of Kashmir, and that if the Maharajah is to be blamed, we are more culpable. But the difference is this, that every effort was made by us, both by public and by private exertion, to meet the calamity; that there was no wholesale official malversation in the feeding of the sufferers, no notorious and unpunished misappropriation of grain, no cruelty in the treatment of those who were perishing and who tried to migrate, no religious distinction in which one class was allowed to die without compunction, while another class was maintained in plenty.

The writer then proceeds to give an account of the frightful misgovernment of this unhappy country; the speculation, rapine, and extortion which run apace without let or hindrance; and concludes one of the most instructive and at the same time harrowing documents I have ever read with these words:

Here is a question of the fate of a whole people who are being gradually destroyed, and whom sad experience has taught to hope nothing from their ruler.

The British public can feel sympathy for the sufferings of the Christian Rayahs in Turkey. Have they no blessing left for the unhappy Mussulmans of Kashmir, whose lot they could ameliorate by a word or by a hint?

Can we suppose that the other Indian Mohammedans are ignorant of this oppression, and of the actual destruction of their brethren by Brahmin rule, and that they do not dread and detest it? It is no use saying to them, as I have said, such a state of things cannot occur under the English Raj. They reply that it is a question solely of degree. It is true they are not plundered and openly starved by their Hindoo fellow-subjects, but they are pushed from their seats by them: from place, emolument, dignity; and the vista of their future is penury. My object in writing this article is to direct public opinion in England towards strengthening the hands of the authorities in India, who would, I am confident, gladly endeavour to offer a brighter future to the Empress Queen's Mohammedan subjects.

If I appear in this paper to have spoken adversely or disrespectfully of Hindoos in general, it has been far from my intention. I have no feeling in regard to them except one of sympathy and regard. I rejoice to have witnessed their remarkable progress. I welcome them without one grudging thought in their advance to full and common citizenship. It is idle to shut our eyes and not to recognise that advance, or to sit upon the safety-valve, and not foresee the consequence. It is Brahminism, that incarnation of spiritual domination, ignorance, superstition, rapacity, and lust, which is seeking to regain its supremacy, that I denounce, together with the follies, conceits, and windy declamations of young Bengal. These were the classes who were encouraged to come to the front, and to assume the spokesmanship for the rest of India, during the late Viceroyalty. Our government of India is essentially a government of prestige, of a belief in our enormous resources, of our unswerving justice, and of our capacity to rule, and if that belief be shaken, the hand of power becomes at once palsied. All the great material improvements which are immensely increasing the resources of India have tended to reduce rather than increase that prestige. The number of European railway officials, engineers, station masters, guards, many of whom are rough and uneducated, many also violent and dissolute, has done much to lower the respect which the white face commanded. I have myself witnessed scenes in the streets of Ajmere which fully account for the difference of the reception an ordinary Englishman meets with there, and that which he experiences in other parts of Rajpootana, where such excesses are unknown. All this should make us doubly cautious to avoid unseemly differences in high places, which naturally encourage the native classes to whom I have referred to impute weakness to us, and to imagine that discord reigns in our councils. I have but little fear of any internal

overthrow of our rule, either from military mutiny or the uprising of the masses, nor, if proper precautions be observed, which are sure to be, am I alarmed at the prospect of Russian invasion. What I do dread are the writings and speeches of theoretic Englishmen, absolutely ignorant of the condition of men and things in India, the stereotyped conservatism of the lower classes, their placid ignorance, the confusion and failure which must follow the forcing on them precipitately institutions for which they are not prepared. It is no question of retrogression or of even standing still, but of caution and preparation. If the administrative functions in India once get out of gear and in incompetent hands, results are sure to follow which will create a feeling of disgust and despair at home, and a desire to be rid of a burden, not only intolerable, but accompanied with shame. And yet this mighty possession, apart from the actual advantages we derive from it, is worth, for the sake of humanity, almost any sacrifice to retain. As one travels through India one naturally reads the records of the famous cities one visits; they are all, one after another, written in blood. Begin your reading in the Deccan, with the annals of the Mohammedan dynasties of Bijapore, Gulburgah, Golconda; all tell the same tale. The Sultan of Bijapore quarrels with the Rajah of Vizanagram on account of some musicians, and vows to erect a pyramid of 100,000 Hindoo heads; the Rajah in his turn vows to erect a similar monument of 200,000 heads of the subjects of the Sultan. Each was as good as his word. As you advance northwards, you proceed through lands laid desolate, not at long intervals but almost continuously, till nothing remained to attract the Mahratta and Pindarree spoiler. Go still further north, and though during the time of the great Emperors comparative peace was maintained by their sword, yet when it fell from the grasp of their inert descendants, insurrection followed insurrection, invasion followed invasion. In fact the history of India, from the earliest authentic accounts of it until the time of the supremacy of the English, is one dreadful dreary record of treachery, outbreak, robbery, spoliation, murder, massacre, and of all the miseries that can beset the human race. What greater or more noble sight can a traveller see, than the profound quiet, the absolute security, the Pax Romana which prevails from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin? Surely this is essentially God's work. Surely it is our duty to continue it. We may rely on it that we can do much to lighten our task, great though it be, by gaining the affections and trust of the Mohammedan portion of the population, once, but no longer hostile, and it rests with ourselves to do so.

## *A FLYING VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.*

THE following pages give some impressions formed upon various matters during a recent flying visit to the United States.

Leaving Liverpool on the 26th of August, I made the outward passage in the 'Germanic,' one of the vessels of the White Star Company's fleet. I returned in the 'Servia,' a vessel of the Cunard line. Both ships are fine examples of the Atlantic Liners of the modern type. The distance from Queenstown to New York is 2,800 miles. We made the outward passage in nine days. We were detained during the first three days by strong headwinds and gales, which for many hours brought our rate of steaming down to eight knots. In crossing the banks of Newfoundland we passed through a dense fog. For nearly twenty-four hours the engines were slowed to half-speed, the ship steaming eleven knots an hour. The dangers of collision in such circumstances may readily be apprehended. They are intensified in that season of the year when the presence of ice is to be expected. Steam whistles may be heard, and thus approaching ships may be avoided, but the much-dreaded iceberg is as silent as the tombstone, and, like that emblem, death reigns in its vicinity. Captain McKay, of the 'Servia,' has given much consideration to this subject, and has published some valuable suggestions. He recommends that the Government should be invited to despatch a suitable vessel to the North Atlantic, which should follow one of these immense masses of ice from the north to the sunny south, daily chronicling its course and diminution of size. He has proposed that a west and east track or line should be definitely fixed for the great steam traffic between England and the United States, the western track across the meridian of 50° W., at 42° 40' N., and the eastern track across the meridian of 50° W., at 40° 40' N. These routes would carry steamers south of the Banks, and avoid the dense fogs which hang in the region of the Great Banks. Captain McKay has wisely urged that a conference of shipowners should be held at Liverpool to consider the subject.

The 'Germanic' in ordinary weather steams fifteen knots, but at 4 P.M. on Friday, September 3rd, the 'Etruria,' of the Cunard Line,



was seen from the bridge coming up astern. She gained upon us rapidly, and at 7 P.M. steamed past the 'Germanic,' having an advantage in speed of nearly five knots an hour. The 'Etruria' had left Liverpool two days after the 'Germanic,' and landed her passengers in New York several hours earlier. As an achievement in ocean steaming the construction of the 'Etruria' and the sister ship 'Umbria' represents a great advance. From a commercial point of view, it is less satisfactory. It is generally understood that the management of the White Star line is able to divide a handsome dividend. To the holder of the Cunard Company's shares no dividend has been paid for several years. It cannot be sound business to give the public a service at a speed never yet equalled at a charge insufficient to yield a reasonable profit. Of two things one: the speed must be reduced, or the fares raised. To the French Messageries and the North German Lloyds' liberal subsidies are paid by their respective governments. We have a national antipathy to subsidies. To such a step we can only have recourse in the last resort. There is every reason to believe that the public would be ready to pay fares on a scale sufficient to cover the cost of the greatly increased speed at which they are now being transported across the ocean.

Life on board a full-powered passenger ship is monotonous, but not necessarily tedious. If the varied occupations and absorbing interests of life on shore are wanting, is it not the complaint of most of us that we want more of the leisure we command during a long passage across the ocean? On board ship mutual sympathies are soon discovered, and acquaintance grows rapidly into friendship. On the broad waters of the Atlantic many interesting experiences were interchanged. Soldiers and civilians, travellers and merchants, each had the story of his life to tell. All that had been gathered up by thought, by action, and by culture, was poured forth, to the great advantage of those who listened.

The passengers in the saloon were but a small proportion of those conveyed in the 'Germanic.' There were on board nearly one thousand emigrants, recruited from every nationality of Europe. Among them were Jews in large numbers from the Danubian principalities, Germans, Finlanders, Swedes, Norwegians, Irish, Welsh, and a few English and Scotch. Competition has brought down the cost of a passage across the Atlantic to the moderate charge of 4*l.*, and it has created a beneficial rivalry in the accommodation afforded. The quarters are clean and airy. A doctor, steward, and matron keep watch over the emigrants, and the dietary is liberal. But with all these improvements the conditions of life on board ship inevitably bring out the sharp and painful contrast between the luxury which wealth commands and the hard life of the labouring poor. The distance is short from the luxuries of the saloon to the bare

sufficiency of the steerage, from the comparative tranquillity in the centre of the ship, reserved for those who pay high fares, to the pitching and scending at the bow and stern. At the commencement of our voyage we encountered bad weather. It was touching to see the emigrants lying down on deck in melancholy groups, each sufferer's head pillowed on a shoulder that was dear to it, their mutual love their only consolation. As the weather improved, all recovered their health and spirits. The numerous and motley assemblage included musicians who could draw melody from the rudest instruments, studious readers, some much given to public devotions, and a few who were scoffers at every form of religion. As a body, the emigrants on board the 'Germanic' gave the impression of a vigorous and helpful people, who would face all difficulties with courage, and bring strength to a country where labour was in demand. A farmer in the Far West, if called upon to make a selection on board the 'Germanic,' would probably prefer the hardy races of Northern Europe to those reared in softer regions. With a few exceptions, the emigrants were going out to join some friend already established, or to supply labour where it was urgently needed in some young settlement in the North-West which was being formed by people of their own race. The emigration of Scandinavians to the North-West has of late been very active. The Germans are rapidly crowding into the middle States.

From a public point of view the occupants of the fore-castle afford subjects of thought not less interesting than those suggested by a visit to the steerage. In a full-powered steamer the assistance derived from sails is scarcely appreciable, and the complement of seamen is determined not so much with reference to the spread of canvas as to the extent of deck. Holy-stoning and cleaning brass-work are not attractive duties, and the wages have been brought down, by the natural operation of supply and demand, to a scale which offers no temptation to the flower of our working population. The rate from the port of Liverpool for an A.B. in an Atlantic Liner may be taken at 4*l.*, and the men are paid off on the day after their arrival in port. Looking to the nature of the employment and the rate of wages, it would be unreasonable to expect a high standard of moral or physical qualities, or seamanship, in crews mustered at twenty-four hours' notice for a short transatlantic voyage. It may often be the case that the foreign seaman is a better man than the Englishman, and the explanation is not far to seek. The foreigner was probably born in some mountain farm on a Norwegian fjord. His paternal acres had been brought under cultivation by the strenuous efforts of generations. Precipices of rock hem in the farm on all sides. The acreage can never be extended. The number who can be maintained upon the land is strictly limited. Arrived near man's estate, the son is warned by his father that he must go

forth into the world to seek an independent livelihood. The sea, which washes the adjacent shores, is the only outlet for superfluous labour. The son seeks employment at first in a little coaster, next in a sea-going vessel, and finally finds himself in a British port. From the scanty pay he has been earning it is a great advance to receive the wages offered to seamen in England. He transfers himself accordingly to the British flag. If he is thrifty, he can put aside the greater portion of his earnings, and after a few years' service before the mast he returns to Norway in a position to establish his home in some port on the Scandinavian seaboard. The same reward which to an English seaman of mature years, and who has a family to support, is meagre in the extreme, may be very differently regarded by the Norwegian lad whose career we have described. Such histories recur again and again. It goes without saying that if it is sought to secure the services of Englishmen, wages must be at least as liberal for service at sea as on shore. With the actual scale of wages a seaman who aspires to the wages of a blacksmith or a carpenter must gain the quarter-deck. To do this he has to pass an examination, but the qualifications in navigation demanded by the Board of Trade can easily be acquired by a lad of ordinary education.

It would do much to improve the quality of seamen if more encouragement were held out to men of superior conduct, and who thoroughly understand their business. In the merchant service these inducements are rarely offered. Seamen are usually paid at a uniform rate, irrespective of merit, and the most deserving are paid off on the day after the arrival of the ship with no more consideration than is shown to the least meritorious of the crew.

Let us turn to the engine-room. There is no question here of the presence of the foreigner, or of inefficiency or indifference to duty. The work in an Atlantic Liner is difficult, arduous, and unrelenting. It demands energy, presence of mind, and technical skill of a high order. The bare enumeration of these qualifications is a guarantee that in a British ship no special preference will be given to foreigners. The engineers are mostly Scotch, the stokers Irish. The qualities most required in the stokehole are a dogged resolution to face discomfort, and a sturdy frame. The stoker is begrimed with coal dust. He has to endure an atmosphere which sometimes rises to a temperature of 130°. In this intense heat he has to shovel every day five tons of coal into the furnaces, and to keep the fires clear and bright by constant raking, and by the periodical removal of ashes. Upon none have the burdens of the mechanical development of our age fallen more heavily than upon the men who undertake the duties of firemen in an Atlantic Liner. Who can refuse to follow Mr. Ruskin in his admiration for the life of the sailor, and the beauty of the swelling canvas which it is his business to handle, or withhold his sympathy from those who are engaged in the wretched

labours of the stokehole? It has often been proposed to feed furnaces mechanically. The method would obviate the necessity of employing men in one of the most distressful forms of manual labour.

Our outward voyage was completed on the morning of Sunday, the 12th of September. It was a lovely day. From the entrance of the harbour at Sandy Hook to the wharves at which the steamers lie the distance is some twenty miles. The shores on either hand are studded with pleasant suburbs and the charming residences of merchants. New York stands on a narrow peninsula which divides the Hudson from the East River. The oldest part of the city was built at the extremity of this peninsula. It has rapidly extended inland. The few principal thoroughfares terminate at the Garden Battery, and are carried in almost parallel lines through the whole length of the city. These streets are crossed at right angles by smaller streets, which are generally carried in a straight line from the Hudson to the East River. The streets of New York are numbered and not named. The monotony of a rectangular plan is broken by a few squares and by the central park. New York has nothing which can be compared with the squares and parks of London. In this regard time gives us an advantage. The leading thoroughfares are lined with buildings often of noble proportions.

From an architectural point of view, all the effects are completely destroyed by the telegraph and telephone companies. Huge posts of fir are planted on both sides of the great thoroughfares carrying hundreds of wires, which interlace at every crossing. It is a monstrous abuse to permit these appliances of civilisation to be carried above ground. Subways should be formed for the purpose.

In a city scarcely inferior in population to London, facility of locomotion is of primary importance. In New York it is rendered easy by tramways and railways. The latter are carried overhead. It is a far cheaper plan than the tunnelling adopted for our metropolitan lines, and where the overhead system is confined to streets of ample width and without pretensions to architectural beauty, there are few objections even from the æsthetic standpoint.

In the social condition of New York the various nationalities of its inhabitants are a striking feature. As an illustration I may mention that in the course of a short evening walk round Washington Square I stopped outside the open windows of a house filled with a large assembly engaged in lively discussion. The speeches were being delivered in Italian. In the large assemblage outside the majority were speaking French, and every café in the square and adjacent streets was kept by a German. New York is the third largest German city in the world.

On the day after my arrival a procession of 40,000 persons, organised by the Knights of Labour, defiled before the Brevoort

Hotel, at which I was staying. Each of the associations was headed by a band. There were carriages and mounted men at intervals. The several trades carried their distinctive banners, and many ultrasocialistic devices were displayed; denunciations of capital and exhortations to vote for Henry George as the next Mayor of New York being frequent. In America the relations between labour and capital will call for discretion and self-denial not less than in the countries of the Old World.

During my short stay at New York I went out to spend an afternoon with Mr. John Crosby Brown, at Orange. Crossing by the steam-ferry to Jersey City, a short journey by train brought us to our destination. After a drive for a couple of miles along a flat road we reached the foot of a steep hill. We climbed it on foot, and on reaching the summit found ourselves on the edge of an elevated plateau commanding a glorious view. At our feet was a level plain in which cheerful dwellings and thriving villages, cultivated fields and dense masses of rich green trees, were delightfully intermingled. In the middle distance was the noble stream of the Hudson, and beyond it New York. Who can look down without emotion, from a peaceful and solitary spot, on a vast city? How many a struggling emigrant has trod the streets of New York for the first time, looking out upon the future with fear and trembling! and how many a gallant spirit owes to the cordial welcome which America has given him the means of gaining an honest livelihood, for which he had found no opportunity in the crowded cities of the Old World!

The first of the series of international contests between the English cutter 'Galatea' and the American sloop 'May-flower' took place on the second day after my arrival in New York. I had the pleasure of following the match on board Mr. Morgan's fine steamship, the 'Corsair.' It was a stirring scene. The weather was lovely—a cloudless sunshine and a pleasant breeze. The waters were crowded with craft of every description, from the huge two-storied side-wheelers thronged with hundreds of sightseers, to the tiny steam launch built by Herreschoff, which darted hither and thither as if by magic, at a speed of twenty knots an hour. The poetry of the past was still represented by many graceful sailing yachts, and more utilitarian interests by the steam liners and the coasting schooners. It seemed scarcely possible that a match could be sailed in such crowded waters, but when at last the signal was given the two champion vessels threaded their way with much less hindrance than might have been expected through the throng of spectators and admirers. I shall not enter upon the details of the match. The American yacht led from the beginning to the close of the race.

On a day of tropical heat, we made our outward journey to Chicago by the Pennsylvania Central. The line is recognised as one of the best managed in America. The cars are admirable, and the

commissariat perfect, but the line is one of the oldest in the country, and was laid out with a view rather to economy of construction than to the rapid travelling on which the public now insists. The scenery through which we passed had a charm which amply compensated for the fatigue of the journey. The State of Pennsylvania is well watered and richly cultivated. The farms have the cheerful indications of abundance. The finest scenery is at the crossing of the Alleghany mountains. The line ascends by a steep incline until it reaches the famous horse-shoe curve. As the train wheeled swiftly round the amphitheatre of hills a scene of surpassing beauty was brought into view. The afternoon sky was aglow with the yellow light of the descending sun. The upper slopes of the hills were richly wooded. Descending to the plains the eye ranged over a vast country with its smiling homesteads and vast tracts of grain ripening to the sickle.

Later in the evening we passed through Pittsburgh, the Wolverhampton of the United States, and not less black and grimy than the iron-manufacturing district in the old country.

We arrived at Chicago at an early hour on the 9th of September. The hotel to which we adjourned is a colossal establishment. The large hall is at all hours densely crowded with men of business and speculation. A telegraph office affords facilities for transmitting orders, and current prices are posted at frequent intervals.

The marvellous growth of Chicago from an Indian village to a city of over half a million of inhabitants is due to its great advantages of position on the shores of Lake Huron, and at the junction of the most important systems of railways going West. By the quick trains the distance of nearly one thousand miles from New York is covered in little more than twenty-four hours, and there are several alternative routes. By the chain of lakes grain, timber, and iron ore from the Far West are brought down to Chicago at prices with which no railways, however cheaply constructed, can compete. By these various means of communication Chicago has been made the seat of a great industry, and the centre of an agricultural district of vast extent. Here are gathered in from distances of hundreds of miles vast supplies of wheat. Hither are sent droves of cattle and pigs innumerable. Chicago transmits the supplies thus collected to millions of consumers in the Eastern States and in Europe; while it furnishes to the farmer in the West, from its enormous warehouses, manufactured goods, home-made and imported. The transaction of affairs on such a scale gives occasion for great banking establishments, and the accumulation of wealth in the city leads to extensive dealings in securities, and attracts in numbers projectors of schemes of every kind.

In its external features Chicago is remarkable for the colossal proportions in which everything is carried out. The shops, the warehouses, the length and the breadth of the streets dwarf by com-

parison anything that we are accustomed to see in cities of the Old World.

In the Park, as elsewhere, the extent is the most distinctive feature. The well-formed roads cover a distance of no less than thirty-two miles. From the Park we drove into the principal residential quarter, along the Michigan Avenue, and through miles of streets lined with houses which bore all the external marks of affluence. It was a noticeable circumstance that in point of size and costliness few houses conspicuously overtopped the general standard. It may perhaps be inferred that wealth is pretty evenly distributed among the richer classes. If an individual has attained a more than ordinary success, it is not the custom to indulge in personal luxury.

Chicago is not an attractive city. It has essentially the air of business. Everybody is in a hurry. The material development of the city and of the individual is the absorbing object. The vigour is splendid, but more of that leisure on which Aristotle insists as essential for the discharge of the duties of citizenship would be a priceless boon. Man's life was spacious in the early world. At Chicago, in the rush of interests and pursuits, it is too much cramped and confined. All this will be changed in another generation. In the present stage the foundation is being laid for the future advance to a still higher civilisation.

By the kind invitation of Mr. Pullman, we visited the noble establishment which he has created on the shores of the lake, about eight miles from Chicago. The Pullman carriage factory is an industrial palace. Four thousand workmen are employed, and the utmost pains and liberality have been displayed in making the works a model of organisation, both for the conduct of business and for the solicitude displayed for the well-being of those employed. Long rows of commodious dwellings have been erected. They are fitted with the most perfect sanitary appliances. A church, a spacious bazaar, an hotel, a well-supplied library, and a theatre, scarcely surpassed in elegance in London or Paris, have been built. While recognising the generosity and the care with which the wants of the workmen have been provided for, it is a question whether minuteness of regulation has not been carried too far, and whether sufficient scope has been given for individual liberty. As a means of binding the workmen to the establishment, it can scarcely be doubted that facilities for acquiring land and building for themselves would be far more effectual than a system under which they are practically under compulsion to become tenants of their employers, subject to a few days' notice on either side. The workmen at Pullman's are chiefly foreigners, the predominating nationality being the Swedish.

Marquette was the bourne of our long journey. We left Chicago at 10 P.M. on the 9th of September. We reached our destination at 2 P.M. on the following day. The distance is 480 miles. As day dawned, we found ourselves in a region presenting a marked contrast to the

State of Pennsylvania. Instead of a hilly country we were travelling over a plain. Agriculture was in an earlier stage. Much of the country was still covered with wood, and it was only in exceptional instances that the decayed stumps had been removed from the enclosed fields. At Mirimichie we came upon one of the most active centres of the lumber trade. The saw mills are on an extensive scale, and the harbour was filled with craft taking in cargoes of sawn timber.

On his arrival at Marquette, even the casual traveller would observe with pleasure unmistakable evidences of general prosperity. Although of such recent origin, the town contains several places of worship. The Episcopal Church is a building of considerable architectural pretensions. The schools are located in a spacious edifice. The private residences are numerous, and present every indication of ease and comfort. The homes of the working classes are decidedly superior to those ordinarily seen in the old established towns in the Eastern States.

Marquette is one of the busiest of the ports of Lake Superior. From it are shipped large quantities of iron ore for Cleveland and Chicago. One company alone sent away last year 250,000 tons. The harbour is formed by two extensive piers, fitted with all the necessary appliances for shooting ore rapidly from railway waggons into the holds of steamers or sailing vessels. Marquette, in common with all the chief towns of the Northern States, is built wholly of wood. In its streets are several considerable stores, well supplied with dry goods. Our first visit was to the offices of the Michigan Land and Iron Company. Later we inspected the schools.

The following days were devoted to a journey to L'Anse and Baraga, a distance of sixty-three miles. The country is traversed from end to end by the Marquette and Houghton Railway. Several other lines are in progress or projected, and, when completed, will materially improve the communication between Marquette and Chicago and the North-West. The Sturgeon and Michigamme rivers, flowing through the most valuable portions of the forest lands, afford valuable facilities for transporting timber. The whole of this district is at present a forest.

Starting from L'Anse, we followed, for a distance of seven miles, a rough track, used for sending supplies to the lumber camps. On leaving this track, we soon found ourselves standing by the trunks of trees whose straight and almost branchless stems attained a height of not less than 160 feet. Such trees are only to be found on certain sections. Along the whole line of the railway scarcely any pine-wood can be seen, and no trees approach these noble dimensions.

We observed with interest that in sections where the pine-wood has been cut fifteen to twenty years ago, self-sown timber of the same description is springing up. Many years must elapse before these young saplings become valuable for the supply of timber. The tallest



trees exceeded three feet in diameter. We counted 112 distinct circles of annular growth on a stump of similar dimensions, adjacent to the larger trees. The outer circles of growth were indistinctly marked, and we estimated the age of the tree at 160 years.

Looking to the future, it is melancholy to see the reckless waste of timber in former years. This waste has not yet been checked by timely apprehensions of future scarcity. The sections that have been the scene of operation of a party of lumber-men are strewn with timber. Trees have been cut down, which it has not been worth while to remove; and acres of charred timber testify to the carelessness with which fires are kindled in the midst of dead leaves and by the trunks of valuable trees. The hardwoods are reckoned as of little value. Timber of this description is too heavy to be floated down shallow rivers. It can only be brought to market by railway. Hence the greater cost of transportation. In the cost of sawing and manufacture there is also a considerable excess for hardwood as compared with pine. This disadvantage is compensated by greater durability. Where supplies of timber are abundant the quality of endurance is less esteemed.

Mining enterprise in the district is as yet in an early stage. We visited the Titan and Wetmore mines. Upon descending into the galleries, we found ourselves among a small assemblage of workmen, singularly illustrative of the recent course of emigration into the North-West Provinces of the United States. The two men attending to the pneumatic drill were Irish, the man who held the lamp came from Devonshire, the manager in charge was an American, the bystanders were Finns and Swedes.

The prime motor necessary for the opening out of the mineral region of Northern Michigan is capital. The first explorers are men of intelligence, courage, energy, and perseverance. But they would not engage in the weary, and often ill-rewarded, task of making search for ore if they were in possession of ample resources. Necessity prompts their efforts, and makes them anxious to secure as large a share as possible from the profits arising from success. Being, however, without capital themselves, and being unwilling to pay liberally for the use of the capital of others, long delays often arise in the opening up of mines. In the case of the Michigan Land and Iron Company, it is one of the principal results of our visits that steps will be taken to bring together the miner in Michigan and the capital which can be so readily supplied from the Eastern cities. The theorists who freely denounce the class of capitalists would find a practical and conclusive answer to their denunciations if they were to visit Michigan. They would find the most skilled labour absolutely paralysed and useless until the capital, glibly denounced as robbery, has been supplied for the assistance of the workmen.

The northern peninsula of Michigan was formerly the country of

their use near L'Anse, and a large number of families are still to be found in that district. They gain a precarious livelihood by hunting and selling the skins.

In the first ages of the European settlements, these regions, then so difficult of access, were the scene of the zealous labours of the Jesuit fathers. Marquette and Baraga are both named after priests who were settled here as missionaries. A map of Lake Superior by the Jesuit fathers shows the sites of numerous missions established on the shores of Lake Superior. Devotion and self-denial in the cause of religion have in all ages been conspicuous in the missionaries of the Roman Catholic faith, and especially in the Jesuit order.

On the 17th of September I returned to New York, and on the 18th I sailed for Liverpool.

In the notes of a flying visit it is not necessary to give statistics as to the population, the wealth, the exports, and the manufactures of the United States, but I cannot conclude without a few words on the social and political condition. It would be unfair to measure the United States by the standard which would be applied in an old country. The charm of England is largely derived from those rich and mellow tones which age can alone impart alike to the land and its people. Our society and our institutions are derived from a feudal system, which, though corrected by a continual process of reform, had its origin in the idea that men were naturally unequal. In America, the social and political order is rooted in the idea that all men are naturally equal. For America no other theory could by possibility have been accepted, and we must admit the success with which the idea has been worked out in practice. If the government of the United States has been corrupt in the past, the election of President Cleveland expresses the resolve of the nation to purge its political system of a great evil. In our own country public life is happily free from corruption, but we have to deplore the exaggeration of party feeling to a degree which is detrimental to the State.

Turning from politics to business, an impression prevails that there is more sharp practice in the United States than in other countries. In England there are not wanting those who would take advantage of the unwary. Dishonest men only succeed in America so long as they are not found out. In the sphere of literature in every branch, in history and poetry, in fiction, science, and the fine arts, the Americans have taken a high place. Of the charm of American society it is quite superfluous to speak: it has been brilliantly represented in our own country. Life in America differs, where it differs at all from the best we see at home, only in being more vivacious and less ceremonious. It would be well if we could import into the social world in which we live more of the graceful and pleasing animation which we see in American life.

That the mass of the people of the United States are in a condi-

tion superior to that attained in the most fortunate countries of the Old World, is beyond dispute. Their advantages are drawn from the abundant resources of a territory in which there are still wide tracts not yet brought under cultivation. The political institutions of the United States have more than the mere negative merit of not having presented any obstacles to the material progress of the people: they have facilitated the progress of the country in civilisation and in wealth. Education has been placed within the reach of all. In the most newly settled part of the country the reservation of land for the maintenance of schools has rendered it possible to provide instruction for the children of the hardy pioneers of agriculture and mining enterprises. As rude assemblages of huts grow into villages, and villages into towns, the school buildings, the teachers, and the appliances for teaching keep pace with the general improvement. We saw an admirable example of this wise liberality in the schools of Marquette.

Measured by its political results, the Constitution of the United States has been eminently successful. Since it was first promulgated it has undergone no change. It has borne the strain of a terrible war; it has maintained the Union, and it has won the insurgents to the national cause by lenity and by justice. It has been sufficiently elastic and comprehensive to satisfy the aspirations of a self-governing people composed of many races, and living in different parts of the country under widely different economic conditions. Looking forward to the near future, only one possible subject of dispute is seen topping the horizon—I refer to the fiscal system. Protection is now maintained for the benefit of the manufacturers, who are the few, and at the expense of the agricultural classes and the great mass of consumers. Thus far the cultivation of a virgin soil, unburdened by rent, has been sufficiently profitable to carry the load which has been laid upon it. Hereafter the agriculturists may be less able and less willing to submit to protection. Sooner or later, gradually, or possibly by some sudden change of policy, the free exchange of commodities may be accepted. When that day comes, it will not be England, but the United States, which will reap the greater advantage.

On the happy change which has passed in recent years in the relations between Great Britain and the United States, I need not dwell at length. British diplomacy never achieved a greater or more enduring success than when it won by a generous act of conciliation the forgiveness of America for the depredations of the 'Alabama.' The concessions we made have not weakened us. they have brought us strength—the strength which comes from the friendship and goodwill of the great American Republic.

BRASSEY.

